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ANNALS

—OF—

Augusta County, Virginia,

From 1726 to 1871,

—BY—

JOS. A. WADDELL,

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Annals of Augusta County,
Virginia, from 1726 to 1871

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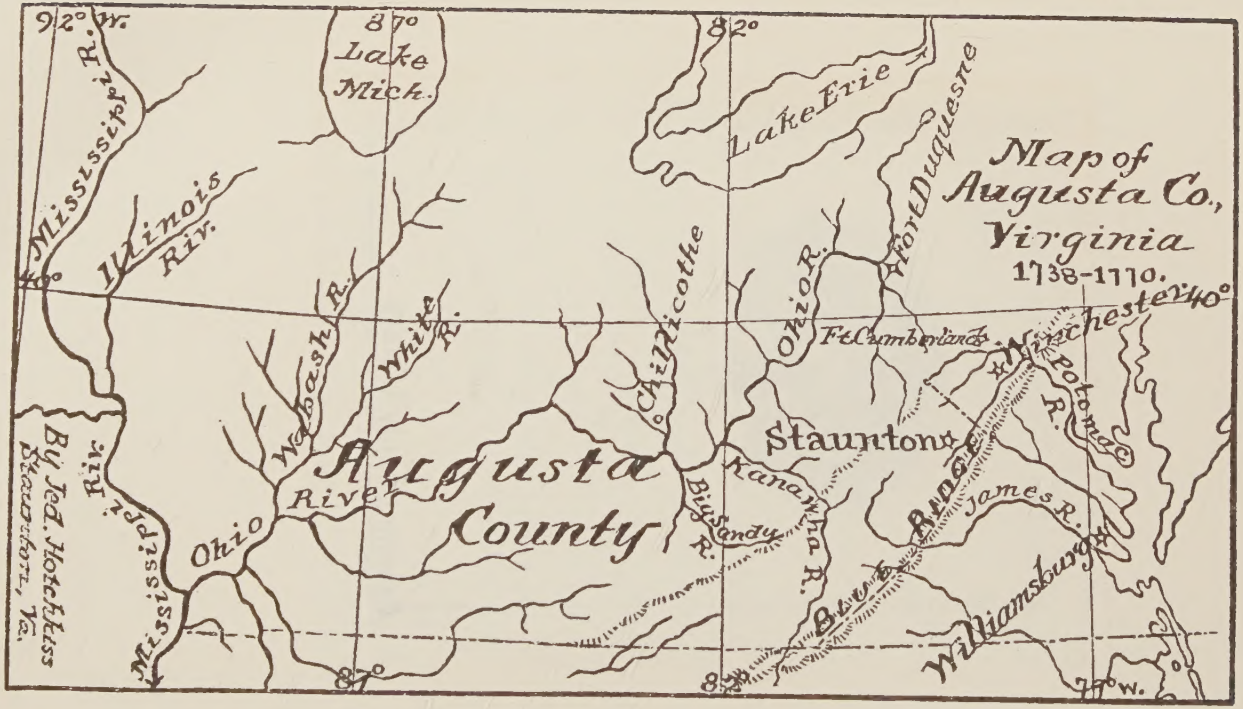
Map of
Augusta Co.,
Virginia
1738-1770.
92° W.
87°
Lake
Mich.
82°
Lake Erie
Fort Duquesne
Mississippi R.
Illinois
Riv.
Wabash R.
White R.
Ohio R.
Chillicothe
Ft. Cumberland
Winchester
40°
Potomac
R.
Staunton
Augusta
County
Ohio
River
Kanawha R.
Big Sandy
R.
Blue
Ridge
James R.
Williamsburg
Mississippi Riv.
By Jed. Hotchkiss
Staunton, Va.
77° W.

ANNALS

—OF—

Augusta County, Virginia,

From 1726 to 1871,

—BY—

JOS. A. WADDELL,

Member of the Virginia Historical Society.

Second Edition.

1902.

[COUNTY SEAL.]

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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

Since the publication of the first edition of these Annals, in 1886, I have obtained a large amount of additional and interesting information relating to the history of Augusta County. I may refer to the extracts from the records of Orange County Court, the journal of Thomas Lewis, and the records of baptisms by the Rev. John Craig, the last of which also contains other items of interest. The applications for pensions by Revolutionary soldiers, in 1832, accidentally found, unindexed and unlabeled, in the Clerk's office of the County Court, has afforded much additional information in regard to the history of the county during that war. Having learned that the Historical Society of Wisconsin contained two ancient manuscripts relating to the county, part of the collections of Dr. Lyman Draper, I applied for and obtained copies. These were muster rolls of the officers and men comprising nine companies of militia in the fall of 1742, and a list of persons killed or captured by Indians, in the county, from October, 1754, to May, 1758. The latter was styled by Dr. Draper, "The Preston Register," under the impression, it is presumed, that Col. William Preston was the author; but his name does not appear in connection with the paper. In the former edition it is stated that John Trimble was the last white man killed by Indians within the present county. Local tradition was silent in regard to details, and I could get no other information, till afterwards a full narrative of the occurrence, together with an account of the capture and rescue of Mrs. Estill and others, was sent me by Mr. Trimble's descendants who live in Ohio.

It is unaccountable to me that no resident of the county, contemporary with the events, wrote a line about the thrilling events of the Indian wars. Readers of Parkman's historical works must have observed the fulness and accuracy of the narratives of events in New England during the same period. Various actors in the scenes described, left written accounts of the raids by French and Indians, giving dates and many other particulars. But as far as I have discovered, no resident

of Augusta County thought it worth while to do anything of the kind. Col. William Preston is said to have accompanied his uncle, Col. Patton, to Draper's Meadow, where the latter was killed, and although not present at the tragedy, must have known all the circumstances; but if he ever wrote a letter in reference to the occurrence, it has not come down to us. The Rev. John Brown lived within a few miles of Kerr's Creek at the times of the massacres there, and the victims were his parishioners, but he put on record no account of these fearful occurrences. Col. John Stuart, of Greenbrier, wrote a narrative of events in his section of country, and, as far as known to me, was the only contemporary who put pen to paper in regard to the events referred to. A paper purporting to be the diary of Mrs. Margaret Lewis, wife of Col. John Lewis, has been printed and much read; but it is a sheer fiction. The incidents related are wholly inconsistent with the authentic history of the times in which Mrs. Lewis lived. She is described as teaching her daughters to play on the spinet; but the only instrumental music she ever heard after coming into the wilderness, was the hum of the spinning wheel.

In the absence of contemporary documents we have no information touching the matters alluded to, except what is afforded by oral tradition, which is generally vague and uncertain and often contradictory. Alexander Withers, an intelligent writer, collected and published in his book called *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, many traditions, but appears to have taken no pains to verify the statements, many of which are erroneous in various particulars. As a specimen of his inaccuracies, he says in one sentence that the name of Col. Patton was John, that he lived on James River, that his wife was a daughter of Benjamin Borden, and that William Preston was his son-in-law; whereas his name was James, he lived on South River, Augusta County, his wife was a Miss Osborne, and William Preston was his nephew and not otherwise related to him. He says also that Col. John Stuart was the son of a John Stuart who came to Virginia with Governor Dinwiddie; but he was the son of David Stuart, who resided in Augusta before Dinwiddie came to the colony, and was no favorite of that irate Governor.

It is remarkable that no one now living can tell the date of one of the two massacres by Indians on Kerr's Creek. One of them is known, from the record in an old Family Bible, to have occurred on the 17th of July, 1763; but whether the other occurred before or after is quite uncertain. Alexander Crawford and wife and John Trimble were killed by Indians within a few miles of Staunton, probably on the same day, but the date can only be approximated.

I have been somewhat criticised on the score that I have devoted more space to persons comparatively obscure than to prominent men. I have done this purposely, my object being to give an account of *the people*. Distinguished or prominent men have other historians or biographers.

A host of errors in the first edition are corrected in this volume.

For much of the new matter herein, I am indebted to my friend, Mr. Howe P. Cochran, now deceased, who was an enthusiastic antiquarian and most thorough in his researches.

J. A. W.

Staunton, July 1, 1901.

PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION.

The basis of these Annals was prepared as a contribution to the "Historical and Geographical Atlas of Augusta County," issued by Messrs. Waterman, Watkins & Co., of Chicago. That sketch was executed very hurriedly, and the space allotted to it in the Atlas was limited. Therefore some errors appear in the work, and much matter then on hand was necessarily omitted. Moreover, the work was hardly in press before I found new matter, not known or not accessible to me previously. My interest in the subject having been quickened, information in regard to the history of the county came to me almost unsought, and often from unexpected sources. This augmented result is intended as well to correct former errors, as to relate the history more fully from the first settlement of the county, in 1732, to the year 1871.

The county of Augusta originally extended from the Blue Ridge to the Mississippi river, east and west, and from the great lakes on the north to the northern boundary of the present State of Tennessee on the south. The history of this vast region properly belongs to our Annals until the year 1769, when Botetourt county was formed. As the limits of Augusta were reduced by the formation of other counties out of her territory, from time to time, the scope of the history is simultaneously and correspondingly contracted.

I have taken the utmost pains to secure perfect accuracy. The errors in details of most writers who have alluded to our county affairs and people, are remarkable. The writers referred to have not only copied from one another without investigation, and thereby repeated erroneous statements, but some of them have contradicted themselves in the same volume. Even the statements of the public records, especially in respect to dates, often require to be verified.

But while I have aspired to perfect accuracy, I do not flatter myself that the following pages are entirely free from error. I have stated nothing as a fact, of the truth of which I am doubtful. Many statements which I do not regard as certainly correct, are given on the au-

thority of other writers, prefaced by the words, "It is said," or "It is related."

It has been my intention to give full credit to every writer whom I have quoted, and I think this has been done in the body of the work. I am indebted to the files of the *Staunton Spectator*, edited by Richard Mauzy, Esq., for most of the facts embraced in the last chapter, on "Reconstruction." To forestall any charge of plagiarism, I state that having at different times published in the columns of Staunton newspapers communications relating to the history of the county, I have copied from these without credit whenever it suited my purpose to do so. Through the kindness of Judge William McLaughlin I have had the opportunity of making extracts from the "History of Washington College," by the Rev. Dr. Ruffner; and "Sketches of the Early Trustees of Washington College," by Hugh Blair Grigsby, Esq. Both these interesting works are still in manuscript, and neither was completed by its author. To the following gentlemen I am indebted for assistance: Wm. A. Anderson, Esq., of Lexington; R. A. Brock, Esq., of Richmond; G. F. Compton, Esq., of Harrisonburg; Dr. Cary B. Gamble, of Baltimore; Armistead C. Gordon, Esq., of Staunton; Dr. Andrew Simonds, of Charleston, S. C., and John W. Stephenson, Esq., of the Warm Springs. I am also under obligations to Mrs. S. C. P. Miller, of Princeton, N. J.

I have not attempted to write a stately history, but merely to relate all interesting facts concerning the county, in a lucid style and in chronological order. Hence the title "Annals," has been adopted deliberately. Many trivial incidents have been mentioned, because they seem to illustrate the history of the times and the manners and customs of the people.

The present work was undertaken with no expectation of pecuniary reward. It has been to me a labor of love. From my early childhood I have cherished a warm affection for my native county—her people, and her very soil. I have sought to rescue from oblivion and hand down to posterity, at least the names of many citizens, who, although not great in the ordinary sense, lived well in their day and are worthy of commemoration.

A representation of the seal of the County Court of Augusta, commonly called the County Seal, is given on the title page. When and by whom the seal was designed is not known. Possibly it was by a member of the faculty of William and Mary College, at the request of one of our colonial governors, who were required by law to provide seals for courts.

The motto is an accommodation of a passage in Horace, Book IV, Ode 2. This Ode expresses delight in the peace and prosperity which came after the long civil wars of Rome. Referring to Augustus, the poet says the heavenly powers ne'er gave the earth a nobler son—

> "Nor e'er will give, though backward time should run
> To its first golden hours."

The Latin words are: *Nec debunt quamvis redeant in aurum Tempora priscum.*

The motto may be translated thus: "Let the ages return to the first golden period." The allusion is, of course, to the fabulous "Golden Age" of primal simplicity and enjoyment; and the Roman poets held out the hope that this happy state of things would one day return.

It would seem that the seal was devised during the fearful Indian wars, when every one was longing for the safety and rest of former times. Full of such aspirations, the designer, in addition to the motto, delineated in the centre of the seal a tranquil pastoral scene, as emblematic of the wished-for times. Such a scene would not ordinarily have been depicted in a time of peace, but during, or immediately after, the havoc of war. In peace, the minds of men gloat over the achievements of war, and in war they dwell upon "the piping times of peace."

The name of the county, however, was suggestive of the motto and emblem, as the poet Virgil celebrated the Emperor Augustus as

> "Restorer of the age of gold."

J. A. W.

Staunton, November 1, 1886.

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ANNALS

—OF—

Augusta County, Virginia.

INTRODUCTION.

THE SCOTCH-IRISH.

The early settlers of Augusta County were people of the Scotch-Irish race; and, up to the time of the Revolutionary war, very few persons of any other race came to live in the county. Their descendants must wish to know who the Scotch-Irish were, and what induced them to leave their native land and come to America. Therefore a sketch of the origin and history of the people so-called, is not out of place here.

Our chief authorities are a work styled "Plantation Papers," being an account of the settlements in Ulster in 1610, by the Rev. George Hill; and Reid's History of the "Presbyterian Church in Ireland."

The history of the Scotch-Irish is necessarily a history of the troubles they suffered on account of their religion. It must be borne in mind, however, in this connection, that the great principle of religious liberty was not recognized in the 17th and the early part of the 18th centuries. The opinion prevailed that it was the duty of the civil government to maintain the church; and, the church being divided into various sects, nearly every sect was striving to obtain government recognition and support, to the exclusion of every other. In nearly all European countries some one church was established by law, and nonconformity to it was regarded as disloyal and punishable; and no doubt some good men believed they were doing God service by trying to crush out all those who followed not with them. And it was too often the case that the persecuted became persecutors when they obtained the power. Of course, no church of the present day is responsible for the errors and wrongs of a former age.

Ulster, the most northern province of Ireland, is composed of the following nine counties: Antrim, Armagh, Cavan, Donigal, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry, Monaghan, and Tyrone.

In consequence of rebellions in Ireland during the latter years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, large portions of the land held by the titled proprietors were confiscated, and many new settlers were introduced from England. At the time James came to the throne, the country enjoyed peace, which was due to the desolations the land had suffered. The province of Ulster was almost depopulated. The remnant of its inhabitants suffered the combined horrors of pestilence and famine. With the exception of a few fortified cities, the towns and villages were destroyed; and scarcely any buildings remained except the castles of the English conquerors, or the wretched cabins of the natives. There was scarcely any cultivation, and many of the people betook themselves to woods where they lived almost in a state of nature. The state of civilization among the natives may be inferred from the fact that they attached horses to the plows by their tails.*

Early in the reign of James I, several of the leading landed proprietors in Ulster engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone the King. The plot was discovered, and Lords Tyrone, Tyrconnell and others, flying from the country, their lands were confiscated and taken possession of by the crown. Thus about 500,000 acres were at the disposal of the King. The lands were parceled out to favorites of the King, English and Scotch, as rewards for services rendered or expected. The natives of the soil were treated with little consideration, being relegated to the more rugged and barren parts of the country. A few natives received small allotments here and there. Only forty of them in the large county of Donigal obtained small grants in a dreary region, and forty-five in Fermanagh.

In the Autumn of 1609, Commissioners started from Dublin, accompanied by a military force, to survey the confiscated lands, and assign the allotments to the new owners. They went from county to county. Previous to this, however, there had been a rush of people from the highlands of Scotland. An old chronicler, the Rev. Andrew Stewart, tells of the multitudes that came across the Irish Sea and the North Channel. He described them as a wild and lawless set, "who for debt, and breaking and fleeing from justice, or seeking shelter from charges of manslaughter in their clan fights, came hither, hoping to be without fear of man's justice, in a land where there was nothing, or but little as yet, of the fear of God." Some years afterwards came another flight of wild Highlanders. The Rev. Mr. Blair, a Scottish minister, of Irvine in Ayreshire, relates "that above ten thousand per-

* Plantation Papers.

sons have, within two years last past, left their country wherein they lived, which was betwixt Aberdeen and Inverness, and are gone for Ireland ; they have come by one hundred in a company through this town, and three hundred have gone hence together, shipping for Ireland at one tide."

This volunteer immigration became annoying to the authorities of Ireland, and a warrant was issued "to stay the landing of these Scotch that came without a certification." It is not likely that all of the "Highland host" took root and remained in Ulster ; there was much coming and going for many years ; but the Highlanders who came in and remained, account for the many *Macs* who constituted so large a part of the Scotch-Irish race.

From 1609 and on, however, a poor but more staid class of people were introduced from the lowlands of Scotland by the new proprietors. The lands of Ulster soon yielded the new-comers abundant harvests, and others of their countrymen sold out in Scotland and crossed over to Ireland. Many houses were built, and farms stocked with cattle ; but they were for some time not allowed to live in peace and safety, the woods and fastnesses being frequented by bands of natives, who plundered on every opportunity.

Some of the Scotch proprietors were rather slow in settling and improving their estates, and were rated angrily by the King. There were plenty of English anxious to go and "plenish the whole land," he said, but out of his tender love for his ancient subjects, he had been pleased to make choice of them. Thus stimulated, and encouraged by the reports of fine crops in Ulster, the Scotch awoke to a fervid loyalty to the King and desire to civilize the Irish, "or such of them as had escaped the wrath of God, or rather the raiding of cruel and licentious Englishmen." *

King James interested the Corporation of London in the plantation of Ulster, the object being to reduce "the savage and rebellious people to civility, peace, religion and obedience." Accordingly the whole county of Coleraine was assigned to the Londoners, who changed the name to Londonderry, and founded the town of Derry.

The names of many of the Scotch settlers, incidentally mentioned in the book we have quoted, are identical with those of the people of the Valley of Virginia.

Froude, speaking of the Scotch settlers in Ulster, says : "They went over to earn a living by labor, in a land which had produced hitherto little but banditti. They built towns and villages ; they established trades and manufactures ; they enclosed fields, raised farm houses and homesteads where till then there had been but robbers,

* Plantation Papers.

castles, wattled huts, or holes in the earth like rabbit burrows. While, without artificial distinctions, they were saved from degenerating into the native type by their religion, then growing in its first enthusiasm into a living power, which pervaded their entire being."

The Scotch did not degenerate in Ulster, nor did they mingle by intermarriage with the natives; but, while their intelligence, industry and thrift soon transformed the face of the country, most of them were at first far from being a religious people. We have seen what character the Rev. Mr. Stewart attributed to most of them. Elsewhere we learn that a great many of them were openly profane and immoral, caring for no church. In their native land, "going to Ireland" was regarded as a token of a disreputable person. But, in the course of time, a number of pious and zealous ministers came over from Scotland, and several from England, of like spirit; and, through the efforts of these good men, a great religious reformation occurred. Among the Scotch ministers were Josiah Welsh, a grand-son of John Knox, and the celebrated John Livingston, who was famous as a preacher and scholar. This reformation occurred about the year 1625, and from that time the religious character of the people dates. Mr. Welsh says: "God had taken by the heart hundreds that never knew him before." Mr. Stewart wrote that God followed the people when they fled from him. This religious revival attracted attention both in Scotland and England, and has often been referred to as one of the most remarkable events of the kind since the days of the Apostles. Reid, the historian, referring to the marked change in the character of the people, says: "The gospel shot forth its branches in Ulster with wonderful rapidity, till, like the grain of mustard, it became a great and noble tree, which, after the lapse of two centuries and the beating of many bitter storms, stands at the present day, more firm and vigorous than ever."

Ireland, being a dependency of England, the church of the latter country was extended over the former; but, during the reign of James I, the distinction between Conformists and Nonconformists was unknown in the former. The rulers of the church received all the ministers who offered themselves, and were sound in the faith, and of sufficient learning; but though included in the pale of the established Episcopal Church, the Scottish ministers in Ulster maintained the peculiarities which distinguished the Presbyterian Church.

Charles I, came to the throne in 1625, and for some years Ireland enjoyed peace. Archbishop Laud, however, became the dominant power in England, and in 1632 issued orders for the trial by the Bishop of Down and Connor of certain alleged "fanatical disturbers of the

peace of his diocese." The bishop chose rather to cite four Scotch ministers, including John Livingston, and on their refusal to conform to the church of England, ("there being no law or canon of that kingdom requiring it,") all four were deposed from the ministry and prohibited from preaching. The aggrieved parties appealed to Archbishop Usher, the Primate of Ireland, a liberal and benevolent prelate, but he disclaimed having authority to interfere.

Despairing of relief for themselves, and discovering the storm which was gathering around others, the deposed ministers began to look out for some place of refuge where religious liberty might be enjoyed. They resolved to send a minister and layman to New England to report as to the advisability of removal to that country, and the commissioners proceeded to London in 1634, on their way, but were prevented from going further.

The constitution of the Irish Episcopal Church was settled in 1634, and pursuant thereto it was ordered that every minister subscribe the canons and read them publicly in his church once a year. Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, was now at the head of affairs in Ireland, and ready to make all recusants feel the weight of his power.

In consequence of the oppressions suffered by the Ulster Scotch, they again determined to seek religious liberty in the wilds of America. They built a ship, which they called Eaglewing, and on September, 9th, 1636, one hundred and forty of them, including several ministers, embarked for New England. They encountered heavy storms, and when near the banks of New Foundland concluded that it was not the Lord's will they should proceed. Therefore they turned back, and on the 3rd of March, came to anchor in Loch Fergus.

The deposed ministers continued to preach as they had opportunity, but steps were taken to arrest them. They, therefore, escaped to Scotland, to which country many of the people fled to avoid the fines and other punishments which began to be inflicted on the nonconforming laity. The number of refugees was so large as to seriously effect the prosperity of the province. Many who did not fly were committed to prison. During that time it was customary for many people to go over from Ireland at the stated communion services in Scotland; and on one occasion, says Reid, "five hundred persons, principally from county Down, visited Scotland, to receive that ordinance from the hands of Mr. Livingston." It was ascertained in 1638, that the number of men in Uister, able to bear arms, was above forty thousand.

In May, 1639, all the residents in Ulster above the age of sixteen, male and female, except Catholics, were required by proclamation to

take what was known as the "Black Oath," binding them to yield an unconditional obedience to all royal commands, civil or religious, just or unjust. Many of the people refused to take the oath in the unqalified form in which it was proposed. On these the heaviest penalties of the law, short of death, were inflicted. Crowds of defenceless females fled to the woods, and concealed themselves in caves. Respectable persons were bound together with chains and confined in dungeons. Several were dragged to Dublin and heavily fined. Multitudes fled to Scotland, leaving their homes to go to ruin; while so many of the laboring people abandoned the country, that it was scarcely possible to carry on the work of harvest.

After Laud and Strafford were hurled from power, and the King was deposed, Ireland, for a time, enjoyed peace and unprecedented prosperity. To the Catholics, as well as the Protestants of all sects, ample toleration was allowed. In 1641, however, the native Irish rose in rebellion. "The insurrection," says Reid, "was speedily converted into a religious war, carried on with a vindictive fury and a savage ferocity which have been seldom exceeded." Many women and children were ruthlessly slaughtered. Ulster was converted into "a field of blood." About thirty ministers were massacred. The brunt of the conflict fell upon the people of English origin. In addition, a pestilence broke out which swept off many thousands of people. The rebellion extended to other parts of Ireland, but more moderation was displayed by the confederate Roman Catholics, and many of them denounced in strong terms the massacres which had almost depopulated Ulster.

As a body, the Presbyterians suffered less by the rebellion than any other class. Many of them had retired to Scotland to escape the tyranny of Strafford and the severities of the Bishops, and were thus preserved. Those who remained in the country were, at first, unmolested by the Irish, and by the time the storm fell on them, they were prepared for the attack, and frequently repulsed the assailants. Troops arrived from Scotland, and during the year 1642, the rebellion was suppressed. Few of the English clergy, and not one prelate, remained in Ulster. The people of Scottish birth or descent, who had left the Province, gradually returned, and this class became a majority of the population.

During the existence of the Commonwealth, the Presbyterians in Ulster were for a time not molested by the government, and Reid states that they were joined by many of the Episcopal clergy. From this period, he further says, may be dated the commencement of the "Second Reformation" with which the Province was favored.

The motion of "bringing home the King," Charles II, is said to have been made first by ministers of the Church of Scotland, and in this they displayed little worldly wisdom, as they demanded no guarantees for civil and religious liberty. But they were no doubt deluded by the promises made by Charles while in exile. He was proclaimed King in London May 8th, and in Dublin May 14, 1660, and it was not long till he repudiated all his promises and even solemn oaths. He declared in favor of Prelacy, refused toleration to Nonconformists, and named Bishops for all the dioceses in Ireland.

It was during the seven preceding years that the Presbyterian church in Ulster acquired strength to withstand the storms which afterwards arose. In 1653, scarcely more than a half dozen ministers ventured to remain in the country ; in 1660, however, there were not less than seventy ministers regularly settled, having under them eighty congregations, embracing a population of about one hundred thousand.

As usual at such times, many persons who had been zealous supporters of Cromwell, proved their new-born loyalty to the King by denouncing and persecuting those whom they had shortly before pursued for their attachment to monarchy.

The Irish Parliament met on the 8th of May, the House of Lords being composed largely of the Bishops. The new speaker of the Commons had been a violent opponent of prelacy, but was now an ardent conformist. A declaration was put forth establishing the former ecclesastical laws, and forbidding all to preach who would not conform. The dissenting ministers remained among their people, however, and officiating in private, were not immediately molested.

The Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, convinced of the loyalty of the Presbyterians, refrained from harassing them ; and the oppressions of the ecclesiastical courts and the exorbitant demands of the established clergy for tithes, constituted their principal grievances. At this time the people of Scotland were suffering the most intolerable persecution, and the Ulster Scotch lived in comparative peace and comfort. Their ministers preached in barns, and administered the sacraments in the night. By degrees they attained to such freedom, that in 1668, they began to build meeting-houses, and to officiate in public. They were, however, precluded from ordaining new ministers, and from holding meetings for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Even at the burial of their dead, they were hardly permitted to conduct the services according to their own usages.

In the year 1672, a strange thing happened in the history of the Ulster Dissenters—King Charles II, of his own motion, ordered twelve

hundred pounds to be distributed annually to the ministers, in consideration of their former sufferings on account of their loyalty ; and the grant was continued for many years under successive sovereigns. Thus a body of men not recognized by law, and legally outlaws, were the recipients of royal bounty. (We should feel more respect for them if they had declined the gift.) But throughout, the trouble to which Dissenters were subjected, was not caused so much by the civil as by the ecclesiastical authorities. Dean Swift, High Churchman as he was, gives a woful account of the Bishops of the Irish established church. He describes them as highwaymen, who waylayed and murdered the persons appointed in England, and stealing their credentials, came to Dublin and were consecrated in their stead. *

For many years, the Dissenters were harrassed on account of marriages solemnized by their ministers, although publicly, after proclamation, and after payment of fees to the established clergy. Such marriages, although irregular, were recognized, and the offspring treated as legitimate, by the civil courts. But the Bishops considered them serious ecclesiastical offences. In their courts the marriages were declared to be void, the parties guilty of the sin of fornication, and their children pronounced bastards.

The battle of Bothwell Bridge, in Scotland, occurred on June 22, 1679. Some of the prisoners taken there and who escaped, made their way to Ulster, and from them many of the people of Augusta County have descended. ‡

For observing a fast-day in 1681, four ministers were sentenced to pay a fine of twenty pounds each, or be imprisoned, and were confined

* Froude.

‡ An appendix to the old Scotch book called "A Cloud of Witnesses," says: "Anno 1679, of the prisoners taken at Bothwell, were banished to America, 250 who were taken away by —— Paterson, a merchant of Leith, who transacted for them with Provost Milns, Laird of Barnton, the man that first burnt the covenant, whereof 200 were drowned by shipwreck at a place called the Mulehead of Darness, near Orkney, being shut up by the said Paterson's order beneath the hatches—50 escaped." The Bothwell prisoners were herded like cattle for many months in Grayfriars' churchyard, Edinburgh, without shelter, half clad and half starved. Those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the persecuting government were sentenced to banishment. The list of these men reads like a muster roll of Augusta county people, including the familiar names of Anderson, Bell, Brown, Brownlee, Cochran, Craig, Campbell, Finley, Hutchison. Hamilton, Henderson, Morrison, Reid, Scott, Steele, Waddell, Walker, White, Wilson, &c. The following are the names of some of the prisoners who survived the shipwreck and escaped to Ireland : John Thomson, William Waddell, John Gardner, Thomas Miller, Thomas Thomson, Andrew Thomson, Hugh Montgomery, John Martin, Andrew Clark and James Young.

for more than eight months. Thereupon the meeting houses in Ulster were closed, and public worship prohibited. This state of affairs continuing for several years, many of the ministers declared their intention to emigrate to America, but were induced to remain, hoping for better times.

James II came to the throne in February, 1685, and then the clergy and members of the established church began to feel the brunt of persecution. Every favor was shown by the King to Roman Catholics, and to gain the support of Dissenters, he issued his "Declaration for liberty of conscience." This afforded relief to the Presbyterians, and the fears of the established clergy for their own safety induced them to relax in their severities towards Nonconformists. In this hour of peril, the Presbyterians forgot their recent sufferings, and made common cause with the Episcopalians in opposition to the despotic and bigoted monarch. They were the first to hail the arrival of William, Prince of Orange. The native Irish rose in behalf of King James, and a general massacre of Protestants was threatened. In 1688, the Earl of Antrim, a partisan of James, was approaching Londonderry to occupy it with his regiment. A majority of the established clergy inculcated the necessity of non-resistance; but a number of resolute youths, called "The Prentice Boys of Derry," encouraged by the bulk of the inhabitants, seized the keys and closed the gates against the Earl. The small town of Derry thus became the only refuge of the Protestants of Ulster. Upon the march northward of the army of James, says Macauley, "all Lisburn fled to Antrim, and, as the foes drew near, all Lisburn and Antrim together came pouring into Londonderry. Thirty thousand Protestants, of both sexes and of every age were crowded behind the bulwarks of the City of Refuge. The ordinary population of the town and suburbs furnished only about six hundred fighting men; but when the siege began there were 7,300 men armed for defence." Dissenters having been excluded from offices in the army, none of that class were fitted by previous military experience for command. Therefore a majority of the higher officers were of the Church of England. A majority of the inferior officers, captains and others, were Presbyterians, and of the soldiers and people generally, the Dissenters outnumbered the others by fifteen to one. The commanding officer, Lundy, proposed to surrender; but the great body of the soldiers and people, headed by Capt. Adam Murray, defeated the scheme, and Lundy was compelled to fly from the town in disguise. Even the Rev. Mr. Walker, the assistant governor, who afterwards claimed most of the credit of the defence for himself, wavered and was disposed to capitulate. *

* Reid.

"Now," says Froude, in his History of Ireland, "was again witnessed what Calvinism—though its fires were waning—could do in making common men into heroes. Deserted by the English regiments, betrayed by their own commander, without stores and half armed, the shopkeepers and apprentices of a commercial town prepared to defend an unfortified city against a disciplined army of 25,000 men, led by trained officers, and amply provided with artillery. They were cut off from the sea by a boom across the river. Fever, cholera and famine came to the aid of the besiegers. Rats came to be danties, and hides and shoe leather were ordinary fare. They saw their children pine away and die—they were wasted themselves till they could scarce handle their firelocks on their ramparts." Still they held on through more than three miserable months. Finally, a frigate and two provision ships came in, and Derry was saved. The garrison had been reduced to about three thousand men. Enniskillen was successfully defended in like manner.

Seldom has an unfortified and ill-supplied place been defended with such obstinate valor. On the 31st of July, the siege was raised, having lasted 105 days. Before retiring the army of James lost an hundred officers and between 8,000 and 9,000 men.

The Duke of Schomberg and his army arrived in August, and secured comparative peace and safety to the inhabitants. Soon thereafter, King William wrote to Schomberg, recommending the Ulster Scotch to his protection.

The law prohibiting Presbyterian ministers from officiating in public was still in force, and Presbyterians were still legally incapable of holding any public office. These laws, however, were not enforced for a time. But as soon as the recent danger was over, there was a renewal of unfriendly feeling on the part of the established clergy towards the Presbyterians, and occasionally one of the former sought to revive the penalties of the law against a dissenting brother.

The first step which King William caused to be taken for the relief of the Irish Presbyterians, was the abolition of the oath of supremacy. Accordingly, the English Parliament passed an act, in 1691, abolishing the oath, and substituting another which the dissenters did not scruple to take, and thereby all public employments were opened up to them. Still the public exercise of their religious worship, though connived at, was legally prohibited under heavy penalties.

It was well known that King William was anxious to obtain from the British Parliament the abolition of tests, and to secure for his Dissenting subjects in England ample toleration ; but his plans were defeated by the High Church party. The same influence arrested his

measures for the protection of the Irish Presbyterians. The Irish Bishops, who constituted a majority of their House of Lords, insisted upon "Sacramental Tests," by which all public officers should be required to receive the communion as administered by the clergy of the Church of England. Public opinion and the favor of the executive relieved Dissenters from some of their annoyances; and the parochial clergy generally and Presbyterian ministers co-operated in repairing the disasters of the war.

The matter of marriages by Presbyterian clergymen was again brought forward. The ministers were "libeled" in the Bishop's courts for celebrating the marriages of their own people, and heavy penalties were imposed upon them; and the parties married were condemned, either publicly to confess themselves guilty of sinful cohabitation, or to pay heavy fines to the officers of the Courts; while the marriages of those who refused to submit, were declared void, and their children pronounced illegitimate. No attempt was made, however, by the established clergy, to have the validity of such marriages tested in the civil courts, for the reason that they had been held to be valid contracts, though irregularly entered into.

During the time of Cromwell, a number of French Protestant refugees settled in Ireland, and afterwards, upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, many more came over. Being of the same religious faith as the Ulster Presbyterians, they affiliated with them, and thus it is that some French names appear among the Scotch-Irish.

King William died in March, 1702, all his efforts to obtain Parliamentary relief and protection for the Dissenters in Ireland, having failed. Queen Anne immediately placed herself under the guidance of the High Church Tories, and from the beginning of her reign the series of anti-popery laws began, which have been the cause of so much misery to Ireland. The Sacramental Test Act was now enacted, by which all Nonconformists, Protestants and Catholics, were excluded from public offices. The Roman Catholics employed counsel to oppose the measure, and in his appeal he reminded the Parliament of the services of Protestant Dissenters in the defence of Londonderry and Enniskillen. They were then thought fit to command, he said. Whatever Papist might be thought to deserve, the Dissenters stood clear before the government, and to pass the bill would be an unkind return and poor encouragement for them or others to do likewise in a similar emergency. But all in vain. The bill was passed in 1704, and received the royal assent. Thenceforth no Presbyterian could hold any office, civil or military. A majority of the city officers of Londonderry were turned out, and that too in a city which most of

these men had contributed to preserve by their services and sufferings during the siege. * Throughout Ulster most of the magistrates were ejected, and others appointed "who had nothing to recommend them but their going to church." (De Foe.)

In addition to the oppressions on account of their religion, the industry and commerce of the people of Ulster were systematically repressed by the English government. Twenty thousand people left Ulster on the destruction of their woolen trade in 1698. Many more were driven away by the passage of the Test Act. The wonder is that the whole people did not leave the country, and seek rest elsewhere from their intolerable harassments. But, notwithstanding their oppressions, they enjoyed a good degree of business prosperity, so that at one time they were able to send pecuniary relief to their suffering co-religionists in Holland. Their industry and thrift enabled them to survive, and to some extent flourish, in the midst of the oppressive measures of government. Moreover, they were constantly buoyed up by the hope of relief.

In 1711, the Tory party of England came into power again, and this political revolution was the signal of a fresh outburst of High Church zeal against Dissenters. Appeal after appeal was addressed by the Dissenters of Ireland to the authorities in England, and one Commissioner after another was sent to represent them before the Queen. Among the grievances complained of was the refusal of Episcopal land owners to renew leases to Presbyterian tenants. They also complained of the Test Act and the oath of abjuration which some of their people scrupled to take.

A new Lord Lieutenant having come into office, some of the ministers of Ulster laid before him a statement of their grievances, and said they contemplated going to America that they might in a wilderness enjoy the quiet which was denied them in their native country.

In 1714, under the inspiration of the Tory party, the "schism bill" was passed, by which every Presbyterian in Ireland who ventured to teach school, except of the humblest description, was liable to be imprisoned for three months. In various parts of Ulster Presbyterian catechisms and other religious books were seized when exposed for sale, and in several towns the Presbyterian churches were shut and nailed up.

The accession of George I to the throne, in 1714, arrested the career of the High Church party, and gave some relief to the Irish Presbyterians. Several leading members of the late English ministry were arraigned for high treason. The Ulster people lost no time in

* Among the Burgesses removed from office was a Robert Gamble.

appealing to the King, who uniformly showed a liberal spirit toward them.

In 1715, an invasion by the Pretender was threatened, and the Protestant militia of Ireland were called out. This proceeding placed members of the Presbyterian Church in an embarrassing position. If they enrolled, either as officers or privates, and received pay, they exposed themselves to the penalties of the Test Act; and if they refused, they were liable to the charge of deserting their sovereign and country in the time of danger. A meeting of gentlemen was held at Belfast, and resolved to assist in the defence of the country and brave the penalties of the law. This action being communicated to the government authorities, parliamentary relief was promised, and accordingly a bill was introduced to exempt Dissenters in the militia from penalties. But it was opposed by the Bishops and abandoned. The House of Commons, however, adopted a resolution, declaring that any person who should commence a prosecution against any Dissenter who accepted a commission in the army or militia was "an enemy to King George and the Protestant interest, and a friend to the Pretender."

The Presbyterian people, though favored by the crown and protected by the House of Commons, were still exposed to annoyances in regard to their marriages. The Rev. Gilbert Kennedy, alluding to the excommunications by the Bishops, says, in a letter, dated October 5th, 1716, "Our prelates are violent where I live. Four of my flock have been lately delivered to Satan for being married by me."

The Act of Toleration was passed in 1724, and by it liberty of worship was granted to Presbyterians, but other grievances were left unredressed. Presbyterians were still subject to frequent prosecutions and expensive litigation in the ecclesiastical courts for the marriages celebrated by their clergy.

George I died, and was succeeded by his son George II in June, 1727. The highest authorities in the Irish church and State were then generally favorable to the Presbyterians. Dr. Boulton, the Episcopal primate, was a friend to toleration and disposed to relieve Dissenters of their grievances, except those arising out of tithes and church dues. As leases of lands expired, the proprietors began to raise their rents, and as the rents increased, the tithes, payable to the established clergy, increased in proportion. In addition, the three successive harvests after 1724, were unfavorable. These discouragements, with the Test Act and other civil disabilities, caused the Presbyterians, in 1728, to look to America as a country for investment of capital and labor, and where religious liberty might be enjoyed. In 1718, six ministers and many of their people came to America. The passage of

the Toleration Act and the hope of further relief, checked the spirit of emigration for a season. It revived in 1724, and in 1728 attracted the attention of the government. Archbishop Boulton sent to the Secretary of State in England, a "melancholy account," as he calls it, of the state of the North. He says the people who go complain of the oppressions they suffer, as well as the dearness of provisions. The whole North, he says, is in a ferment, and the humour has spread like a contagion. "The worst is," says the Archbishop, "that it affects only Protestants, and reigns chiefly in the North, which is the seat of our linen manufacture." Writing in March, 1729, he says: "There are now seven ships at Belfast, that are carrying off about 1000 passengers thither"—to America. From another source we learn that, in 1729, near 6000 Irish, nearly all Presbyterians, came to America, landing at Philadelphia. Before the middle of the century nearly 12,000 arrived annually for several years. Almost all who came to America were Presbyterians. Protestant Episcopalians did not have the same motive for emigration, and the tide of Catholic emigration from Ireland did not set in till after the American Revolution.

Another attempt was made to obtain the repeal of the Test Act, and again it failed. The only relief extended to the Presbyterians during the reign of George II, was an act, passed in 1738, exempting them from prosecution for marriages celebrated by ministers who had qualified under the Toleration Act.

The winter of 1739-40 is known in Ulster as "the time of the blackfrost," from the unusually dark appearance of the ice, and because the sun seldom shone during its continuance. In the fall of 1739, many of the more industrious and enterprising inhabitants fled from scarcity and oppression in Ireland and came to America, landing on the Delaware river in Pennsylvania. Many of these soon found their way into the wilderness of Augusta County. Then came the Prestons, Breckinridges, Poages, Bells, Trimbles, Logans, Browns, Pattersons, Wilsons, Andersons, Scotts, Smiths, and others.* They came first to Pennsylvania, because they had heard of it as a province where civil and religious liberty was enjoyed. But jealousies arose in the minds of the original settlers of Pennsylvania, and restrictive measures were adopted by the proprietary government against the Scotch-Irish and German immigrants. ‡ Hence many of the former were disposed, in 1732, and afterwards, to seek homes within the lim-

* The author's great-grand-father came at that time, but settled in Pennsylvania. His son James came to Virginia in 1758.

‡ The Pennsylvania Quakers are said to have especially disliked Presbyterians.

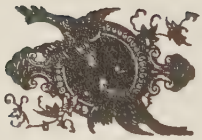
its of Virginia, and run the risk of the church establishment here. They were generally farmers and mechanics, with a few merchants. There was not a so-called cavalier among them, nor a sprig of nobility.

The historian of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland remarks that the circumstances of ministers in Ulster must have been exceedingly unfavorable, if they could calculate upon bettering their temporal condition by coming to America. In 1760, an appeal was made to the Ulster Presbyterians to contribute to the relief of their brethren in the New World, who were suffering the hardships of poverty aggravated by the miseries of the Indian war; and the former, "out of their deep poverty," raised upwards of £400 for the purpose.

The grievances of the Ulster people continued, and from 1772 to 1774, thousands of them sought homes on this side of the Atlantic, and a few years afterwards appeared in arms against the mother country in behalf of the independence of the American Republic. A recent historian has stated that Gen. Anthony Wayne's famous brigade of the "Pennsylvania line," might better be called the "Irish line," as it was composed almost exclusively of refugees from Ulster.

Yielding to her fears in a time of national peril, in 1780, England repealed the Test Act; and in 1782, an act was passed declaring the validity of all marriages celebrated among Protestant Dissenters by their own ministers. It was then too late; the damage had been accomplished; the American Colonies had been wrested from the control of England in a large measure by the prowess of the people she had driven away.

"We shall find," says Bancroft, "the first voice publicly raised in America to dissolve all connection with Great Britain came, not from the Puritans of New England, or the Dutch of New York, or the planters of Virginia, but from Scotch-Irish Presbyterians." Vol. V, p. 77.



ANNALS

— OF —

Augusta County, Virginia.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO FOUNDATION OF THE COUNTY.

As far as known, the country now embraced in Augusta county, was never entered by white men until the year 1716. Six years earlier, however, some portion of the Valley of Virginia had been seen from the top of the Blue Ridge by Europeans. Governor Spotswood, writing to the Council of Trade, London, December 15, 1710, says that a company of adventurers found the mountains "not above a hundred miles from our upper inhabitants, and went up to the top of the highest mountain with their horses, tho' they had hitherto been thought to be unpassable, and they assured me that ye descent on the other side seemed to be as easy as that they had passed on this, and that they could have passed over the whole ledge (which is not large), if the season of the year had not been too far advanced before they set out on that expedition."—[*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. I, page 40.] It would seem that the adventurers referred to looked into the Valley from the mountain in the neighborhood of Balcony Falls, but no description of the country seen by them is given.

This portion of the Valley was then entirely uninhabited. The Shawnee Indians had a settlement in the lower Valley, at or near Winchester, and parties of that tribe frequently traversed this section on hunting excursions, or on warlike expeditions against Southern tribes; but there was no Indian village or wigwam within the present limits of the county. At an early day, Indians, or people of some other race, had doubtless resided here, as would appear from several ancient mounds, or burial places, still existing in the county.

The face of the country between the Blue Ridge and the North Mountain was, of course, diversified by hill and dale, as it is now; but forest trees were less numerous than at the present time, the growth of timber being prevented by the frequent fires kindled by hunting parties of Indians. Old men living within the writer's recollection, described this region as known by them in their boyhood. Many acres, now stately forests, were then covered by mere brushwood, which did not conceal the startled deer flying from pursuit.

At the time of which we speak, wild animals abounded in this section. The buffalo roamed at will over these hills and valleys, and in their migrations made a well-defined trail between Rockfish Gap, in the Blue Ridge, and Buffalo Gap, in the North Mountain, passing by the present site of Staunton. Other denizens of the region at that day were the bear, wolf, panther, wildcat, deer, fox, hare, etc. It would appear that wolves were very numerous. There were no crows, blackbirds, nor song birds, and no rats, nor honey bees till the coming of the white people.*

The first passage of the Blue Ridge, and entrance into the Valley by white men, was made by Governor Spotswood in 1716.‡ About the last of July, or first of August in that year, the Governor, with some members of his staff, starting from Williamsburg, proceeded to Germanna, a small frontier settlement, where he left his coach and took to horse. He was there joined by the rest of his party, gentlemen and their retainers, a company of rangers, and four Meherrin Indians, comprising in all about fifty persons. These, with pack-horses laden with provisions, journeyed by way of the upper Rappahannock river, and after thirty-six days from the date of their departure from Williamsburg, on September 5th, scaled the mountain at Swift Run Gap, it is believed. Descending the western side of the mountain into the Valley, they reached the Shenandoah River and encamped on its bank. Proceeding up the river, they found a place where it was fordable, crossed it, and there, on the western bank, the Governor formally "took possession for King George the First of England." The rangers made further explorations up the Valley, while the Governor, with his immediate attendants, returned to Williamsburg, arriving there after an

* The mocking-bird, common in Albemarle county, is still not found in a wild state west of the Blue Ridge in Augusta.

‡ It is claimed that several parties at different times, long before Spotswood's expedition, came from the falls of Appomattox, now Petersburg, crossed the mountains near the line of North Carolina, and penetrated as far as New River. The country traversed, although west of the mountain, is, however, no part of the Valley.

absence of about eight weeks, and having traveled about 440 miles out and back. †

The only authentic account we have of the expedition is the diary of John Fontaine, and that is very meagre. The gentlemen of the party were: Governor Spotswood, Robert Beverley, the historian, Colonel Robertson, Dr. Robinson, Taylor Todd, Fontaine, Mason, Clouder, Smith and Brooke. They crossed the Shenandoah river on the 6th of September, and called it Euphrates. The river is said to have been very deep, and "fourscore yards wide in the narrowest part." The Governor had graving irons, but could not grave anything, the stone was so hard. "I," says Mr. Fontaine, "graved my name on a tree by the riverside, andt he Governor buried a bottle with a paper enclosed, on which he writ that he took possession of this place in the name of King George First of England." The most astonishing thing related by the diarist, however, is the quantity and variety of liquors lugged about and drunk by the party. He says: "We had a good dinner" [on the 6th], "and after it we got the men together and loaded all their arms, and we drank the King's health in champagne and fired a volley, the Princess's health in Burgundy and fired a volley, and all the rest of the royal family in claret and a volley. We drank the Governor's health and fired another volley. We had several sorts of liquors, viz: Virginia red wine and white wine, Irish usquebaugh, brandy, shrub, two sorts of rum, champagne, canary, cherry punch, cider, &c." Bears, deer and turkeys were abundant, and in the Valley the foot-prints of elk and buffalo were seen.—[Dr. Slaughter's *History of St. Mark's Parish.*]

It was in commemoration of this famous expedition that Governor Spotswood sought to establish the order of "Knights of the Golden Horseshoe." But the Governor's account of the expedition, as far as we have it, is very tame and disappointing. He was thinking chiefly of protecting the English settlements from the encroachments of the French, and apparently cared little for anything else. He also either misunderstood the Indians whom he encountered, or was grossly deceived by them in regard to the geography of the country. In his letter to the Board of Trade, under date of August 14, 1718, he said:

"The chief aim of my expedition over the great mountains, in 1716, was to satisfye myself whether it was practicable to come at the

† In 1870 a silver knee buckle, of rare beauty and value, set in diamonds, pronounced genuine by competent jewelers, was found near Elkton, Rockingham county. It is believed that this buckle was lost by one of the Spotswood cavalcade. The silver was discolored by age, and the brilliants somewhat deteriorated by long exposure to the elements. It was found, and is now held, by one of the Bear family.—[Letter from Charles W. S. Turner, Esq.]

lakes. Having on that occasion found an easy passage over that ridge of mountains w'ch before were judged unpassable, I also discovered, by the relation of Indians who frequent those parts, that from the pass where I was it is but three days' march to a great nation of Indians living on a river w'ch discharges itself in the Lake Erie; that from ye western side of one of the small mountains w'ch I saw, that lake is very visible, and cannot, therefore, be above five days' march from the pass afore-mentioned, and that the way thither is also very practicable, the mountains to the westward of the great ridge being smaller than those I passed on the eastern side, w'ch shews how easy a matter it is to gain possession of those lakes."—[*Spotswood Letters*, Vol. II, pp. 295-6.]

The country thus discovered by Governor Spotswood, and claimed by him for the British crown, became a part of the county of Essex, the western boundary being undefined. Spotsylvania was formed from Essex and other counties in 1720, and Orange from Spotsylvania in 1734.

The expedition of the "Knight of the Golden Horseshoe," trivial as it may now appear, was at the time regarded as very hazardous; and it no doubt led to important results. The glowing accounts given by Spotswood's followers, if not by himself, of the beauty and fertility of the Valley, attracted immediate attention, and induced hunters and other enterprising men to visit the country. Of such transient excursions, however, we have no authentic account; and at least sixteen years were to pass before any extensivive settlements were made by Europeans in this region.

In Vol. 1 of Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* we find various documents throwing some light upon the history of Augusta county, and from them make the following extracts:

First, in regard to the early settlement of the country. In 1727, Robert Lewis, William Lynn, Robert Brooke, Jr., James Mills, William Lewis and Beverley Robinson petitioned the Governor and Council as follows: "That your Petitioners have been at great Trouble and Charges in making Discoveries of Lands among the Mountains, and are desirous of taking up some of those Lands they have discovered; wherefore your petitioners humbly pray your Honours to grant *him* an order to take up Fifty Thousand Acres, in one or more tracts, on the head branches of James River to the West and Northwestward of the Cow Pasture, on seating thereon one Family for every Thousand Acres, and as the said Lands are very remote and lying among the great North Mountains, being about Two Hundred Miles at least from

any landing—Your Petitioners humbly pray Your Honours will grant them six years' time to seat the same."

Whether or not the petition was granted does not appear; but it shows that the country west of Staunton, and now in Bath county, had been explored, and that the Cowpasture river was known and named as early as 1727. It is certain that white people located in that region about the time, or soon after. settlements were made immediately around Staunton in 1732. The explorers no doubt came up the valley of James River, but it is strange they did not ask leave to take up some of the rich lands east of the North Mountain.

The first permanent settlement by white people in the section of country which became Augusta county, was made by natives of Germany, in 1726, on the Shenandoah River, a few miles below the present village of Port Republic. The proof of this is found in several documents published in the first volumn of the work just quoted.

The first in order of the papers referred to is a letter of William Beverley, dated April 30, 1732, to a person whose name is not given, but probably his lawyer. He says: "I am persuaded that I can get a number of people from Pennsilvania to settle on Shenandore, if I can obtain an order of Council for some Land there, and I beg ye favour of you to get me an order at the first Council held after you receive this, for fifteen thousand acres of Land, lying on both sides of ye main River of Shenandore to include an old field called and known by ye name of 'Massanutting Town,' (an Indian name), and running back and above and below the same on ye said river to include the Quantity; ye s'd main river being yt which runs at ye foot of the great ridge of mountains commonly called the blue ridge and being those we know in this Colony by ye name of ye high mountains; and because I would not have a dispute with anybody, or endeavor to supplant them, I desire you will please to search in ye Council Office, whether any order, now in force has been granted for the said Massannutting, and if there has not, then I hope I shall obtain my desire; for ye northern men are fond of buying land there, because they can buy it, for six or seven pounds pr. hundred acres, cheaper than they can take up land in pensilvania and they don't care to go as far as Wmsburg." He goes on to claim the land by right of discovery and survey, and says he has already sold some of the land "to a pensilvania man for 3 lbs. of their money pr. hundred."

But a colony of sturdy "Dutchmen" were ahead of Mr. Beverley, having settled several years before near "Massannutting." In a petition to the General Court, composed of the Governor and Council, in 1733, they say: "That about four years past they purchased five

thousand acres of land, of one Jacob Stover, and paid him a great Sum of Money for the same, Amounting to Upwards of four hundred pounds : that y'r petitioners were informed and believed the s'd Stover had a good right and title in the said land ; that immediately after the s'd" (purchase, they sold) "all their lands and sev'll other things in the county of Lancaster and Province of Pensylvania, where they then lived, and came and seated on the land they had bought of the s'd Stover ; and cleared sev'l Plantations and made great improvements thereon,—Since which, they have been Informed that the s'd land (know by the name of Massanutting) is claimed by one Wm. Beverley, Gent.—and that the s'd Beverley hath brought suit ag'st the s'd Stover for the same, in the Hon'ble the Generall Court. Y'r Petitioners further shew that should the s'd Beverley recover the said land, that he will turn y'r Pet'rs out of Doors, or oblige them to give much more for their lands and plantations then they are worth, Which will intirely ruin y'r Pet'rs. And yo'r Pet'rs cannot recover anything of the s'd Stover, to make them amends for the Loss of their s'd lands, plantations, etc., he being very poor, and is Daily Expected to Run away. Wherefore y'r Petitioners humbly hope that as they are not Privy to any fraud done by the s'd Stover in obtaining the s'd Land and yo'r pet'rs being Dutchmen and not acquainted with the laws here concerning lands, and Imagined the s'd Stover's right to be good and have run the hazard of their lives and estates in removing from Pensylvania to the s'd land, being above two hundred miles, at a time when there were very few Inhabitants in them parts of Shenando, and they frequently visited by Indians. And at this time y'r pet'rs have nine Plantations fifty-one people, old and young, thereon, and expect to have two more familys to seat on the s'd land this spring, nor did y'r pet'rs hear of the s'd Beverley's claiming the said land till they had made plantations thereon." Among the petitioners were Milhart Rangdmann, Matthew Folk and Adam Muller (Miller?) Other names are illegible.

All this shows that fifty-one white people were settled on nine plantations on the Shenandoah, near the Massanutten mountain, in 1733 ; that the settlement was made four years before, in 1729 ; and that previous to the latter date there were some, "although very few," white inhabitants there.

Among the few white inhabitants previous to 1729, was Adam Miller. He resided at and owned the place now known as Bear's Lithia Springs, near Elkton. The certificate of his naturalization issued under the hand of Governor Gooch, March 13, 1741, sets forth that he was a native of Scherstien, in Germany, and had lived on the

Shenandoah for fifteen years next before the date of the paper. Therefore, Miller must have come to the Valley in 1726. He and his associates, if any, locating out of the track of the tide of immigration which afterwards poured in, remained unknown, or unnoticed, by the English-speaking people. It is probable that Jacob Stover's title to the land was established, as both Thomas Lewis and Gabriel Jones who bought lands, in 1751, and made their homes on the Shenandoah, derived their title indirectly from him. The deed to Mr. Jones sets forth that Stover had obtained by patent a grant of 5,000 acres.

In the year 1730, John and Isaac Vanmeter, of Pennsylvania, obtained from Governor Gooch a warrant for 40,000 acres of land to be located in the lower valley, and within the present counties of Frederick, Jefferson, etc. This warrant was sold in 1731, by the grantees, to Joist Hite, also of Pennsylvania. Hite proceeded to make locations of his land, and to induce immigrants to settle on his grant. He removed his family to Virginia, in 1732, and fixed his residence a few miles south of the present town of Winchester.

Population soon flowed in to take possession of the rich lands offered by Hite; but a controversy speedily arose in regard to the proprietor's title. Lord Fairfax claimed Hite's lands as a part of his grant of the "Northern Neck." Fairfax entered a *caveat* against Hite, in 1736, and thereupon Hite brought suit against Fairfax. This suit was not finally decided till 1786, long after the death of all the original parties, when judgment was rendered in favor of Hite and his vendees. The dispute between Fairfax and Hite retarded the settlement of that part of the Valley, and induced immigrants to push their way up the Shenandoah river to regions not implicated in such controversies. In 1738 there were only two cabins where Winchester now stands. That town was established by law in 1752.

A strange uncertainty has existed as to the date and some of the circumstances of the first settlement of Augusta county. Campbell, in his "History of Virginia" (pages 427–9), undertakes to relate the events somewhat minutely, but falls into obvious mistakes. He says: "Shortly after the first settlement of Winchester (1738), John Marlin, a peddler, and John Salling, a weaver, two adventurous spirits, set out from that place" (Winchester) "to explore the 'upper country,' then almost unknown." They came up the valley of the Shenandoah, called Sherando, crossed James river, and reached the Roanoke river, where a party of Cherokee Indians surprised and captured Salling, while Marlin escaped. Salling was detained by the Indians for six years, and on being liberated returned to Williamsburg. "About the same time," says Campbell, "a considerable number of immigrants

had arrived there, among them John Lewis and John Mackey. * * Pleased with Salling's glowing picture of the country beyond the mountains, Lewis and Mackey visited it under his guidance," and immediately all three located here.

Whatever the truth may be in regard to other matters, Campbell's dates are entirely erroneous. He would seem to postpone the settlement of Lewis in the valley to the year 1744, although he immediately refers to him as residing here in 1736.

Foote, in his "Sketches of Virginia," is silent as to the date of the settlement. He mentions, upon the authority of the late Charles A. Stuart, of Greenbrier county, a descendant of John Lewis, that the latter first located on the left bank of Middle river, then called Carthrae's river, about three miles east of the macadamized turnpike. Thence he removed to Lewis' Creek, two miles east of Staunton, where he built a stone house, known as Fort Lewis, which is still standing. According to Foote, Mackey and Salling came with Lewis, or at the same time, Mackey making his residence at Buffalo Gap, and Salling his at the forks of James river, below the Natural Bridge.

We are satisfied that Mackey and Salling did explore the Valley, but that it was about the year 1726, before there was any settlement by white people west of the Blue Ridge. Withers, in his "Border Warfare," gives the following account of Salling's captivity:

Salling, he says, was taken to the country now known as Tennessee, where he remained for some years. In company with a party of Cherokees he went on a hunting expedition to the salt licks of Kentucky, and was there captured by a band of Illinois Indians, with whom the Cherokees were at war. He was taken to Kaskaskia and adopted into the family of a squaw whose son had been killed. While with these Indians he several times accompanied them down the Mississippi river, below the mouth of the Arkansas, and once to the Gulf of Mexico. The Spaniards in Louisiana desiring an interpreter, purchased him of his Indian mother, and some of them took him to Canada. He was there redeemed by the French governor of that province, who sent him to the Dutch settlement in New York, "whence he made his way home after an absence of six years."—[*Border Warfare*, page 42.] Peyton, in his "History of Augusta County," gives an account of the coming of Lewis to the Valley quite different from Campbell's version of the matter, and somewhat at variance with Foote's narrative. He says Lewis "had been some time in America, when, in 1732, Joist Hite and a party of pioneers set out to settle upon a grant of 40,000 acres of land in the Valley. * * Lewis joined this party, came to the Valley, and was the first white settler of Augusta." Lewis is

represented as coming, not from Williamsburg, but from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and the date of his arrival here is given as "the summer of 1732." These statements and the authority upon which they are made appear conclusive of the matter.

John Lewis and his sturdy sons were just the men to battle with the adverse circumstances which surrounded them in this wilderness country. He was a native of Donegal county, Province of Ulster, Ireland, and of Scottish descent. He came to America after a bloody affray with an oppressive landlord in Ireland. It is stated, however, that upon investigation of the affray, Lewis was formally pronounced free from blame. The story as related is briefly as follows: An Irish lord who owned the fee of the land leased by Lewis undertook to eject the latter in a lawless manner. With a band of retainers he repaired to the place, and on the refusal of the tenant to vacate, fired into the house killing an invalid brother of Lewis and wounding his wife. Thereupon, Lewis rushed from the house and dispersed his assailants, but not until their leader and his steward were killed.

Mrs. Agatha Towles, a granddaughter of Colonel John Lewis, in a brief memoir, written by her in 1837, states that Colonel Lewis preceded his family to America, and lived in Pennsylvania and Virginia three years before their arrival. A brother of his went from Wales to Portugal, and from thence probably to America, but Colonel Lewis came directly from Ireland. After his encounter with "the Irish Lord," he took refuge in a house on the banks of the Boyne, and as soon as a ship was ready to sail, embarked for America. Mrs. Lewis and her children came over in a vessel with three hundred passengers, all Presbyterians, and landed on the Delaware river, after a voyage of three months.

It is a question what number of sons John Lewis had. Various writers state that he brought with him to America four sons, viz: Samuel, Thomas, Andrew, and William, and that a fifth, Charles, was born after the settlement here, but others mention only four, omitting Samuel. Ex-Governor Gilmer, of Georgia, a great-grandson of John Lewis, gives an account of the family in his book called "Georgians," printed in 1854, and is silent as to Samuel. Governor Gilmer's mother, a daughter of Thomas Lewis, lived to a great age, and it is hardly possible that she could have been ignorant of an uncle named Samuel, and that her son should not have named him if there had been such an one. Mrs. Towles also gives the names of Colonel Lewis's children, four sons and two daughters, but says nothing of a son named Samuel. All the others were prominent in the early history of the country, and we shall have occasion to speak of them often in the course of our narrative.

The permanent settlement of Lewis was in the vicinity of the twin hills, "Betsy Bell and Mary Gray," which were so called by him, or some early settler, after two similar hills in County Tyrone, Ireland.

Concurrently with the settlement of Lewis, or immediately afterward, a flood of immigrants poured into the country. There was no landlord or proprietor to parcel out the domain.

> The world was all before them where to choose
> Their place of rest, and Providence their guide ;

and for several years the settlers helped themselves to homes without let or hindrance. It is believed that all the earliest settlers came from Pennsylvania and up the Valley of the Shenandoah. It was several years before any settlers entered the Valley from the east, and through the gaps in the Blue Ridge. We may accompany, in imagination, these immigrants on their way from the settlements north of the Potomac, through the wilderness, to their future home. There was, of course, no road, and for the first comers no path to guide their steps, except, perhaps, the trail of the Indian or buffalo. They came at a venture, climbing the hills, fording the creeks and rivers, and groping through the forests. At night they rested on the ground, with no roof over them but the broad expanse of heaven. After selecting a spot for a night's bivouac, and tethering their horses, fire was kindled by means of flint and steel, and their frugal meal was prepared. Only a scanty supply of food was brought along, for, as game abounded, they mainly "subsisted off the country." Before lying down to rest, many of them did not omit to worship the God of their fathers, and invoke His guidance and protection. The moon and stars looked down peacefully as they slumbered, while bears, wolves and panthers prowled around. It was impossible to bring wagons, and all their effects were transported on horseback. The list of articles was meagre enough. Clothing, some bedding, guns and ammunition, a few cooking utensils, seed corn, axes, saws, &c., and the Bible, were indispensable, and were transported at whatever cost of time and labor. Houses and furniture had to be provided after the place of settlement was fixed upon. We may imagine the leaders of each band, on arriving at a well-wooded and well-watered spot, exclaiming : "This is my rest, and here will I dwell." In the meanwhile there was no shelter from rain and storm. The colonial government encouraged the settlement of the Valley as a means of protecting the lower country from Indian incursions. The settlers were almost exclusively of the Scotch-Irish race, natives of the north of Ireland, but of Scottish ancestry. Most of those who came during the first three or four decades were Dissenters from the Church of England, of the Presbyterian faith, and vic-

tims of religious persecution in their native land. They were generally a profoundly religious people, bringing the Bible with them, whatever they had to leave behind, and as soon as possible erected log meeting houses in which to assemble for the worship of God, with school-houses hard by.

The first settlers located in the hilly and rocky parts of the country on account of the wood and water found there; the comparatively level and more fertile sections were treeless and without numerous springs.

Although the Church of England was established by law throughout the colony, and a spirit of intolerance inseparable from such a system prevailed in lower Virginia, the Dissenters of the Valley, as far as we know, had comparatively little to complain of in this respect.

As early as 1734, Michael Woods, an Irish immigrant, with three sons and three sons-in-law, came up the Valley, and pushing his way through Wood's Gap, (now called Jarman's,) settled on the eastern side of the Blue Ridge. Two of the sons-in-law were Peter and William Wallace. Samuel Wallace, son of Peter, removed to the Caldwell settlement, now Charlotte county, married Esther Baker, and was the father of Caleb Wallace, a distinguished man in Kentucky, born in 1742.

At an early day, the people living on the east side of the Blue Ridge received the soubriquet of Tuckahoes, from a small stream of that name, it is said, while the people on the west side were denominated Cohees, from their common use of the term "Quoth he," or "Quo her," for "said he."

For about twenty years the immigrants were unmolested by the Indians. "Some," says Foote, "who had known war in Ireland, lived and died in that peace in this wilderness for which their hearts had longed in their native land." During this halcyon time, the young Lewises, McClanahans, Mathewses, Campbells, and others were growing up and maturing for many a desperate encounter and field of battle.

The early settlers in the Valley probably thought little and cared less as to what county of Virginia their lands belonged—Spotsylvania county, however, had jurisdiction from the dates of the first settlements—1726–1732—till 1734, when Orange county was constituted. After that date, for some years, the Valley was a part of Orange, and from the records of the Court of that county we have obtained some items of more or less interest.

The County Court of Orange was opened January 21, 1734, and among the justices included in the "Commission of the Peace," issued

by Governor Gooch, were James Barbour, Zachary Taylor, Joist Hite, Morgan Morgan, Benjamin Borden and the ubiquitous John Smith.

James Barbour was the grandfather of Governor James Barbour and Judge P. P. Barbour.

Zachary Taylor was the grandfather of the twelfth President of the United States of the same name.

Joist Hite and Morgan Morgan lived in the lower Valley. The latter was a native of Wales, and about 1726 (it is said) removed from Pennsylvania to Virginia, and erected the first cabin in the Valley south of the Potomac, and in the present county of Berkeley. He also erected the first Episcopal church in the Valley, about 1740, at the place now called Bunker Hill. He died in 1799, leaving a son of the same name.

According to tradition, Colonel John Lewis met Benjamin Borden in Williamsburg in 1736, and invited him to accompany him home, which led to the acquisition by Borden of a large tract of land in the present county of Rockbridge, known as "Borden's Grant." We think it likely, however, that Colonel Lewis first encountered Borden at Orange Court. In 1734, Borden probably lived in the lower Valley, then a part of Orange county, as he certainly did ten years later. When justices of the peace were appointed for Frederick county, in November, 1743, he was named as one of them, but did not qualify, having died about that time. His will was admitted to record by Frederick County Court at December term, 1743, and his son, Benjamin, succeeded to the management of his Rockbridge lands.

John Smith cannot be located. We only know certainly that he was not the Captain John Smith, of Augusta, who figured in the Indian wars after 1755. He may have been the "Knight of the Golden Horseshoe," named Smith, who accompanied Governor Spotswood in his visit to the Valley in 1716.

The first allusion in the records of Orange to Valley people is under date of July 20, 1736. On that day Morgan Morgan presented the petition "of inhabitants of the western side of Shenando," which was ordered to be certified to the General Assembly. What the petition was about is not stated. The name now written "Shenandoah" was formerly put in various ways—"Shenando," "Sherando," "Sherundo," etc.

The early settlers in the Valley were in the eye of the law mere "squatters on the public domain." But the authorities at Williamsburg had by no means relinquished the rights of the British crown, as held by them, to the paramount title to the lands of the Valley. In assertion of those rights, and without ability on the part of the people

of the Valley to resist, on September 6, 1736, William Gooch, "Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia," in pursuance of an order in council, dated August 12, 1736, and in the name of "George II, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith," etc., issued a patent for the "Manor of Beverley." The patentees were William Beverley, of Essex; Sir John Randolph, of Williamsburg; Richard Randolph, of Henrico, and John Robinson, of King and Queen; and the grant was of 118,491 acres of land lying "in the county of Orange, between the great mountains, on the river Sherando," etc. On the next day, September 7, the other grantees released their interest in the patent to Beverley. This patent embraced a large part of the present county of Augusta, south as well as north of Staunton.

William Beverley was a son of Robert Beverley, the historian of Virginia, and grandson of the Robert Beverley who commanded the royal forces at the time of "Bacon's Rebellion." He was a lawyer, clerk of Essex County Court from 1720 to 1740, a member of the House of Burgesses and of the Governor's Council, and County-Lieutenant of Essex. He died about the first of March, 1756. At the time of his death, his only son, Robert, was a minor.*

The question is often asked, in what part of the county was Beverley's Manor? Readers generally could not ascertain from a perusal of the patent, and we have applied to several practical surveyors, the best authorities on the subject, for information. To Messrs. John G. Stover and James H. Callison we are indebted for the following description, which, although not perfectly accurate, will answer the present purpose: Beginning at a point on the east side of South river, about four miles below Waynesborough, thence up the same side of the river to a point opposite to or above Greenville; thence by several lines west or southwest to a point near Summerdean; thence northeast to Trimble's, three miles south of Swoope's Depot; thence northeast by several lines, crossing the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike, five or six miles, and the Churchville road about three miles, from Staunton, to a point not known to the writer; and thence east by one or more lines, crossing the macadamized turnpike at or near Augusta church, to the

*Robert Beverley died near the close of the century, leaving several sons, two of whom, Robert and Carter, were his executors. Carter came to Staunton, and lived for some time in considerable style at the place now called "Kalorama." He, however, became involved in debt, and about the year 1810 his handsome furniture and equipage were sold by the sheriff under executions. He then left Staunton, and afterwards was prominently implicated in the famous charge of "bargain and corruption" preferred against Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams.

beginning. The description given in the patent begins at five white oaks on a narrow point between Christie's creek and Beaver run (Long Meadow creek,) near the point where those streams enter Middle river, and thence north seventy degrees west, etc.

From the familiar mention in the patent of various natural features of the country—"Christie's Creek," "Beaver run," "the Great Springs," "Black Spring," etc., it is evident that the country had by that time, in the short space of four years, been explored and to a great extent settled. The grant, of course, covered the lands already occupied by settlers. Beverley, however, seems to have dealt towards the people with a liberal spirit; at any rate, there is no proof or tradition of anything to the contrary. On February 21, 1738, he conveyed to John Lewis 2,071 acres, a part of the Beverley Manor grant, the deed being on record in Orange county within which the grant then lay.

Benjamin Borden,* a native of New Jersey, and agent of Lord Fairfax in the lower Valley, obtained from Governor Gooch a patent dated October 3, 1734, for a tract of land in Frederick county, which was called "Borden's Manor." At the same time he was promised 100,000 acres on the waters of James River, west of the Blue Ridge, as soon as he should locate a hundred settlers on the tract. The story of his visit to John Lewis in the spring of 1736, taking with him to Williamsburg a buffalo calf which he presented to the Governor, and thus received his grant, often repeated, is now generally discredited.

Beverley and Borden were indefatigable in introducing settlers from Europe. James Patton was a very efficient agent in this enterprise. He was a native of Ireland, was bred to the sea, and had served in the royal navy. Afterward he became the owner of "a passenger ship," and traded to Hobbes' Hole, Virginia, on the Rappahannock river. He is said to have crossed the Atlantic twenty-five times, bringing Irish immigrants, and returning with cargoes of peltries and tobacco.—[R. A. Brock, "Dinwiddie Papers," Vol. I, page 8.]

Most of the people introduced by Patton were the class known as "Redemptioners," or "indentured servants," who served a stipulated time to pay the cost of their transportation. ‡ The records of the county court of Augusta show that this class of people were numerous

* His name is often erroneously written *Burden*. From one of the family Bordentown, N. J., was so called.

‡ Some persons of this class were well educated, and were employed as teachers. The maternal grandfather of the Rev. Dr. Baxter purchased a young Irishman, who called himself McNamara, and the father of the Rev. Dr. Alexander purchased another named Reardon, and to these, respectively, were Drs. Baxter and Alexander indebted for their early instruction in Latin, &c.

in the county previous to the Revolutionary war. They were sold and treated as slaves for the time being. Up to the Revolution there were comparatively few African slaves in the Valley.

Borden's tract was South of Beverley's Manor, and in the present county of Rockbridge. The first settlers on the tract were Ephraim McDowell and his family. His daughter, Mary Greenlee, related in a deposition taken in 1806, and still extant, the circumstances under which her father went there. Her brother, James McDowell, had come into Beverley's Manor during the spring of 1737, and planted a crop of corn, near Woods' Gap; and in the fall her father, her brother John, and her husband and herself came to occupy the settlement. Before they reached their destination, and after they had arranged their camp on a certain evening at Linnville Creek, (now Rockingham,) Borden arrived and asked permission to spend the night with them, being doubtless on his way to his tract from his home in the lower Valley. He informed them of his grant, and offered them inducements to go there. The next day they came on to the house of John Lewis, and there it was finally arranged that the party should settle in Borden's tract. Ephraim McDowell was then a very aged man, and lived to be over one hundred years old. When a youth of 16 he was one of the defenders of Londonderry. He and his family located on Timber Ridge, originally called "Timber Grove," being attracted by the forest trees on the ridge, which were scarce elsewhere in the region. Borden offered a tract of one hundred acres to any one who should build a cabin on it, with the privilege of purchasing more at fifty shillings per hundred acres. Each cabin secured to him one thousand acres. Mrs. Mary Greenlee related in her deposition, referred to, that an Irish girl, named Peggy Millhollan, a servant of James Bell, dressed herself in men's clothes and secured five or six cabin rights. John Patterson, who was employed to count the cabins, was surprised to find so many people named Millhollan, but the trick was not discovered till after the return was made. Among the settlers in "Borden's grant" were William McCausland, William Sawyers, Robert Campbell, Samuel Woods, John Mathews (father of Sampson and George), Richard Woods, John Hays and his son, Charles and Samuel Walker. Borden obtained his patent November 8, 1739.*

* He died in the latter part of 1743, in Frederick, leaving three sons, Benjamin, John and Joseph, and several daughters. The next spring his son Benjamin appeared in Rockbridge (as it is now) with authority under his father's will to adjust all matters with the settlers on the grant. He had, however, been in the settlement before his father's death.

Mrs. Greenlee says Benjamin Borden, Jr., was "altogether illiterate," and did not make a good impression on his first arrival, but he proved to be an upright

On May 21, 1737, the Grand Jury of Orange presented the Rev. John Beckett "for exacting more for the marriage fee than the law directs." On publication of the banns he exacted fifteen shillings. The trial came off on the 22d of September following, and the minister, being found guilty, was fined five hundred pounds of tobacco. But Mr. Beckett's troubles did not end there. On November 25, 1738, he was reported to court "for concealing a tithable."

In his work called "Old Churches and Families," etc., Bishop Meade says that the Rev. Mr. Beckett was regularly elected minister of St. Mark's parish, in May, 1733, and continued until the year 1739. He says further: "From something on the vestry book a year or two before, there would seem to have been a serious cause of complaint against Mr. Beckett." The proceedings in court above mentioned give a clew to the cause of trouble.

Under date of September 22, 1737, we have the following: "William Williams, a Presbyterian minister, Gent., having taken the oaths appointed by act of Parliament," etc., "and certified his intention of holding his meetings at his own plantation and on the plantation of Morgan Bryan," it was admitted to record, etc. From subsequent mention of Mr. Williams, it appears that he lived in what is now Frederick or Berkeley. He was engaged in trade, probably as a merchant, and was evidently too busy a trader to do much preaching. For several years he furnished more business to the court than any other person. He brought suit after suit against his customers, it is presumed, and was uniformly successful, obtaining judgment in every case. On the 23d of February, 1738, two men "sent up" by Morgan Morgan, J. P., on the charge of robbing the house of Mr. Williams, were examined and acquitted. At July court, 1738, a suit brought by Mr. Wil-

man, and won the confidence of the people. The saying: "As good as Ben. Borden's bill," passed into a proverb. He married Mrs. Magdalene McDowell, (originally a Miss Woods, of Rockfish), widow of John McDowell, who was killed by Indians in December, 1742, and by her had two daughters, Martha and Hannah. The former became the wife of Robert Harvey, the latter never married.

Benjamin Borden, Jr., died of small-pox in 1753. His will was admitted to record by the County Court of Augusta, November 21, 1753. The executors appointed were John Lyle, Archibald Alexander and testator's wife, but the first named declined to serve. His personal estate was large for the time. During her second widowhood Mrs. Magdalene Borden contracted a third marriage with Colonel John Bowyer.

Joseph Borden, brother of Benjamin, Jr., was frequently in the settlement after the latter's death. In course of time he instituted the chancery suit of Borden vs. Bowyer, &c., out of which grew the cause of Peck vs. Borden, both of which have been pending in the courts of Augusta county for a hundred years, more or less.

liams against the inevitable John Smith and some thirty or forty more, "for signing a certain scandalous paper reflecting on ye said Williams," came on. The preacher was again triumphant. Many of the signers of the "scandalous paper" humbly acknowledged their error, begging pardon, were excused, paying costs." At September Court the suit was abated as to John Smith on account of his death. Which John Smith this was we have no means of ascertaining. He probably was a neighbor of Mr. Williams.

We next find John Smith (probably the Squire) and Benjamin Borden in limbo. On October 22, 1737, "Zachary Lewis, Gent., attorney for our Sovereign Lord, the King, informed the Court that, at the houses of Louis Stilfy and John Smith, certain persons, viz : the said John Smith, John Pitts, Benjamin Borden" and others "do keep unlawful and tumultuous meetings tending to rebellion," and it was ordered that the sheriff take said persons into custody. At November Court, "Benjamin Borden, Gent.," and his roistering and rebellious companions appeared, were examined, and, "acknowledging their error," were dismissed with costs. Whether the Benjamin Borden referred to was the father, or his son of the same name, we do not know.

On the 28th of April, 1738, it was "ordered that ordinary keepers at Shenendo sell their Virginia brandy at the rate of six shillings per gallon." All the country west of the Blue Ridge was then known by the various names afterwards written Shenandoah.

William Beverley's deed to "William Cathrey," the first of a long series of deeds by Beverley to various persons, was admitted to record September 28th, 1738.

On the same day it was "ordered that the Sheriff of Sharrando give public notice"—exactly what cannot be made out from the writing. It related, however, to tithables, a list of whom was to be delivered to William Russell, Gent. It is presumed that a deputy sheriff of Orange county lived west of the Blue Ridge.

Missionaries, says Foote, speedily followed the immigrants into the Valley. A supplication from the people of Beverley Manor, in the back parts of Virginia," was laid before the Presbytery of Donegal, Pennsylvania, September 2, 1737, requesting ministerial supplies. "The Presbytery judge it not expedient, for several reasons, to supply them this winter." The next year, however, the Rev. James Anderson was sent by the Synod of Philadelphia to intercede with Governor Gooch in behalf of the Presbyterians of Virginia. Mr. Anderson visited the settlements in the Valley, and during that year, 1738, at the

house of John Lewis, preached the first regular sermon ever delivered in this section of the country.*

The proceedings of Synod, just referred to, were taken "upon the supplication of John Caldwell,‡ in behalf of himself and many families of our persuasion, who are about to settle in the back parts of Virginia, desiring that some members of the Synod may be appointed to wait on that government to solicit their favor in behalf of our interest in that place."—[Extract from records of Synod, quoted by Foote, First Series, page 103.]

Mr. Anderson was the bearer of the following letter :

"To the Honourable William Gooch, Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Virginia, the humble address of the Presbyterian ministers convened in Synod May 30th, 1738. May it please your Honour, we take leave to address you in behalf of a considerable number of our brethren who are meditating a settlement in the remote parts of your government, and are of the same persuasion as the Church of Scotland. We thought it our duty to acquaint your Honour with this design, and to ask your favour in allowing them the liberty of their consciences, and of worshipping God in a way agreeable to the principles of their education. Your Honour is sensible that those of our profession in Europe have been remarkable for their inviolable attachment to the house of Hanover, and have upon all occasions manifested an unspotted fidelity to our gracious Sovereign, King George, and we doubt not but these, our brethren, will carry the same loyal principles to the most distant settlements, where their lot may be cast, which will ever influence them to the most dutiful submission to the government which is placed over them. This, we trust, will recommend them to your Honour's countenance and protection, and merit the free enjoyment of their civil and religious liberties. We pray for the divine blessing upon your person and government, and beg to subscribe ourselves your Honour's most humble and obedient servants."

To this document the Governor replied, in a letter to the Moderator of the Synod, as follows :

"Sir.—By the hands of Mr. Anderson I received an address signed by you in the name of your brethren of the Synod of Philadelphia. And as I have always inclined to favour the people who have lately removed from other provinces to settle on the western side of our great mountains, so you may be assured that no interruption shall be given

* Mr. Anderson was a native of Scotland. He died in 1740 at his home in Pennsylvania.

‡ John Caldwell lived in Charlotte county, and was the grand-father of John C. Calhoun of South Carolina.

to any minister of your profession, who shall come among them, so as they conform themselves to the rules prescribed by the Act of Toleration in England, by taking the oaths enjoined thereby, and registering the place of their meeting, and behave themselves peaceably towards the government. This you may please to communicate to the Synod as an answer to theirs. Your most humble servant, William Gooch."

The loyalty of the Scotch-Irish settlers of the Valley to the house of Hanover is not over-stated by the Synod in their address to the Governor. Indeed, that spirit was characteristic of their race. Froude remarks, in substance, that of all the people of Ireland, the Presbyterians of Ulster had most cause to complain of the severities of the British government, for while uniformly loyal they received no favors in return.

The Governor, in his reply, alludes to the "toleration" of Dissenters provided by law. This was on certain conditions. Their places of worship, or meeting-houses, were required to be licensed and registered in the county courts. In eastern Virginia the number of such places in a county was limited, but in the Valley there appears to have been no restriction of the kind. All ministers of the gospel were obliged to take divers and sundry oaths, and especially to abjure the "pretender" to the throne of Great Britain, the Pope of Rome, and the doctrine of transubstantiation. The people were not liable to fine for not attending the parish churches, but they were compelled to contribute to the support of the established religion, and their ministers were not allowed to celebrate the rite of marriage. Until the year 1781 any couple desiring to be legally married had to send for or go to some minister of the Established Church, however far off he might live.

Governor Gooch is regarded as being averse to persecuting measures, yet he is supposed to have encouraged the settlement of the Valley chiefly from a desire to remove the frontier of civilization further from Williamsburg, and to place a hardy and enterprising race of people between the capital and the savage Indians.

CHAPTER II.

FROM 1738 TO THE FIRST COUNTY COURT.

Up to the time to which we have now arrived, the whole region west of the Blue Ridge constituted a part of the county of Orange. In the year 1738, however, on November 1, the General Assembly of the colony of Virginia passed an act establishing the counties of Frederick and Augusta. The new counties were so named in honor of Frederick, Prince of Wales, son of King George II, and father of George III, and his wife, the Princess Augusta.* The act separated all the territory west of the Blue Ridge, and extending in other directions "to the utmost limits of Virginia," from Orange county, and erected it into the two counties named. The line between them was "from the head spring of Hedgman's river to the head spring of the river Potomack." Augusta was much the larger of the two counties. It embraced, northward, the present county of Rockingham and a part of Page; to the south, it extended to the border of Virginia; and to the west and northwest, it extended over the whole territory claimed by Great Britain in those quarters. It included nearly all of West Virginia, the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and, as contended by Virginians, a part of western Pennsylvania.

* Prince Frederick died March 21, 1751, after a short illness. According to Thomas Carlyle, he was "a poor dissolute, flabby fellow-creature." The following epigram, which Carlyle compliments as "an uncommonly successful piece of its kind," expresses the feeling of the country about him:

Here lies Prince Fred,
Who was alive and is dead:
Had it been his Father,
I had much rather;
Had it been his brother,
Sooner than any other;
Had it been his sister,
There's no one would have missed her;
Had it been his whole generation,
Best of all for the Nation;
But since it's only Fred,
There's no more to be said.

Princess Augusta fell into disrepute after the death of her husband, and was accused of undue intimacy with her confidential adviser, Lord Bute. She and Bute ruled the young King, George III, for some years with a rod of iron.—Macaulay's Essay on Chatham.

The act provided that the two new counties should remain part of the county of Orange and parish of Saint Mark until it should be made to appear to the Governor and council that there was "a sufficient number of inhabitants for appointing justices of the peace and other officers, and erecting courts therein." In the meanwhile, the inhabitants were exempted from "the payment of all public, county and parish levies in the county of Orange and parish of Saint Mark" ; but no allowance should be made "to any person for killing wolves within the limits of the said new counties." The act further provided for the payment of all levies and officers' fees "in money or tobacco at three farthings per pound," and also for the election, by freeholders and housekeepers, of twelve persons in each county, to constitute the vestries of the respective parishes as required by the laws relating to the Established Church. As we shall see, the county of Augusta was not fully organized and started on its independent career till the year 1745.

The business of the people of Augusta was transacted at Orange Court-house till December, 1745, when the Court of Augusta was organized. In the meantime all persons in the Valley "having suits to prosecute, pleas to enter," etc., had to take the long trip on horseback, through the gaps in the mountain and by "bridle paths" to Orange, spending two or three days on the way. Moreover, as there was no minister of the Established Church in the Valley till 1747, all couples living here and wishing to be married, had to travel across the Blue Ridge to Orange, or elsewhere, in search of a minister authorized by law to perform the service.

William Beverley's deeds to John Lewis, George Hudson, George Robertson and Patrick Campbell were admitted to record February 22, 1739.

On the same day, "John Lewis, Gent., having taken the oaths and subscribed the Test, was sworn into his military commission accordingly." The title, or rank, is not given, but it was no doubt that of Colonel.

On the 28th of February, John McDowell, who settled in Borden's Grant, made oath at Orange court "that he imported himself, Magdaline, his wife, and Samuel McDowell, his son, and John Rutter, his servant, at his own charge from Great Britain, in the year 1737, to dwell in this colony, and that this is the first time of proving their rights in order to obtain land pursuant to the royal instructions."

Zachary Taylor obtained license to keep an ordinary, March 22, 1739.

And now we have the first reference to a public road west of the Blue Ridge. June, 1739, "John Poage, David Davis and George

Hutchison having, according to an order of Court, viewed and laid off a road from Beverley Manor," etc., "It is ordered that the said road be cleared from John Young's at the North Mountain to the top of the Blue Ridge to the bounds of Goochland county." The order of court directing the laying off of the road was not found.

Early in 1740, or shortly before, there was a great influx of population into the Valley. On the 22d of May, 1740, fourteen heads of families appeared at Orange Court to "prove their importation." The first order of the series is as follows:

Alexander Breckinridge came into Court and made oath that he imported himself, and ———, John, George, Robert, ———, Smith, ———, and Letitia Breckinridge from Ireland to Philadelphia, and from thence to this colony, at his own charges, and this is the first time of proving his and their rights in order to obtain land, which is ordered to be certified." He, however, acquired by purchase from Beverley 245 acres, on March 24, 1741.

The blanks above indicate names which are illegible in the record book. Of only one of Alexander Breckinridge's children, Robert, have we any particular account. Possibly most of the others died young.* There is no mention in the order of the daughter named Sarah, but she was the wife of Robert McClanahan when the family came to the Valley.

On the same day with Breckinridge, the following settlers in the Valley appeared in Court and proved their importation in like manner, all having come from Ireland through Philadelphia, viz:

James Bell and his children, John, Margaret and Elizabeth. These were the "Long Glade Bells."

John Trimble and his children, Ann, Margaret and Mary.

John Hays and his children, Rebecca, Charles, Andrew, Barbara, Joan and Robert.

Patrick Hays and his children, Francis, Joan, William, Margaret, Catharine and Ruth.

William Brown and his children, Mary, Robert, Hugh and Margaret.

Robert Patterson, his wife Grace, and his children, Thomas, Mary and Elizabeth.

David Logan, his wife, Jane, and his children, Mary and William,

Robert Poage, his wife, Elizabeth, and his children, Margaret, John, Martha, Sarah, George, Mary, Elizabeth, William and Robert.

* In a deed from Wm. Null to John Coalter, Nov. 28, 1750, for 210 acres of land on Mill Creek, mention is made of Robert McClanahan's lines and the corner "to the grave-yard of John Breckinridge who was murdered by Indians."

John Anderson, his wife, Jane, and his children, Esther, Mary and Margaret.

George Anderson, his wife, Elizabeth, and his children, William, Margaret, John and Frances.

Samuel Scott, his wife, Jane, and son, John.

Robert Scott, his wife, Ann, and his children, Mary, George and Esther.

David Wilson, his wife, Charity, and son, James.

James Caldwell and his children, Mary, Jean, Agnes, John, Sarah and Samuel.

John Stevenson and his children, Sarah and Mary.

John Preston came in with Breckinridge and others, but postponed proving his importation till 1746, when he appeared before the court of Augusta, "to partake of his Majesty's bounty for taking up lands."

On the 26th of June, 1740, the following Augusta people "proved their importation," having come from Ireland through Philadelphia, viz:

Hugh Campbell and his children, Esther and Sarah.

Robert Young and his children, Agnes, John, Samuel and James.

John Smith, his wife, Margaret, his children, Abraham, Henry, Daniel, John and Joseph, and Robert McDowell. This was Captain John Smith, of Augusta, who became prominent during the Indian wars, as did his sons, Abraham, Daniel and John.

Henry Downs was presented by the Grand Jury, November 27, 1740, "for Sabbath-breaking by travelling with loaded horses to Sharrendo," on the information of John and William Dewitt.

The Presbyterians of Augusta continued their "supplications" to the Presbytery of Donegal for a pastor to reside amongst them. In 1739, they first applied for the services of the Rev. Mr. Thompson who came and preached for a time. Next they presented a call to the Rev. John Craig. At a meeting of Presbytery, in September, 1740, "Robert Doak and Daniel Dennison, from Virginia, declared in the name of the congregation of Shenandoah, their adherence to the call formerly presented to Mr. Craig;" and on the next day Mr. Craig "was set apart for the work of the Gospel ministry in the south part of Beverley's Manor."

The Rev. John Craig was born in 1709, in County Antrim, Ireland. He was educated at Edinburgh; landed at New Castle upon the Delaware, August 17, 1734; and was licensed by the Presbytery to preach in 1737. As stated, he came to Augusta in 1740. "I was sent," he recorded, "to a new settlement in Virginia of our own people, near three hundred miles distant."

At his death, in 1774, Mr. Craig left a manuscript giving some account of himself and the times in which he lived.

He married June 11, 1744, "a young gentlewoman of a good family and character, born and brought up in the same neighborhood where I was born, daughter of Mr. George Russel, by whom I had nine children."*

Referring to his settlement in Augusta, he says: "The place was a new settlement, without a place of worship, or any church order, a wilderness in the proper sense, and a few Christian settlers in it with numbers of the heathens travelling among us, but generally civil, though some persons were murdered by them about that time. They march about in small companies from fifteen to twenty, sometimes more or less. They must be supplied at any house they call at, with victuals, or they become their own stewards and cooks, and spare nothing they choose to eat and drink."

It is interesting to learn how the Dissenters of the Valley managed their congregational affairs; and here is a copy of the obligation subscribed by the people of Tinkling Spring: "Know all men by these presents, yt us, ye undernamed subscribers, do nominate, appoint and constitute our trusty and well-beloved friends, James Patton, John

* The first, third and fifth children died young, and another must have died after the narrative was written, as we can learn of only five of his children who came to maturity.

His only son was named George. He married a Miss Kennerly, and removed to Kanawha. The daughters of Mr. Craig were,—

I. Patience, wife of William Hamilton. This couple had three sons and five daughters, viz.:

1. John C. Hamilton, married Sally Craig—no relation. The late William and John Hamilton, of Christian's creek, were sons of John and Sally.

2. Hugh Hamilton, married Betsy, daughter of Samuel Clark of Staunton. He went to Missouri and died there. His son, Dr. William Hamilton, was long an assistant physician at the Western Lunatic Asylum.

3. Andrew Hamilton, married Nancy Craig—no relation.

II. Mary Craig, daughter of the Rev. John Craig, married Charles Baskin, who was baptized by Mr. Craig, March 15, 1741, Captain Baskin, as he was called, was badly wounded at the battle of Guilford, in 1781. He had two children, Captain John C. Baskin, of the war of 1812, and a daughter, who married William Grimes.

III. Joanna Craig, married John Hamilton, a brother of William, husband of Patience. No children.

IV. The name of Mr. Craig's fourth daughter is not known. She married an Atwater, and had two children: John, who died in service during the war of 1812, and Hannah, who married George Craig, of Putnam county.

Finley, George Hutchison, John Christian, and Alexander Breckinridge, to manage our public affairs; to choose and purchase a piece of ground and to build our meeting-house upon it; to collect our minister's salary, and to pay off all charges relating to said affair; to lay off the people in proportion to this end; to place seats in our said meeting house, which we do hereby promise to reimburse them, they always giving us a month's warning by an advertisement on the meet-house door, a majority of the above five persons, provided all be apprised of their meeting, their acting shall stand; and these persons above-named shall be accountable to the minister and session twice every year for all their proceeds relating to the whole affair. To which we subscribe our names in the presence of Rev. Mr. John Craig, August 11th, 1741."

One of the subscribers having failed to pay his subscription, or assessment, was sued in the County Court, and the commissioners obtained a verdict and judgment against him for six pounds.

When James Patton located in the county he took up his abode on South River above Waynesborough, at or near, the present Porcelain Works, and called the place Springhill. Beverley's patent embraced the land occupied by Patton, and the latter had no deed till February 21, 1749, when Beverley conveyed to him the tract, 1,398 acres, more or less, for the nominal consideration of five shillings, [83⅓ cents].

Outside the large land grants to Beverley, Borden and others, patents were issued from time to time for small tracts to various persons. One of the earliest of this class, which we have seen, is dated September 1, 1740, and is signed in the name of King George II, by James Blair, acting Governor. It granted to James Anderson 270 acres "lying in that part of Orange county called Augusta, on a branch of Cathry's river, called Anderson's branch," &c., in consideration of the importation of five persons to dwell within this our Colony and Dominion of Virginia, whose names are: John Anderson, Jane Anderson, Esther Anderson, Mary Anderson, and Margaret Anderson; and the further consideration of five shillings,—provided the "fee rent" of one shilling for every fifty acres be paid annually, and three acres in fifty be cultivated and improved within three years. The tract is probably the same now owned by Thomas S. Hogshead, near Stribling Springs. But no stream in that neighborhood is known at this day as Anderson's branch.

Benjamin Borden, (probably Benjamin, Jr.), appeared at Orange Court, February 26, 1741, as a peaceable subject of the King in fear of his life. On the day mentioned, he "swore the peace" against George

Moffett, making oath that "he goes in danger of his life, or some bodily hurt, by the said George Moffett." The latter appeared in Court, and was regularly "bound over to keep the peace," his securities being James Cathray and John Christian. Moffett was probably an uncle of Col. George Moffett, long a prominent citizen of Augusta, who was, however, only six years old in 1741. As we shall see, a person of that name lived in Borden's tract in 1742.

We continue our extracts from the records of Orange County Court:

February 26, 1741, "John Craig, a Presbyterian minister, in open Court took the oaths appointed by act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and the oath of abjuration, and subscribed the Test: which is ordered to be certified."

William Beverley, on February 14, 1742, conveyed to Mr. Craig 335 acres of land,—no doubt the tract on Lewis's creek, where Mr. Craig lived, afterwards owned by Benjamin T. Reid, and now (1887,) by the heirs of Robert S. Harnsberger.

James Patton brought sundry suits in 1741, and from that time till 1746, he and Beverley often appeared in court as litigants.

William Thompson qualified as administrator of John Campbell in 1741, John Lewis security. The decedent was the ancestor of Colonel Arthur Campbell, General William Campbell and many others.

A new "Commission of the Peace" was issued by the Governor in the fall of 1741, and on the 3d of November the Justices were sworn in. Among them were John Lewis, James Patton, and John Buchanan, all of whom sat in court that day.

William Beverley qualified as County Lieutenant of Orange and also of Augusta, November 3, 1741.

Under date of November 27, 1741, we find some items of general interest, viz:

The Grand Jury presented "Jonathan Gibson of the Parish of St. Thomas, Gent., for not frequenting his parish church for the space of two months last past, on ye information of the Rev. Richard Hartswell." Mr. Gibson immediately appeared in court, confessed judgment, and "it was considered by the court that he pay the church wardens of St. Thomas parish ten shillings current money, or one hundred pounds of tobacco." There were two or more parishes in Orange county at that time. In one of these, St. Mark's, Augusta, was included till 1745. St. Thomas' parish was mainly in what is now Madison county.

On the same day, and also on the information of Mr. Hartswell, the following presentments were made: Richard Cross, James Picket and

Thomas Wood, for not frequenting their parish church; and Tully Joices, Bartholomew Baker and Jonathan Henning, "for swearing an oath, each, on the 23d of this instant, November, 1741."

"Thereupon, on the information of Tully Joices, the jury presented the Rev. Richard Hartswell, of ye parish of St. Thomas, for being drunk on the 23d instant,"—the day the swearing was done. This was evidently a spiteful proceeding on Tully's part. What came of the presentment we failed to discover.

Bishop Meade could not ascertain the name of the first minister of St. Thomas' parish. On page 75, Vol. II, he says: "At that time" [1740], "an old Scotch minister of the Episcopal Church, whose name I have not been able to ascertain, but who, it seems, was fond of good cheer and a game of cards, officiated regularly at that church." Mr. Hartswell was doubtless the person referred to.

James Patton qualified as "Colonel of Augusta County," May 27, 1742.

On June 24, 1742, John Buchanan, John Smith, Samuel Gay, James Cathray and John Christian qualified as captains of militia; and John Moffett and William Evans as lieutenants. On the same day the following constables were appointed, viz: John Steavenson, Thomas Turk, James Allen, Patrick Martin, John Gay and James Cole.

Many deeds, executed by Beverley and Borden, respectively, were admitted to record in the latter part of 1742, and the number of suits had greatly increased.

The inhabitants of the new county of Augusta discovered before long that living without payment of taxes was not desirable. Poor people could not be provided for; roads could not be cleared, nor bridges built; and, especially, the wolves were multiplying beyond all endurance. They, therefore, made "humble suit" to the assembly, and in accordance with their wishes, in May, 1742, an act was passed "for laying a tax on the inhabitants of Augusta county." The act provided that the County Court of Orange should divide the county of Augusta into precincts, and appoint persons to take lists of tithables therein, and that each tithable should pay two shillings (33⅓ cents) yearly to James Patton, John Christian and John Buchanan, to be laid out by them in hiring persons to kill wolves, etc., etc., in such manner as should be directed by the court-martial to be held annually in the county.

What the people had to sell, and where they sold their products, are questions we cannot answer. Probably peltries and such live stock as they could raise and send to market were their only means of obtaining money.

The state of the country and of society in the settlement, from its origin till the year 1745, was quite singular. The dwellings of the people were generally constructed of logs, and the furniture was simple and scanty. There were no roads worthy of the name, and no wheeled vehicles of any kind; horseback was the only means of transportation. There was no minister of religion till Mr. Craig arrived, except transient visitors on two or three occasions; no marriage feasts, nor funeral rites, and very few sermons on the Sabbath to call the people together. There were no courts and court days, except at Orange Court-house, beyond the mountain. From allowances by the vestry for professional services to the poor, subsequent to 1747, we learn the names of several physicians who lived in the county at an early day. Drs. Foyles and Flood are mentioned in 1753, but we have no other information in regard to them. No lawyer resided in this bailiwick till 1753, when we find Gabriel Jones, the "king's attorney," residing on his estate near Port Republic. But the sturdy Scotch-Irish people pressed into the country, and by the year 1745 the Alexanders, Allens, Andersons, Bells, Bowyers, Breckinridges, Browns, Buchanans, Campbells, Christians, Craigs, Cunninghams, Dickinsons, Doaks, Finleys, Johnstons, Kerrs, Lewises, Lyles, Matthewses, Millers, Moores, McNutts, Moffetts, McPheeterses, McClungs, McDowells, Pattons, Pickenses, Pattersons, Pilsons, Poages, Prestons, Robinsons, Scotts, Sitlingtons, Stuarts, Tates, Thompsons, Trimbles, Wilsons, Youngs, and others abounded in the settlement. Other immigrants of the same race came in afterwards.

On the 30th of July, 1742, the inhabitants of Borden's tract petitioned Governor Gooch to commission John McDowell captain of militia, and the paper is one of the "curiosities of literature." We give an exact copy of it from the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers:*

"To the Honorable, William Gooch Esqr His Majestys' Lieut: Governor &c &c—

"Sr

"We your pittionours humbly sheweth that we your Honours Loly and Dutifull Subganckes hath ventred our Lives & all that we have In fettling ye back parts of Virginia which was a veri Great Hassirt & Dengrous, for it is the Hathins (heathens) Road to ware, which has proved hortfull to feveril of ous that were ye first fettlers of these back woods & wee your Honibill pittionors fome time a goo pittioned your Honnour for to have Commissioned men amungst ous which we your Honnours moft Duttifull fubjects thought properist men & men that had Hart and Curidg to hed us yn time of —— & to defend your Contray and your poor Sobgacks Intrist from ye voilince

of ye Haithen—Bvt yet agine we Humbly perfume to poot your Honnor yn mind of our Great want of them in hopes that your Honner will Grant a Captins' Commission to John McDowell, with follring ofishers, and your Honnours' Complyence in this will be great fettisfiction to your moft Duttifull and Humbil pittioners—and we as in Duty bond shall Ever pray."*

Among the signers were Andrew and David Moore, George Moffett, (written "Marfit,") James McDowell, three Andersons, Matthew Lyle (written "Lyel,") and others. David Moore was the father of General Andrew Moore and Captain William Moore. George Moffett was no doubt the person of whom Ben Borden was so much afraid, as mentioned. He evidently did not subscribe his own name, but it was written by some one else as pronounced by the natives of the old country.

On the 27th of November, 1742, the "inhabitants of Borden's Tract" petitioned for a road to Wood's Gap, and the Court ordered that the road be "cleared from James Young's through Timber Grove."

A new "Commission of the Peace" was issued in November, 1742, and still another in May, 1743, in both of which Colonels Lewis and Patton were included.

At November Court, 1742, several Indians, arrested "for terrifying one Lawrence Strother and on suspicion of stealing hogs," were ordered into custody, their guns to be taken from them "till they are ready to depart out of the county, they having declared their intention to depart out of this colony within a week."

The military force of Augusta county in the fall of 1742, consisted of twelve companies of about fifty men each. The prominent officers were, William Beverley, County Lieutenant, James Patton, Colonel, and Captains John Smith, Andrew Lewis, John Buchanan, James Cathrey, John Christian, Samuel Gay, Peter Scholl, James Gill, John Willson, Hugh Thompson, George Robinson and John McDowell. The rolls of all the companies, except those of (Lewis's, Gay's and Thompson's,) are among the collections of Dr. Draper, which are preserved by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. From copies we have obtained, it would seem that all grown men were enrolled, without respect to age. Ephraim McDowell, then an old man, was a member of his son John's company. John Moffett was Lieutenant of Capt. Smith's company, and among the privates were Robert Renick, John and James Trimble, and Sundry Erwines, Pattersons, Archers and

* Many of the signers were unquestionably better educated than the writer; and it is strange that a person so illiterate was put forward, or took it upon himself, to draft the petition.

Millers. Matthew Lyle and John Mathews were members of Capt. Buchanan's company, which embraced also Walkers, Andersons, Moores and McClures (written McClewer.) Capt. Christian had under his command Robert McClanahan and all the Breckinridges, including Alexander, the father. David Logan and Robert McDowell belonged to Capt. Cathrey's company. Volante Severe (otherwise Valentine Sevier, father of Gen. John Sevier,) belonged to Capt. Peter Scholl's company. No less than five McCutchens and four Youngs were members of Capt. Willson's company.

Estimating the population from the number of men required to perform military service, we find that the total population of the county, ten years after the first settlement, was about 2,500.

Capt. John McDowell did not long enjoy the honor and perform the duties of his office. He and seven of his men were killed in a fight with Indians, on December, 14, 1742, on North river, near Balcony Falls, within the present county of Rockbridge. A letter from Judge Samuel McDowell, son of Capt. McDowell, written to Col. Arthur Campbell, in 1808, gives a somewhat detailed account of this first conflict of whites with Indians.

Judge McDowell states that about the first of December, 1742, a party of thirty-three Delaware Indians came into the settlement in Borden's grant saying that they were on their way to assail the Catawba tribe with which they were at war. They professed friendship for the whites, and were entertained for a day by Capt. McDowell, who "treated them with whiskey." From McDowell's they went down the South branch of North river, and encamped seven or eight days. They hunted, went to the houses of white people, scaring women and children, taking what they wanted, and shot horses running at large.

Complaint being made to Col. Patton, the County Lieutenant, he ordered Capt. McDowell to call out his company, and conduct the Indians beyond the white settlement. The company consisted of thirty-three or four men, and embraced all the settlers in what is now Rockbridge county. In the mean while the Indians moved their camp further South. The company of white men, thirty-three in number, overtook the Indians and accompanied them beyond Peter Salling's, then the furthest white settlement. About one-half the company were on horseback and the remainder on foot. One of the Indians was lame and fell behind, all the whites passing him, except one. The lame Indian left the path and went into the woods, and the white man who was in the rear fired his gun at him. Immediately the Indians raised the war whoop and the fight began. As stated, the Captain and seven of his men were killed. For a time the result was doubtful, but finally

the Indians gave way, leaving seventeen of their men dead on the ground. The survivors took to the Blue Ridge, and pursued it till they reached the Potomac river. Several who were wounded died on the way, and it was learned that only ten of them reached their home in Pennsylvania. The people of the settlement gathered on the field of slaughter, and, says Foote, "took the nine" [eight] "bloody corpses on horseback and laid them side by side near McDowell's dwelling, while they prepared their graves in overwhelming sorrow." John McDowell's grave may still be found in the family burying ground, near Timber Ridge church, marked by a rough stone.

For more than a year a state of war existed between the Indians and whites; but peace was restored in 1744, by the treaty of Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

We return again to the records of Orange County Court:

On February 26, 1743, John Pendergrass, for not attending his parish church, was fined ten shillings, or one hundred pounds of tobacco, payable to the church wardens. In the Valley nothing of this kind was done during the time of the religious establishment. The settlers of the Valley, coming in as Dissenters, had ample "toleration"; but in other parts of the colony, people claimed as belonging to the Established Church, and forsaking its services, were subjected to the sort of discipline referred to.

In 1743, Beverley prosecuted suits against James Bell, Patrick Campbell and George Robertson, of Augusta.

On the 23d of February, 1744, James Patton qualified as collector of duties "in that part of Orange called Augusta."

On the same day, Peter Scholl and others living on Smith's creek, (now Rockingham), petitioned the Court, setting forth that they were required to work on a road thirty miles distant from their plantations, and praying for a new road nearer home. Evidently there was no road within thirty miles of Peter Scholl's dwelling. That, however, did not trouble him and his neighbors so much as the fact that they had to go so far to work, which was a hardship. The petition was granted.

Peter Scholl was one of the first justices of Augusta county in 1745. A man of the same name, and probably the same person, was living in Kentucky, in 1776, intimately associated with Daniel Boone. He is spoken of as Boone's nephew in-law. (See Collin's History of Kentucky.)

May 24, 1744, Jane Breckinridge, widow of Alexander Breckinridge, in open court relinquished her right to administer on the estate

of her deceased husband, in favor of her son, George,* who entered into bond, etc.

James Trimble was appointed constable in place of James Anderson, February 28, 1744. This was probably the James Trimble who became deputy surveyor of Augusta in December, 1745.

At last we find a movement for a road through the Valley. On February 24, 1745, James Patton and John Buchanan reported that they had viewed the way from the Frederick county line "through that part of the county called Augusta, according to the order made last March," (which the writer failed to see) and the court ordered "that the said way be established a public road."

The last order of Orange Court in reference to Augusta or her people, was entered at November term, 1745, when Augusta's part of the cost of running the line between the two counties was fixed at £32 5s. 9d.

The Rev. John Craig and His Times.

The late Maj. J. M. McCue, an enthusiastic antiquarian, brought to light a record book kept by the pioneer minister of the Valley for nine years, and from it we give here some interesting extracts.

The title of the book, as written by the minister himself, is as follows: "A record of the names of the children baptized by the Rev. John Craig, both in his own and in neighboring congregations, where God in His Providence ordered his labors." It, however, embraces other things besides the record of baptisms. The writer was too busy to think of style, and some of the entries are the more interesting because of their quaintness and crudity.

The first child baptized in the county by Mr. Craig was Elizabeth, daughter of Jeremiah Williams, October 5, 1740. On October 26th, Samuel, son of William Logan, was baptized; and on the 28th, Mary, daughter of John Preston. Jean, daughter of Robert McClanahan, was baptized December 8, 1740, and this child, on growing up, became the wife of Alexander St. Clair, who is often mentioned in the Annals, and is the author's great-grand-mother.

James Bell's twins, William and James, were baptized December 12, 1740. They were of the Long Glade family. William was killed in battle during the Revolutionary War.

At the close of the first year, Mr. Craig writes: "The year being ended, the whole number baptized by me is one hundred and thirty-three; sixty-nine males and sixty-four females. Glory to God who is daily adding members to His visible church!"

* George Breckinridge probably moved to Albemarle, and therefore his name seldom appears in the Annals of Augusta. An act of Assembly in 1758, provided for the pay of persons who had rendered military service, and among them was a George Brackenridge of Albemarle, who was entitled to 13 shillings.—*Hening, Vol. 7, p. 203.*

It appears from Mr. Craig's record, as well as elsewhere, that there was a low state of morals amongst the white servants brought into the county before the Revolution. This is not to be wondered at, as many of such persons were criminals brought over under sentence of transportation. But good people appear to have sought to rear the children of the convicts under religious influences. On January 20, 1742, "Mr. James Patton stood sponsor for a child baptized, named Henry, born in his house of a convict servant, a base person; could not be brought to tell who was the father, notwithstanding all means used."

Robert, son of Robert Young, was baptized January 22, 1742, and Mr. Craig notes that he was "born with teeth."

William Johnston's son, Zachariah, was baptized September 26, 1742, and his son, Joseph, April 21, 1745.

In the second year the number of baptisms was eighty-two, and the record is followed by another ascription of praise to God.

Under date of December 19, 1742, we find: "This day the news of the Indian rebellion and the death of our friends by their hands, came to our ears." The allusion is to the massacre of John McDowell and his companions in the Forks of James river.

David Logan's child, Benjamin, was baptized by Mr. Craig, May 3, 1743. This child became the distinguished General Logan of Kentucky.

On the 26th of June, 1743, several children were baptized at North Mountain Meeting-house, and on the 30th, eight at South Mountain Meeting-house. The latter place may have been the predecessor of Tinkling Spring, or it may have been in the present county of Rockbridge. The names of the children baptized there were Hays, Greenlee, Dunlap, Crawford, Breckinridge, etc.

The child of a woman "lately from Ireland," bound to John Pickens, was baptized December 10, 1743. Mrs. Eleanor Pickens stood sponsor, her husband being abroad. From 1740 to 1749, inclusive, various children of Israel, John and Gabriel Pickens were baptized.

James Robertson's son, Alexander, was baptized January 10, 1744.

On the 15th of January, 1744, David Campbell's child, Arthur, was baptized. This was the widely known and distinguished Colonel Arthur Campbell.

James Trimble's son, John, was baptized March 18, 1744, and James Robertson's son, George, April 24, 1744.

Mr. Craig pursued his calling wherever he went. Under date of June 1, 1744, he says: "Being at Synod" [of Philadelphia] "I baptized three children in Pennsylvania."

Elizabeth Herison, "an adult person," was baptized July 27, 1744, and the following children at the dates mentioned: John Pickens' son, Israel, October 1, 1744; Thomas Stuart's son, Archibald, and Edward Hall's daughter, Jennet, February 12, 1745; John Crawford's son, William, March 21, 1745; and David Logan's son, Hugh, March 24, 1745.

William Renix was baptized June 2, 1745, and his brother, Joshua, in October, 1746. These were children of Robert Renix, (or Renick),

who was killed by Indians in 1761, and his wife and children carried off. William returned from captivity with his mother in 1767, Joshua remained with the Indians, and became a chief of the Miamis.

Next we have the date of the first meeting at Tinkling Spring. After recording the baptism of Samuel Davison's child, Jesse, April 14, 1745, Mr. Craig says, in words expressive of his dissatisfaction with the place and the people: "This being the first day we meet at the contentious meeting-house about half built—T. S."

The "contention" to which Colonel Patton was a party, was then vexing Mr. Craig's soul. He mentions, however, June 9, 1745, "this day Colonel Patton appeared at meeting." We shall see hereafter about the "contention" alluded to.

On September 1, 1745, Charles Campbell's son, William, was baptized. This child became the celebrated General William Campbell, of King's Mountain fame, the maternal grandfather of William C. Preston, of South Carolina.

February 26, 1746, was "a fast day appointed by the Governor upon ye account of ye civil war." The war referred to was doubtless the rebellion in Great Britain stirred up by Charles Edward, son of the Pretender to the British throne, which began in 1745, and was ended by the battle of Culloden, April 16, 1746.

At North Mountain Meeting-house, June 1, 1746, among the children baptized were John Trimble's son, James, and Alexander Crawford's son, William. It is an interesting coincidence that John Trimble and Alexander Crawford were both murdered by Indians in October, 1764, and probably on the same day, as related elsewhere. John Trimble's son, James, mentioned above, probably died in childhood, and another child called by the same name, born in 1756, became Captain James Trimble.

John Madison, the first clerk of the County Court of Augusta county, and father of Bishop Madison, was no doubt a member of the Church of England; but, no rector having been appointed for Augusta parish, his son Thomas was baptized by Mr. Craig in October, 1746.

David Stuart and Abigail Herrison, "adult persons," were "baptized, after profession of faith and obedience," January 21, 1747.

Thomas Stuart's child, Jennet, was baptized February 22, 1747, This was probably the "Miss Jenny Stuart," a very old maiden lady, who was residing in Staunton within the recollection of persons still living.

Mr. Craig's record shows that there were repeated lapses from the path of virtue, and not alone by the class of "convict servants." It would not be to edification to set these matters forth in detail. The civil magistrates were rigid in the enforcement of laws against immorality, and the minister of religion faithfully performed his duty in the premises as he understood it. "Public satisfaction" was required of delinquents before they were allowed to have their children baptized.

The first rector of Augusta parish was the Rev. John Hindman, who was appointed April 6, 1747. He seems to have been a Dissenter and an old acquaintance of Mr. Craig, who mentions him curtly, April 5, 1747, as follows: "This day John Hindman attend, having turned

his coat and now appears in the quality of a Church of England parson."

Robert McClanahan's son, Robert, was baptized April 19, 1747. He became Dr. Robert McClanahan, removed (after 1770), to the part of Botetourt now Greenbrier, was captain in the Botetourt regiment under Colonel Fleming in 1774, and killed at the battle of Point Pleasant.

John Tate's child, Eleanor, was baptized at North Mountain meeting-house, November 5, 1747; and Joseph Bell's child, Mary, February 21, 1748.

Andrew Lewis's son, Samuel, was baptized September 15, 1748, and became a Lieutenant Colonel in the Revolutionary War.

James Crawford's son, Alexander, and Patrick Crawford's daughter, Martha, were baptized in November, 1748.

Robert McClanahan's child, William, was baptized January 10, 1749. He was the father of Colonel Elisha McClanahan, of Roanoke.

On January 22, 1749, Mr. Craig makes the following entry: "This the first day we meet in and preach in Augusta meeting-house." It is generally supposed that this refers to the stone meeting-house which is still standing and used by the congregation.*

During the year 1749, besides his regular preaching places, Augusta and Tinkling Spring, Mr. Craig administered baptism at North Mountain, South Mountain, "Timber Grove," North River, near Great Lick, Calf Pasture and Cow Pasture.

The last entry in the book is dated September 28, 1749. During the nine preceding years the number of baptisms was 883,—463 males and 420 females. Mr. Craig could not say with the Apostle Paul that he was sent "not to baptize, but to preach the gospel," although he too, no doubt, preached whenever and wherever he could.

* A letter from the Rev. Dr. William Brown, dated Bay View, Florida, Jan. 24, 1890, says: "I think you mention somewhere that the exact date of the building of Augusta church was not known. I am able to supply the deficiency. In 1837, I visited the family of John Hamilton, a grandson of Rev. John Craig. They were about to remove to Missouri. I found in a blank leaf of one of his books, a memorandum in Mr. Craig's hand-writing in which he states that on such a day he laid the corner stone of Augusta church, and makes record of the prayer which he offered. It was in August, 1747. * * When I went to Augusta church in 1836, the tradition was, that the building was advanced far enough to be occupied in 1748, but was not completed for two or three years after." "The small log building previously used, stood about the center of the old grave-yard."

Among the records of the County Surveyor's office is a book known as the "Entry Book," on page 2 of which is the following:

"May 16, 1746—200 acres for ye Meeting house of ye Lower congregation, where it is now Built, including a spring adjoining Thomas Stephenson's land."

The reference here is no doubt to the original log house, not the *stone* church.

Mr. Craig states in his diary that the first service was held in the stone church on January 22, 1749; but as the year at that time began on March 25th, the month of January belonged to the same year as the preceding month of December. Therefore, Mr. Craig's date of January 22, 1749, is, according to the present reckoning, January 22, 1750.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE FIRST COURT TO THE FIRST INDIAN WAR.

At length the time for the organization of the county had arrived. On October 30, 1745, Governor Gooch issued "a Commission of the Peace," naming the first magistrates for the county, viz: James Patton, John Lewis, John Buchanan, George Robinson, Peter Scholl, James Bell, Robert Campbell, John Brown, Robert Poage, John Pickens, Thomas Lewis, Hugh Thompson, Robert Cunningham. John Tinla (Finley?), Richard Woods, John Christian, Robert Craven, James Kerr, Adam Dickinson, Andrew Pickens, and John Anderson—in all twenty-one.

At the same time, the Governor issued a commission to James Patton as sheriff of the county. John Madison was appointed clerk of the county court by "commission under the hand and seal of Thomas Nelson, Esq., Secretary of Virginia," and Thomas Lewis was commissioned surveyor of the county by "William Dawson, president, and the masters of the college of William and Mary."

In anticipation of the organization, William Beverley, the patentee, had erected a court-house on his land, and at the southwest corner of the present court-house lot. On the day the commissions to the county officers were issued at Williamsburg, Beverley wrote from the same place to the justices of Augusta, informing them that he had erected the house referred to at his "mill place," and would before spring make a deed for the "house and two acres of land about the same to the use of the county to build their prison, stocks, etc., on." It will be observed that nothing was said about Staunton as the county-seat. There were doubtless some dwellings and other houses here, but the spot was then only known as Beverley's "Mill Place."

The building erected by Mr. Beverley is described in a "presentment" by the Grand Jury, May 21, 1748. It was "thirty-eight feet three inches long, and eighteen feet three inches wide in the clear, built with logs hewed on both sides, not layed close, some of the cracks between the logs quite open, four or five inches wide and four or five feet long, and some stopped with chunks and clay, but not quite close, two small holes cut for windows, but no glass or shutters to them; the inside not furnished nor fitting for his Majesty's Judicatory to sit." Signed, Wm. Christian, Foreman.

The justices appointed by the Governor assembled at the court-house on December 9, 1745, and took the prescribed oaths of office. Next, the commission of the sheriff was read, and he was duly qualified. Thereupon, "court was proclaimed," the following justices being on the bench: John Lewis, John Brown, Thomas Lewis, Robert Cunningham, Peter Scholl, John Pickens, Hugh Thompson, James Kerr, and Adam Dickinson.

Thus was started the County Court of Augusta, which continued without material change till the year 1852, when justices of the peace became elective by the popular vote. Previously, during a period of one hundred and seven years, the justices assembled in court nominated new members from time to time, as the exigencies of the county required; and the executive of the colony, and afterwards of the State, confirmed the nominations by issuing the necessary commissions.

The justices received no pay, except that after a time the system was introduced of conferring the office of high sheriff of the county, for a term of two years, upon the justices in rotation, according to seniority of commission; the sheriffs "farming out" the office to deputies who discharged all its duties. Upon the expiration of the term of office, the high sheriffs reverted to the position of justice of the peace, and awaited their turn for the lucrative office, which, however, very few obtained a second time.

The first business in order after the justices took their seats on the bench and the court was proclaimed, was to receive and approve the official bond of the sheriff. The clerk was also qualified; and William Russell, James Porteus, Gabriel Jones, John Quin, and Thomas Chew qualified to practice as attorneys-at-law.

On the next day, December 10, the commissions of Thomas Lewis, surveyor, and his deputy, James Trimble, were produced in court, and those officers were sworn in. The sheriff on the same day, "moved the court to be informed how he was to secure his prisoners, there being no prison." The provident Col. Beverley had not thought of that. The court, however, ordered the sheriff to summon a guard, and "to provide shackles, bolts, handcuffs, etc." A committee was also appointed to "build a prison and erect stocks." Great importance was evidently attached in those days to "stocks." It was thought quite impossible for a well-ordered community to get along without them.

The "presentment" of the Grand Jury in 1748, describes the jail built by the Court as a house: "Twenty-two feet three inches long, and seventeen feet three inches wide, from outside to outside, built with square logs near one foot thick, holes at ye corners and elsewhere two or three inches wide, and so poorly dove-tailed at the corners that

it would be a very easy matter to pull it all down. The chymney that was formerly built in a very poor manner, now part of it is down, so that there is an open way to the roof which a man might easily break with his foot and hands."

After a short session on the 10th, the court adjourned till the next court in turn. In pursuance of the Act of 1738, the court then met on the second Monday in each month.

The business of the county court, as indicated by the order books, was heavy and diversified. The first session of court was held, as stated, in December, 1745, and by the February term following there was a large docket of causes for trial. Single justices had jurisdiction of causes involving less than twenty-five shillings. In all other causes at law and in equity, civil and criminal, (not involving loss of life or member), the court had jurisdiction, there being, however, a right of appeal to the general court, which was then composed of the Governor and his council. Attendance at the county court every month became burdensome to the people, and in October, 1748, an act of assembly was passed, establishing quarterly courts for the trial of causes. Four or more justices were required to constitute a court.

According to the order book of the County Court, the second term of the Court began on February 11, 1745. This apparent error is thus explained: Until 1752, the English year began on the 25th of March, and consequently January, February, and March, (up to the 25th), belonged to the same year as the preceding December. The year 1745 continued till March 25th, and then the year 1746, began.*

We may mention that the first clerk of the county court, John Madison, was the father of the Rev. Dr. James Madison, for some time bishop of the Episcopal church in Virginia. John Madison, the clerk; Gabriel Jones, the lawyer; and Thomas Lewis, the surveyor, whose wives were sisters, (Misses Strother, from Stafford county), lived in the same neighborhood, near Port Republic.

Among the first justices of the peace we find John and Andrew Pickens. One of these was the father of the distinguished General Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina. General Henry Lee states in his "Memoirs of the War" (page 594), that General Pickens was born in Paxton township, Pennsylvania, September 19, 1739. His parents were from Ireland. When he was a child his father removed to Augusta county, Virginia, and in 1752 to the Waxhaw settlement, in

* France and Scotland adopted the first of January as the beginning of the year much earlier than England, and, therefore, in the latter country, before the change was sanctioned by act of Parliament, dates falling between January 1st and March 25th, were commonly expressed thus: February 10, 1745–'6, the last figure indicating the year according to the present reckoning.

South Carolina. He was actively engaged in the Indian wars and the Revolution. He was conspicuous for his valor at the Cowpens, Haw River, Augusta (Georgia), and Eutaw; and Lee declares that he contributed in an equal degree with Sumter and Marion to the liberation of the Southern States. After the war he served in the Legislature of South Carolina and the United States Congress. "This great and good military chieftain," as General Lee styles him, died August 11, 1817, at his seat in Pendleton District, South Carolina, which had been the scene of one of his earliest Indian battles. "He was," says Lee, "a sincere believer in the Christian religion, and a devout observer of the Presbyterian form of worship."

The first will presented in the County Court of Augusta, was that of Robert Wilson. It was executed November 3, 1745, and was proved and admitted to record February 11, 1746.

The first deed recorded, dated December 9, 1745, was from Andrew Pickens to William McPheeters, and conveyed twelve and one-half acres of land in consideration of five shillings. Deed Books 1, 2 and 3, are occupied almost exclusively by the conveyances of William Beverley to various persons.

Beverley made many deeds previous to 1745, which were recorded in Orange; and from 1745 to 1755, no less than one hundred and sixty-six of his deeds were recorded in Augusta. He never conveyed the two acres promised to the justices in 1745; but in 1749, he donated much more land to the county, as we shall see.

From the papers in an early suit we, have ascertained the prices in the county of several articles in the year 1745. Money was then, and for a long time afterward, counted in pounds, shillings, and pence, one pound, Virginia currency, being $3.33⅓.* We state the prices here

* Mr. Jefferson, in his *Notes on Virginia*, Query XXI, says: "How it has happened that in this as well as other American States the nominal value of coin was made to differ from what it was in the country we had left, and to differ among ourselves, too, I am not able to say with certainty." He says, however, the first symptom of the depreciation of Virginia paper money "was that of silver dollars selling at six shillings, which had before been worth but five shillings and ninepence." The trouble about the currency arose as early as 1631. In 1645 the House of Burgesses established "the Spanish piece of eight" ($1), at six shillings, as the standard of their currency. In 1680 they sent an address to the King, in consequence of which, by proclamation, in 1683, he fixed the value of "pieces of eight" at six shillings. Other regulations were made in 1710, 1714, 1727 and 1762.

Thus the Spanish dollar, the standard of Virginia currency, being made to consist of six shillings, each shilling, the one-sixth of a dollar, being 16⅔ cents; and twenty shillings, here as in England, making one pound, the Virginia pound got to be $3.33⅓.

in the present currency. The price of sugar was 16⅔ cents per pound, two nutmegs 22 cents, half a pound of powder 33⅓ cents, one and a half pounds of lead 19½ cents, and one ounce of indigo 25 cents.

The rates of ordinaries fixed by the court, March 10, 1746, were as follows: For a hot diet, 12½ cents; a cold ditto, 8⅓ cents; lodging, with clean sheets, 4⅙ cents; stabling and fodder at night, 8⅓ cents; rum, the gallon, $1.50; whiskey, the gallon, $1; claret, the quart, 83⅓ cents.

The ordinary proceedings of the County Court, as recorded in the order books, often illustrate the history of the times, and we shall make frequent quotations.

As soon as the court was established, taverns were needed at the county seat. Therefore we find that on February 12, 1746, license to keep ordinaries at the court-house was granted to Robert McClanahan and John Hutchinson. And on the same day it was "ordered that any attorney interrupting another at the bar, or speaking when he is not employed, forfeit five shillings."

On February 19, 1746, a court was held to receive proof of "public claims," and the losses of several persons by the Indians were proved and ordered to be certified to the general assembly for allowance.

While the white settlers and Indians who often passed through the country were supposed to be at peace, and the more prudent settlers sought by every means to conciliate the savages, instances of robbery and massacre by Indians were not infrequent, as is shown by the records of the County Court and otherwise. Tradition tells of an Indian raid upon a homestead near Buffalo Gap, but at what date is not stated. The ancestor of the Bell family of that neighborhood lived some two miles from the gap, and the females and children who were at home, learned that a party of Indians were in the vicinity. Feeling insecure, they abandoned their house and sought safety elsewhere. The Indians would have passed the dwelling without discovering it, but were attracted to the place by the cackling of a flock of geese. They plundered the house, setting it on fire, by design or accident, and went off. From that day to the present no member or descendant of that family of Bells has kept geese.

At the April term, 1746, of the County Court, John Nicholas having declined to act as prosecuting attorney, the court recommended Gabriel Jones "as a fit person to transact his majesty's affairs in this county." Mr. Jones was accordingly appointed, and duly qualified at the next court.

At May term, 1746, John Preston proved his importation from Ireland, with his wife, Elizabeth, William, his son, and Lettice and

Ann, his daughters, at his own charge, "in order to partake of his majesty's bounty for taking up land."

John Preston came to America with his brother-in-law, James Patton, a brother of Mrs. Preston. It is believed that he lived on the farm a mile N. E. of Staunton, recently known as the Mosby-Taylor farm, and now, (1892), owned by M. E. Miller.

Mrs. Lititia Floyd, daughter of Col. William Preston, granddaughter of John Preston, and wife of the first Governor Floyd, in 1843 wrote an account of the Preston family, from which we take most of the following statements:

Colonel James Patton had four sisters, two of whom married "men of quality" in the old country. The youngest sister, Elizabeth, while crossing the river Shannon in a boat, had as a fellow-passenger a young man of striking appearance, who proved to be a ship carpenter named John Preston. This casual interview led to acquaintance and a runaway marriage. The young lady thus placed herself "out of the pale of her family." Her brother, James Patton, having afterwards retired from the sea and settled in America, induced Mr. and Mrs. Preston to emigrate also. Mrs. Floyd puts the date of their arrival in the Valley at 1735, and says John Preston died seven years afterwards at "Gibson's old place, eight miles below Staunton." But it appears from the records of Augusta County Court that his death occurred in 1747, and if he lived only seven years after coming, he must have arrived in 1740 with Alexander Breckinridge and many others, as is generally supposed to have been the fact. While living in Augusta, remote from the seaboard, John Preston employed himself as a cabinet-maker, constructing household furniture for himself and neighbors.

William, only son of John Preston, was born in the town of Newton, Ireland, November 25, 1729. He received most of his education in America, from the Rev. John Craig. Mrs. Patton was a haughty woman, says Mrs. Floyd, and kept aloof from the Prestons. A silly prediction of an Irish woman that William Preston would get his uncle's fortune, so impressed her with dread of a marriage between the nephew and one of her daughters, that she allowed no intercourse between the young people. She died soon after the marriage of her daughters,—one to a kinsman of hers named Thompson, and the other to John Buchanan. Colonel Patton then induced his widowed sister to remove to Spring Farm, in the vicinity of Staunton, and went to live with her.

John Preston and other Presbyterian people of Staunton and vicinity of his day, worshiped at Tinkling Spring, and his body was interred at that place. His eldest daughter married Robert Breckin-

ridge, the ancestor of several distinguished men. The second daughter married the Rev. John Brown, pastor of New Providence church, and from them descended John Brown, of Kentucky, and James Brown, of Louisiana, both of them United States Senators, and the latter minister to France. William Preston was the father of a numerous family, male and female, and many of his descendants have been eminent in various walks of life. John Preston, the ancestor, appears to have been a quiet man, and without the bustling energy which characterized other pioneer settlers; but the traits which he and "his wife Elizabeth," transmitted to their posterity is a noble testimony that the pair possessed more than common merit. He died in 1747, leaving a very small estate, as far as appears. His wife qualified as administratrix, February 6, 1747, and executed a bond, with John Maxwell and Robert McClanahan as her securities, in the penalty of £100, indicating a personal estate of only £50.

On the day that John Preston "proved his importation," the court ordered that "Edward Boyle, for damning the court and swearing four oaths in their presence, be put in the stocks for two hours, and be fined twelve shillings," ($2).

At November term, 1746, the court made an allowance to provide small beer, [for the Justices, it is presumed], and for stabling the horses of justices, attorneys and officers. Persons were licensed to sell liquor in booths and stalls on the court-house lot; and at March term, 1750, commissioners were appointed to inspect the beer sold at every court, "and if it appear that the same is not at least one month old and well hop'd then they presume not to ask more than one penny a quart."

Till the year 1746, no vestrymen had been elected, as provided in the act of 1738. In that year, however, an election was held, and twelve persons were chosen to constitute the vestry of the parish, viz: James Patton, (Col.) John Buchanan, John Madison, Patrick Hays, John Christian, (Mr.) John Buchanan, Robert Alexander, Thomas Gorden, James Lockhart, John Archer, John Matthews, and John Smith.

From the first settlement of Virginia the Church of England had been established in the colony. The inhabited parts were laid off into parishes, in each of which was a minister, who had a fixed salary in tobacco, together with a farm (called glebe) and a parsonage. There was a general assessment on all the inhabitants to meet the expenses.

When a new parish was established, the vestrymen were elected by the qualified voters, but vacancies occurring afterwards were filled by the board. Two members were annually chosen to act as churchwardens, and these were more particularly charged with all matters

pertaining to religion and public morals. The minister, or rector, was *ex officio* president of the board.

Vestrymen were not merely ecclesiastical officers, but some of the duties now performed by supervisors were imposed upon them by law. They had the care of the poor, and attended to the important duty, as it was then, of "processioning lands." At a time when the boundaries of contiguous tracts of land were ill defined, to prevent or settle disputes, commissioners were appointed by the vestry to ascertain and fix the lines. This custom had fallen into disuse, and every law on the subject had disappeared from the statute books, till the destruction of many county records during the late war, led to an act of Assembly, in 1865-'6, reviving the practice. In England the vestry has also charge of all highways in the parish; but in Virginia, during colonial times, little or no concern was taken about public roads.

The vestry held meetings statedly, at least once a year, to count up and provide for the expenses of the parish. They laid the parish levy; and it is curious at this day to find that here, as well as elsewhere in the colony, glebe farms were bought, churches and parsonages built, ministers, readers and sextons paid, and even the sacramental wine provided, out of the public treasury.

All members of the vestry were required by law to take the various oaths imposed upon public officers generally, and, in addition, to subscribe a declaration "to be comformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England." It is quite certain that most of the vestrymen of Augusta parish in 1746, were Dissenters from the Established Church. How they could, with a clear conscience, subscribe the declaration referred to is a question. They probably pleaded the necessity of the case. Without vestrymen and a rector the local government could not be completed, the poor could not be cared for, lands could not be "processioned," and especially none of the young people in the county could get married without much expense and inconvenience. The Scotch-Irish vestrymen of Augusta parish, with James Patton at their head, very likely agreed "to be comformable," with the understanding that it was only for the time being and in respect to the particular public duties they undertook to discharge. They did not relax their interest in the dissenting congregations to which they belonged, and, as far as known, they did not incur censure nor lose respect by their conformity as vestrymen. Some Dissenters of the Covenanter stock no doubt compared the Presbyterian vestrymen and church-wardens to Naaman, the Syrian, bowing himself in the house of Rimmon, because the King leaned upon his hand. As will be seen hereafter, the practice of subscribing the declaration of

conformity fell into partial disuse, and some persons elected vestrymen refused to subscribe when required to do so, and retired from the board.

The vestry of Augusta parish met for the first time in the court-house, April 6, 1747. They elected John Madison, clerk, and Robert Alexander and James Lockhart, church-wardens. The Rev. John Hindman appeared with letters from the Governor, etc., recommending him for employment as "rector of the parish." The vestry, however, were not in a hurry, and proceeded to drive a bargain with Mr. Hindman. They agreed to accept him, provided he would not insist upon the purchase of glebe lands for two years, and would hold his services in the meanwhile in the court-house, "and in people's houses of the same persuasion." Moreover, he was not to complain to the Governor in regard to the tardiness of his vestrymen. A glebe farm, however, was purchased, and a church building was erected in Staunton in the course of time. The farm was at the foot of North Mountain, about five miles south of Swoope's depot, and is now owned by the Thompson family. No church was ever built there, but farm buildings were erected, and an acre or more of land was laid off for a public burying ground. In common with other glebe lands, the farm was disposed of as directed by law, after the disestablishment of the Church of England in the State. The church in Staunton was built on land given by Beverley, April 3, 1750. It was begun in 1760, and finished in 1763.

Webster's History of the Presbyterian church in the United States, states that a Presbyterian preacher named Hyndman was sent from the North to Virginia as an Evangelist, but died soon after being called to Rockfish and Mountain Plain. He is no doubt the same person as the first rector of Augusta Parish, of whom Mr. Craig speaks in his diary as a "turn coat." If so, Episcopal ordination would seem to have been dispensed with in his case. There was no Episcopal bishop in Virginia.

Mr. Hindman's salary, payable in money, was £50 a year. Commissary Dawson, in a letter of July 11, 1749, to the Bishop of London, states that the parish was then vacant because of the death of Mr. Hindman. At a meeting of the vestry, on the day last named, Mr. Robert Clowseme, recommended by "Peter Hedgman, gentleman," sought the vacant place, but he was rejected, the vestry "not being acquainted with him," and resolving to receive no minister "without a trial first had." For more than two years the parish was vacant, and then in 1752, the Rev. John Jones was inducted on the recommendation of Governor Dinwiddie.

But we have anticipated the course of events. It is probable that on the day, in 1746, that vestrymen were elected, delegates, or "burgesses," to represent Augusta county in the colonial assembly were also elected. We find no trace of such election, however, in our local archives or elsewhere. The county was duly represented in the "House of Burgesses," nevertheless, and from several acts found in *Hening's Statutes at Large*, it appears that the county was required to pay the "wages" of her representatives. The name and fame of one of our earliest burgesses have been perpetuated by a stone erected in the glebe burying ground. We give a literal copy of the inscription:

HERE LY,S THE INTER,D BODY OF COL^{L}, JOHN WILLSON WHO DEPA^{R}TED THIS LIF. IN THE-YARE-OF OUR LORD 1773 IN THE 72– Y -OF HIS EAG HAVING SERVD HIS COUNTY-27-YA-REPRESE-NTETIVE-IN-THE HONOURABLE-HOUS-OF BURJESIS. IN VIRGINIA &c

Colonel Willson is not to be held responsible for the illiteracy and mistakes of the stone-cutter. We presume there is no mistake as to the date of his death, and the statement that he served twenty-seven years as a member of the House of Burgesses. He must, therefore, have been elected in 1746, and have served, upon repeated elections, continuously till his death.

Robert Cunningham was Col. Willson's colleague at the first election, as we learn incidentally. He was sued by William Beverley in an action of ejectment. and at a session of the County Court, on August 23, 1746, pleaded his privilege as a Burgess, and the suit was dismissed.

R. A. Brock, Esq., Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, has furnished to us the following partial list of delegates from Augusta in the House of Burgesses:

1751—John Willson and John Madison.
1752—John Willson and John Madison.
1757—John Willson and Gabriel Jones.
1758—John Willson and Gabriel Jones.
1759—John Willson and Israel Christian.
1761—John Willson and Israel Christian.
1768—John Willson and William Preston.
1769—John Willson and William Preston.
1771—John Willson and Gabriel Jones.
1773—John Willson and Samuel McDowell.
1776—George Mathews and Samuel McDowell.

In the interval, from 1761 to 1768, and probably at other times, Thomas Lewis served as one of the delegates from Augusta. James Patton also represented the county, for we find that at November term of the County Court, 1755, an allowance was made to his executor for "burgess wages."

From a copy of Purdie's Almanac for 1766, we learn that the Burgesses from Augusta in that year were John Willson and William Preston.

We again revert to an earlier period in the history of the county. On May 21, 1747, George Wythe appeared before the county court and took the oaths required of attorneys. At the same time the grand jury presented five persons as swearers and two for Sabbath breaking.

On the 22d of May, 1747, the Rev. Samuel Black, a dissenting minister, appeared before the court and took the prescribed oaths. We have little further information in regard to Mr. Black. He was a Presbyterian and lived in Pennsylvania. In 1758, he was a member of Donegal Presbytery.

The number of tithables in the county in 1747, was 1,670, and the tax per head, as levied by the vestry, six shillings.

The following extract from the records of the court, of date May 20, 1748, is a part of the history of the times, and possesses some special interest: "On the motion of Matthew Lyle, yts ordered to be certified that they have built a Presbyterian meeting-house at a place known by the name of Timber Ridge, another at New Providence,* and another at a place known by the name of Falling Spring." All these places are in the present county of Rockbridge, then part of Augusta. The record shows, among other things, the rapid settlement of the country.

"West of the Blue Ridge," says Foote [First Series, page 309] "the inhabitants were generally Dissenters; and, coming into the province such, there was always less difficulty in obtaining license for houses of worship than in those counties east of the Ridge, where no Dissenters, or but few, had settled, and those that appeared were converts from the Established Church." The early meeting-houses in Augusta, erected before the year 1745, were doubtless registered in Orange county.

Early in the century the American Presbyterian Church became divided into what were known as the "Old Side" and the "New Side."

* There was a house of worship in Pennsylvania, near Norristown, called Providence. "From this many families emigrated to New Virginia, settled together, and built a meeting-house, which they called New Providence."—[*Life of Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander*, page 6.]

There was no question in regard to doctrine, but only as to the proper methods of promoting religion. The New Side Presbyterians, sometimes called "New Lights," were admirers and followers of George Whitefield, who traversed the country, and by his zeal and eloquence caused an extraordinary religious excitement. The Old Side party was composed of the more conservative and less aggressive element of the church, who feared excitement, and perhaps were not specially zealous. The various Presbyterians adhering to the Old Side were associated as the Synod of Philadelphia, and those of the New Side as the Synod of New York. There was no Presbytery in Virginia till the year 1755, when Hanover Presbytery was formed by authority of the Synod of New York, and was composed of New Side ministers, and churches. This Presbytery consisted at first of only six ministers, including the celebrated Samuel Davies, of Hanover county; Rev. John Brown, of New Providence; and Rev. Alexander Craighead, of Windy Cove. The Rev. John Craig, of Augusta and Tinkling Spring, was not a member of it till the breach was healed, in 1758, and the two parties came together again. During the alienation most, if not all, the Presbyterian churches in the present county of Augusta adhered to the Old Side, and those in the region now composing Rockbridge county, (New Providence, Timber Ridge, Falling Spring, Hall's meeting-house, afterwards Monmouth, or Lexington), to the New Side. While the strife lasted much bitterness of feeling was exhibited, and the cause of the Dissenters, and of religion itself, was no doubt greatly injured thereby. Missionaries were sent to Virginia by both the Northern Synods. A minister named Robinson, sent out by the Synod of New York, was preaching in the Valley, when one of the inhabitants of Augusta, going into the lower country for salt and iron, met some of the attendants upon Morris' meetings in Hanover, and recommended Mr. Robinson to them. He was invited to visit them, which he did, and his visit led to the settlement of Samuel Davies in Virginia.

In a sketch of Mr. Robinson's life by the Rev. Dr. A. Alexander, it is stated that he came to Virginia ignorant or regardless of the law here against itinerant preachers, that he was arrested at Winchester and ordered by the magistrate to be conveyed to Williamsburg for trial, but released by the officer while on the way, and then pursued his journey up the Valley.

To show further how the Dissenters managed their affairs during colonial times, we mention that, in 1747, James Patton, John Christian, John Finley, James Alexander and William Wright, "chosen commissioners and trustees," received a deed from William and John Thompson for one hundred and ten acres of land for the use of "the

Presbyterian congregation of Tinkling Spring." Many years afterwards an act of the Legislature authorized the congregation to sell as much of the tract as they wished, and expend the proceeds in repairing their meeting-house, or in building a new one.

On March 23, 1746, the commissioners obtained judgment before Peter Scholl and James Montgomery, Justices of the Peace, against a member of the congregation for his subscription to the cost of building the meeting-house, amounting to £1, 4s., ($4). At the same time, judgment was given against another member for £1, 7½ pence, "minister's steepends," (stipends). The commissioners were, however, not always successful in their prosecution of delinquent members, as witness the following judgment rendered by the same Justices:

"Andrew Cowin being called before us a member of sd. congregation to pay twenty shillings steepend Dew for four years past. He having made oath yt Mr. Creage never visit nor examined him in that time nor done his duty as a pastral minister to him ye sd. Cowin our judgment is that ye sd Cowin pay nothing and ye MR. Craig give ye Com. Credit for sd Sume and seven pence halfpenny Costs of sute." Then follow several similar judgments. Signed March 25, 1747.

It is stated that, as early as 1748, Colonels Patton and Buchanan and others, with a number of hunters, made an exploring tour to the southwest. They discovered and named the Cumberland mountain and Cumberland river, so called in honor of the Duke of Cumberland, who had recently gained the battle of Culloden, in Scotland.

And now, in the year 1748, we come to the first mention of the town of Staunton. During that year William Beverley laid off the beginning of the town, within his manor, and at his "Mill Place." The snrveying was done by Thomas Lewis, the county surveyor, and the plot is highly creditable to the surveyor's skill. The number of town lots is forty-four, each, with a few exceptions, containing half an acre. The streets laid off and named are Beverley, Frederick and Johnson, running east and west, and Augusta, Water and Lewis, running north and south. A plot of twenty-five acres, east of Augusta street, and extending half a square north of Frederick street, was reserved for the use of the county. The inscription under the plot, signed by the surveyor, is as follows: "A plan of the town of Staunton, in Augusta county, each lot containing half an acre * * * laid out in the year 1748, and since confirmed by an act of the last session of assembly."

The plan was produced in court by William Beverley, February 27, 1749, and ordered to be recorded. It may be found in Deed Book No. 2, page 410.

It appears, however, that several streets and town lots were laid off by Thomas Lewis for Beverley, July 15, 1747, as we learn from the original plot which was not recorded. The number of lots was only thirteen, so moderate was the expectation in regard to the town; but by the next year it was thought advisable to extend the dimensions of the embryo city, and thirty-one lots were added in 1748. In the divisions of 1747, each lot contained half an acre, as in the plot of 1748. Lot No. 1 was between Spring Lane and the creek, west of Augusta street. The two squares north of Spring Lane and west of Augusta street were laid off, and each was divided into four lots. Lots 10, 11, 12, and 13 were west of Water street, and between Spring Lane and Frederick street, the north branch of Lewis' creek running through each of them. Beverley retained (in 1747) lots 2, 10 and 11, and sold off the other lots; Joseph Bell purchased No. 3 (southwest corner of Beverley and Augusta streets, on a part of which the Augusta National Bank now stands), for £5, or $16.66⅔. Robert McClanahan purchased two lots, No. 7 (southeast corner of Beverley and Water streets—Old Central Bank, &c.), for £9, 15s., $32.50,* and No. 12 (northeast corner of Beverley and Water streets—Y. M. C. A. building, etc.), for £5. Other purchasers of lots were Samuel Wilkins, John Brown, William Lyndwell, Andrew Campbell, John Ramsey, David Stuart, and Patrick McDonal. In the plot of 1748, as recorded, the streets designated are named as at present; in the original plot of 1747, Augusta was called Gooch street, Water was called William, and Beverley was called Cross street. Spring Lane was so called from the first, although now generally known as Irish Alley. The name Staunton was originally often written Stanton. It is generally supposed that Augusta and other parallel streets were intended to lie exactly north and south, but in the original plot those streets are represented as slightly departing from the meridian line.

Twenty-five acres heretofore referred to, were conveyed by Beverley to the justices of the peace for the use of the court house, etc., April 21, 1749.

Why Staunton was so called has been a question for many years. We long ago saw a statement in print somewhere, that the new town was named in honor of Lady Gooch, wife of the Governor, who, it was said, was a member of the English family of Staunton, but we do not vouch for the truth of the statement. There is a small town of the same name near Kendal, Westmorland county, England.

* About one-half of this lot was sold at auction March 5, 1886, for $13,300, the value of buildings being hardly estimated.

The inscription by the surveyor alludes to an act of assembly establishing the town. No such act is found in Hening, but it appears from a proclamation issued by Governor Dinwiddie, April 8, 1752, that "An act for establishing a town in Augusta county, and allowing fairs to be kept there," was passed by the assembly in 1748. It was, however, for some unexplained reason, "disallowed" by King George II, and pronounced by the Governor "utterly void and of none effect." Thus the aspirations of Staunton were repressed, and the rising town had to wait thirteen years for a new king liberal enough to grant her a charter.

Governor Dinwiddie, a native of Scotland, trained to business in a West India custom-house, and recommended for promotion by his detection and exposure of some gigantic frauds practised by his official superiors there, arrived in Virginia early in 1752, and immediately gave offence by declaring the king's dissent to various acts which his predecessor had approved. The Assembly remonstrated against this exercise of the royal prerogative, but in vain. Dinwiddie was lieutenant-Governor, under the titular governor, Lord Albemarle, whose office was a sinecure.

The biographers of the celebrated Daniel Boone state that he came from Pennsylvania on an excursion to Augusta, about 1748-'9, with his cousin, Henry Miller. The latter returned to the county, and built on Mossy Creek the first iron furnace in the Valley.

From the proceedings of the vestry, August 22, 1748, it appears that John Lewis had contracted to erect the public buildings of the parish for £148, and it was ordered that he be paid £74 on "raising the said buildings, and the remainder on their completion." From a bond executed by Col. Lewis, with Robert McClanahan as security, at the date just mentioned, but not recorded till November 28, 1753, it appears that one of the buildings was a dwelling house for the parish minister. According to tradition, this was the old frame house which formerly stood on the southwest corner of Augusta street and Irish Alley. But such was not the fact, as that corner lot belonged in colonial times to John Cunningham, father of Mrs. Margaret Reed. The parsonage was probably in the alley, west of the corner.

We continue the extracts from the records of the court:

May 19, 1749.—"Ordered that James Montgomery and Richard Burton, or any one of them, wait on the court of Lunenburg, and acquaint them that the inhabitants of Augusta have cleared a road to the said county line, and desire that they will clear a road from the court-house of Lunenburg to meet the road already cleared by the inhabitants of Augusta."

Lunenburg and Augusta were therefore adjoining counties at that time.* It will be observed that here, as well as elsewhere, nothing is said about grading the road,—it was only "cleared." Till many years afterward, nothing else was attempted ; and it was not till the nineteenth century that our road surveyors could be persuaded that the distance was as short round a hill as over it.

November 28, 1749.—"A commission to Robert McClanahan,† gent., to be sheriff of this county during his majesty's pleasure, was produced in court." Adam Breckinridge qualified as deputy sheriff.

Breckinridge committed some offence and left the county surreptitiously. A letter written by him to his brother Robert, without divulging his place of refuge, is still extant, in which he acknowledges his offense, whatever it was, and says his family will never hear of him again. It appears, however, from the papers in the old suit of Westfall vs. Richardson, that he went to South Carolina.

An act of Assembly, passed at Williamsburg in 1661, provided that no one should remove from the county in which he lived, till he had posted his purpose to leave, at the door of his parish church, for three successive Sundays, stating in the notice to what place he was going, and obtaining a certificate of the posting from the minister or reader of the parish. It further provided that any one assisting a person to go away without such a certificate, should be liable for the debts of the fugitive. Breckinridge was indebted to Westfall, and Richardson having, as charged, aided the former to leave unlawfully, was sued by Westfall. The suit was, however, dismissed in 1751.

Robert McClanahan was a native of Ireland, and came to Augusta at an early day. A brother of his, Blair McClanahan, was a merchant in Philadelphia, a prominent politician and member of Congress after the Revolution. The wife of Robert McClanahan was Sarah Breckin-

* In 1752 Halifax county was formed from the southern part of Lunenburg, adjacent to Augusta ; and in 1753 Bedford was formed from the northern part, so that after 1753, for several years, Augusta was bounded on the east by the counties of Orange, Albemarle, Bedford and Halifax. New London, at first the county seat of Lunenburg, and afterwards of Bedford, is now in Campbell county.

† Robert McClanahan, after living at various places in Staunton, removed to his farm, a mile south of town, now (1886), owned by Mrs. Gay and her children. This farm was conveyed to McClanahan, in 1748, by Robert Beverley, and was left by the former at his death, in 1791, to his executors, Alexander McClanahan and Alexander St. Clair, to do with it as they pleased. The terms imply a secret trust. At any rate, the executors conveyed the farm to Robert McClanahan, the third of the name, and grandson of the first. In 1808, the last named Robert sold the farm to John McDowell, who built the present handsome brick dwelling on the hill, having lived in the meanwhile, as the first Robert McClanahan had, in a small house near the Greenville road.

ridge, (daughter or sister of Alexander), and his children were four sons and three daughters. Three of the sons, Alexander, Robert and John, were prominent in the Indian wars, and Alexander was a colonel during the Revolution. One of his daughters married Alexander St. Clair, who came from Belfast, Ireland, and was long a prosperous merchant at Staunton, and an active member of the County Court. Mr. St. Clair also represented Augusta in the State Senate in the years 1791–'3 and '4, and was Presidential Elector on the Federal ticket in 1800.

The grand juries of the county were apparently determined to enforce the observance of the Sabbath day. In 1749, Andrew McNabb was presented for a breach of the Sabbath,—in what way is not stated; in 1750, Jacob Coger was presented "for a breach of the peace by driving hogs over the Blue Ridge on the Sabbath;" and in 1751, James Frame was presented "for a breach of the Sabbath in unnecessarily traveling ten miles."

The grand juries were equally determined to suppress other vices, as witness the following:

In 1746, Col. Thomas Chew and John Bramham were presented as common swearers. Chew was a lawyer and Bramham a deputy sheriff.

At the same term of the court another person was presented "as a disturber of the common peace of the neighbors by carrying lies, and also as a common lyer." Valentine Sevier, father of the celebrated Gen. John Sevier, was presented "for swearing 6 prophane oaths." Another presentment, in 1750, is equally unique, that of Samuel Hutts "for breach of the Sabbath in singing prophane songs."

In 1751, the lawyers attending the court were "not enough to go round." James Porteus had brought suit for Andrew Bird against Peter Scholl, and then died; and when the cause came on for trial, Peter had employed Gabriel Jones and John Harvie, the only attorneys on hand, and Bird was left unrepresented. He, however, formally petitioned the court to require one of the said attorneys to appear for him, and Mr. Harvie was ordered accordingly.

At laying the county levy in 1750, allowance was made for two hundred and fifty-six wolf heads,—the entire head had to be produced. In 1751, allowance was made for two hundred and twenty-four heads. In 1754, William Preston obtained an allowance for one hundred and three heads. They were hardly all trophies of his own skill, but most, if not all of them, were probably purchased by him. Indeed, wolf heads constituted a kind of currency.

The court and grand juries were extremely loyal. In 1749, Jacob Castle was arrested "for threatening to *goe* over to and be aiding and

assisting of the French ag'st his Majesty's forces." In 1751, Owen Crawford was presented "for drinking a health to King James, and refusing to drink a health to King George." The accused made his escape, and the presentment was dismissed.

Constables were appointed at various times on the Roanoke and New rivers.

As heretofore stated, for more than twenty years after the first settlement of the Valley, there was no declared war between the Indians and whites, but the latter were constantly annoyed by roving bands of savages who helped themselves to whatever movable property they took a fancy to, and sometimes burnt the cabins of settlers. On the 18th of May, 1750, William Harbison, a Justice of the Peace for Augusta county, certified that about the last week of April, 1749, a party of seven Indians robbed the house of Adam Herman, probably on New River, of 9 deer skins and 1 elk skin; that the next day six Indians robbed the same house of 14 deer skins and 1 elk skin; and that the day following, "a number of Indians" came and took away 73 deer skins, 6 elk skins, etc., etc. This shows also that game was abundant, and that Herman was a famous hunter.

The first classical school west of the Blue Ridge was opened in 1749, by Robert Alexander, two miles southwest of the present village of Greenville. The teacher was educated in Edinburgh, it is believed. He emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1736, and to the Valley in 1743. How long Mr. Alexander conducted the school we do not know. He was succeeded by the Rev. John Brown, and the school was removed first to Old Providence, then to New Providence, and shortly before the Revolutionary war to Mount Pleasant, near Fairfield. It was latterly under the care of Hanover Presbytery.

The next extract from the records of the court is of peculiar interest. Under date of August 29, 1751, we find the following:

"Ordered that the sheriff employ a workman to make a ducking stool for the use of the county according to law, and bring in his charge at laying the next county levy."

An act of Assembly, passed in 1705, in accordance with the old English law, prescribed ducking as the punishment for women convicted as "common scolds." The ducking stool was no doubt made as ordered, but we have searched in vain for an instance of its use "according to law." The failure to use it was certainly not because there were no scolding women in the county at that time; for soon after the machine was constructed, or ordered, one Anne Brown went into court and "abused William Wilson, gentleman, one of the justices for this county, by calling him a rogue, and that on his coming off the bench

she would give it to him with the devil." Mrs. Brown was taken into custody, but not ducked, as far as we can ascertain. Nor was the failure to use the stool due to timidity or tender heartedness on the part of members of the court. They lashed women as well as men at the public whipping-post, and were brave enough to take Lawyer Jones in hand on one occasion for "swearing an oath." After thorough investigation and mature reflection, we have come to the conclusion that the making of the ducking stool was an "Irish blunder" on the part of our revered ancestors. Having provided a jail, stocks, whipping post, shackles, etc.—all the means and appliances necessary in a well-ordered community—they ordered a ducking stool without reflecting that there was no water deep enough for its use within reach of the court-house.

Let us now refer again to the Rev. John Craig and his narrative. The territory occupied by his congregation was "about thirty miles in length and nearly twenty in breadth." The people agreed to have two meeting houses, expecting to have two congregations, as afterwards came to pass. The people of the Augusta, or stone church neighborhood, amongst whom Mr. Craig lived, "were fewer in numbers, and much lower as to their worldly circumstances, but a good-natured, prudent, governable people, and liberally bestowed a part of what God gave them for religious and pious uses; always unanimous among themselves." "I had no trouble with them," says Mr. Craig, "about their meeting-house. * * * They readily fixed on the place, and agreed on the plan for building it, and contributed cheerfully, money and labor to accomplish the work, all in the voluntary way, what every man pleased." But the people of the other section were, according to Mr. Craig's way of thinking, a stiff-necked and perverse generation. He says: "That part now called Tinkling Spring was most in numbers, and richer than the other, and forward, and had the public management of the affairs of the whole settlement; their leaders close-handed about providing necessary things for pious and religious uses, and could not agree for several years upon a plan or manner, where or how to build their meeting-house, which gave me very great trouble to hold them together, their disputes ran so high. A difference happened between Colonel John Lewis and Colonel James Patton, both living in that congregation, which was hurtful to the settlement but especially to me. I could neither bring them to friendship with each other, or obtain both their friendships at once, ever after. This continued for thirteen or fourteen years, till Colonel Patton was murdered by the Indians. At that time he was friendly with me. After his death, Colonel Lewis was friendly with me till he died."

The feud between Colonel Lewis and Colonel Patton must have begun in 1741 or 1742. What it was all about, we do not know, but it probably related, in part, to the location of Tinkling Spring church. Mr. Craig himself was not a neutral nor lamb-like in that strife. He, and doubtless Colonel Lewis also, wanted the church built north of the site finally selected; while Colonel Patton and most of the people insisted upon Tinkling Spring as the place. Mr. Craig at last appealed to Samuel Pilson, an aged man, to settle the controversy, and when the latter cast his vote for Tinkling Spring, the irate pastor is said to have exclaimed: "Are you too against me, Sammy! Well, I am resolved that none of that water shall ever tinkle down my throat." And he kept his word.

It is said that Mr. Craig generally walked the five miles from his residence to the stone church. His morning service continued from 10 o'clock till after 12. The afternoon service lasted from 1 o'clock till sunset, and it was sometimes so late that the clerk found it difficult to read the last psalm. His only printed sermon is from 2 Samuel, xxiii, 5, and being in the old-fashioned, "exhaustive method," contains fifty-five divisions and sub-divisions. He was once sent by Hanover Presbytery to organize churches among the settlements on New River and Holston, and on his return reported a surprising number of elders whom he had ordained. Being questioned how he found suitable materials for so many, he replied in his rich idiom: "Where I cudna get hewn stanes, I tuk dornacks." He was regarded as very orthodox, but somewhat lax as to church discipline.—[Davidson's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky*, Page 24.]

Withers, in "Border Warfare," [page 48], gives the following account of the discovery and first occupancy of the Greenbrier country:

About the year 1749, there was in Frederick county a man subject to lunacy, who was in the habit of rambling into the wilderness. In one of his wanderings he came to some of the waters of Greenbrier river. Surprised to see them flowing westwardly, he made report of it on his return to Winchester, and also the fact that the country abounded in game. Thereupon, two men, named Sewel and Martin, recently arrived from New England, visited the Greenbrier country, and took up their abode there. They erected a cabin and made other improvements, but an altercation arising, Sewel went off a short distance and lived for some time in a hollow tree. Thus they were found in 1751—Martin in the cabin and Sewel in the tree—by John Lewis and his son, Andrew, who were exploring the country. They were, however, by that time on friendly terms. Sewel soon afterwards moved forty miles

west, and fell a prey to the Indians, and Martin returned to the settlement.

After this brief excursion beyond the frontier, let us return to the county seat. We have several times alluded to the twenty-five acres of land conveyed by Beverley to the county, April 24, 1746. In 1750, the County Court employed Andrew Lewis as surveyor, to lay off the tract in town lots, extending several existing streets, and opening new ones. The first street opened by Lewis, east of and parallel with Augusta, was called New street. The four main squares, constituting the heart of Staunton, were fixed by this survey, each square containing two acres, and being divided into four lots of half an acre each. Three lots, of forty-eight poles each, were laid off between Court-house street and the creek. The court retained for the use of the county only two of the lots—the half acre on which the court-house stood, designated on the plat as No. 2, and the lot of forty-eight poles, immediately opposite, across Court-house street, where the county jail now stands, designated as No. 1. The court-house was at the southwest corner of the lot on which it stood, and the jail on the southeast corner of the same lot.

The court appointed Andrew Lewis, Robert McClanahan and Robert Breckinridge, commissioners, to convey the lots to purchasers. Thomas Paxton purchased three lots for £8, ($26.66⅔), viz: the half acre at southwest corner of Beverley and New streets, the corresponding lot diagonally opposite, and the lot of forty-eight poles, southeast corner of New and Court-house streets. Alexander McNutt purchased for £3 the lot of forty-eight poles adjoining and east of the present jail lot, where the Bell Tavern afterwards stood. The half acre lot, southeast corner of Augusta and Frederick streets, was purchased by Joseph Kennedy for £3. Robert McClanahan purchased two half acre lots,—northwest corner of Beverley and New Streets, (where the Wayne Tavern afterwards stood), and the northwest corner of Court-house and New streets—for £2, 10s.

In giving possession of these lots, the old English custom of "livery of seizin" was practised, the commissioners and purchasers going on the premises, and the former delivering to the latter a handful of earth in token of the delivery of the whole.

It is a question as to how the town was entered from the east in the early days of the settlement. The plots alluded to give no indication of a road or street leading, as at present, from the Virginia Hotel to the creek near the Valley railroad depot; and it is probable that the land between the points named was swampy and ordinarily impas-

sable. If so, the road must have passed over Abney's or Garber's hill.

It appears that, in 1750, a man called Ute Perkins, and others, were perpetrating robberies in the county; but we have no information in regard to the matter, except several hints in the proceedings of the court. The following order was entered November 28, 1750: "On the motion of Peter Scholl, gent., it's ordered that the sheriff demand of Joseph Powell a saddle supposed to belong to Ute Perkins and his followers, and that John Harrison deliver the several goods in his possession (supposed to belong to the said Perkins or some of his followers) to the said Scholl, he being one of the coroners, till further order." And again, February 19, 1751: "The petition of John and Reuben Harrison, praying a reward for killing two persons under the command of Ute Perkins, who were endeavoring to rob them, was read and ordered to be certified." The Harrisons lived in the northern part of the county, now Rockingham. Perkins and his gang were probably horse thieves.

On the 29th of November, 1750, the Rev. John Todd, a Dissenting minister, appeared in court and took the prescribed oaths. Mr. Todd was a Presbyterian minister and lived in Louisa county. He never resided in Augusta, but his object was to qualify himself, according to law, for officiating here occasionally.*

In the early winter of 1750, the country was visited by a storm of unusual violence, as we learn from a paper found in the clerk's office of the circuit court, having been filed in the old cause of *Stuart vs. Laird, &c.* There is no signature to the paper, but it is endorsed, "Hart's Field-Notes." In the answer the notes are called "Trimble's" and it is probable that the writing was scribbled on the back of his field-notes by the assistant county surveyor, who was caught out in the storm while on a professional excursion. He thus relates his dismal experience, and gives expression to his alarm, but, at the same time, deep piety:

"December 21, 1750, being fryday, and being the most dismal Judgment-like day that I have seen, the day before having been excessive great rain, &c., frost freezing on the trees and branches, as also 2 nights, and the snow beginning before day this morning, so overloaded the trees and branches, that their falling is as constant as

* Mr. Todd was an uncle of Col. John Todd, who went to Kentucky about 1775. Col. Todd was a delegate from Kentucky county to the Virginia Legislature in 1780, and commanded at the battle of the Blue Licks, August 19, 1782, in which he was killed. His only child was the wife of Robert Wickliffe, Sr., of Kentucky.

clock-work, so that there seems to be scarce a whole tree left in the woods. Doubtless whoso lives to hear of the end of this storm thence will account of many men and cattle lost and killed ; and this day was 8 years, was the Day that 8 corps killed by the Indians, was bury'd at Mr. Bordin's, where I am now storm-stead or weather bound, being 22 years since I was cast away, but through God's Great Mercy preserved on the windy Saturday in harvest, being the 24th of August, 1728. Blessed be Almighty God who has saved me hitherto from many Eminent Dangers. O Lord, Grant it may be taken as special warnings to me and others."

The following order of the County Court of Augusta was entered February 19, 1751 : "Catherine Cole being presented by the grand jury for having a bastard child and refusing to pay her fine or give security for the same according to law, it is ordered that she receive on her bare back at the public whipping post of this county twenty lashes well laid on, in lieu of said fine, and it is said to the sheriff that execution thereof be done immediately." Another woman was ordered at the same time to be punished in like manner for the same offence.

On May 30, 1751, John David Wilpert, (the only man with three names, locally recorded to said date), petitioned the court, setting forth that he had been "at considerable expense in coming from the northward and settling in these parts," and had rented three lots in the new erected town of Staunton, through which runs a good and convenient stream of water, and praying leave to build a grist and fulling mill. The petition was resisted by John Lewis, who had a mill within a mile of town, and the case was taken by appeal to the General Court. How it was ultimately decided we are not advised, but the petition no doubt indicates the origin of "Fackler's mill," which stood on the creek south of Beverley street and between Water and Lewis streets. Wilpert was afterwards prominent in the Indian wars, and received from the government six hundred acres of bounty land. He went to Kentucky and gave his name to a creek in that state, which has been changed, however, into Wolfert's creek.

In the year 1751, Governor Dinwiddie appointed James Patton, Joshua Fry, and Lunsford Lomax, commissioners, to meet the Indians at Logstown, and conclude a treaty with them. Logstown was an important Indian town on the west bank of the Ohio river, 18 miles below Pittsburg, and consisted of sixty or seventy cabins, inhabited by a number of confederated tribes, including Shawnees. Under date of December 13, 1751, the Governor instructed Patton to proceed immediately to Fredericksburg, "and there receive from Mr. Strother the goods sent as a present by His Majesty to the Indians, and provide

everything necessary for the gentlemen appointed commissioners on behalf of this government, to meet and treat with the Indians, and to order all to be laid down at Mr. George Parish's near Frederick Town." The treaty was concluded June 13, 1752, but was observed for a short time only. [*Dinwiddie Papers*, Vol. I, page 9]

Several acts were passed by the Assembly of Virginia, in the year 1752, "for encouraging persons to settle on the waters of the Mississippi river, in the county of Augusta."

The vestry of the parish held no meeting during the year 1749. At their meeting of May 21, 1750, it was ordered that £64, 17s. 1d. be paid to Colonel John Lewis, the balance due to him on the glebe buildings.

On the 16th of October, 1752, Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the vestry, introducing the Rev. John Jones "as a worthy and learned divine," and recommending him to them as their pastor, "not doubting but his conduct will be such as will entitle him to your favour by promoting peace and cultivating morality in the parish." Mr. Jones was accordingly inducted, November 15th, with a salary of £50 a year. The glebe buildings not being finished, Colonel Lewis, the contractor, agreed to allow Mr. Jones £20 a year in the meanwhile. A "Reader to this parish, to be chosen by Mr. Jones," was allowed pay at the rate of £6, 5s. a year. A cellar under the minister's house was ordered to be dug. Many poor children, male and female, were bound out by the church-wardens from time to time.

Of the Rev. John Jones we can obtain no information whatever, except from the records of the vestry. Bishop Meade, in his voluminous work called "Old Churches and Old Families in Virginia," gives sketches of many ministers, relating with perfect candor the bad as well as the good, but he could find little to say about Mr. Jones. Although the latter lived here and held a prominent position for more than twenty years, no anecdote or tradition in regard to him has come down to us. He was probably a bachelor, and a man of mature age when he settled at Staunton. We should judge that he was a kindly, good man, generally respected, though, possibly, from physical infirmity, not very energetic. There is no record of the date of his death, and at the close of the old vestry book he disappears from view as mysteriously as he came, leaving no representative, successor, nor estate behind him.

Up to the year 1760, and indeed for long afterwards, there was no meeting-house for religious worship in the county, except those of the Presbyterian denomination. The Church of England, established by law, had a rector and vestry, as we have seen, but the building of a

church was not begun till 1760, and the rector officiated in the court-house and such dwellings as he had access to. The first meeting-houses of Tinkling Spring and Augusta were probably built after the year 1740. At what date the present "Augusta stone church" was built is not known. It was some time between 1740 and 1755, and according to tradition, men, women and children labored at the erection, transporting sand from Middle river on horseback, and timber and stone in like manner. The current belief is, that the building was completed in 1749. The original log meeting-house stood in the old burying ground.

In the year 1746, the Rev. John Blair,* a New Side minister from the north, visited the county and organized four Presbyterian congregations,—Forks of James, Timber Ridge, New Providence, and North Mountain. The first named afterwards became Hall's meeting-house, then New Monmouth, and finally Lexington. North Mountain meeting-house was a little to the right of the road leading from Staunton to Middlebrook, about nine miles from the former, and on land now [1886] owned by Charles T. Palmer. No trace of the former use of the spot remains at this day, except the old burying ground, "where the forefathers of the hamlet sleep." There repose many Moffetts, Tates, Trimbles and others. North Mountain congregation never had a separate pastor, but depended during most of its existence on "supplies," and the labors of neighboring ministers. The Rev. Charles Cummings was pastor at Brown's meeting-house [Hebron] from 1767 till 1773; and the Rev. Archibald Scott, a native of Scotland, was pastor of Brown's meeting-house and North Mountain congregations from 1778 to about 1798. After the organization of Bethel congregation, through the influence of Colonel Doak, North Mountain was abandoned, the worshippers dividing between Bethel and Hebron.

Mr. Blair also visited the Big Calf Pasture in 1746. This beautiful Valley was occupied by emigrants, and the congregation of Rocky Spring was organized, in a short time after the first settlement of the county.

The vestry of the parish met August 21, 1753, and ordered the church-wardens "to pale in a church yard one hundred feet square," and also "to pale and clear out a garden of half an acre at the glebe."

* The Rev. John Blair, a native of Ireland, while living in Cumberland county, Pennsylvania, made two visits to Virginia, the last in 1746. He officiated for a time as Vice-President of Princeton College, and died in Orange county, New York, in 1771. He was the father of the Rev. John D. Blair, the first Presbyterian minister in Richmond, Virginia. Another son, William Lawrence became a lawyer and settled in Kentucky.

At the meeting on November 28th, Robert Campbell, of whom the glebe land was purchased, acknowledged payment of £60 in full. Colonel John Lewis acknowledged payment to him of £148, the "full sum agreed on for building the glebe work according to bargain;" and renewed his obligation to pay Mr. Jones £20 a year till the buildings should be finished, Mr. Jones consenting thereto.

In the fall of 1753, a party of Moravians, consisting of twelve men, came through Staunton, on their way from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to found a new settlement at a place called by them Bethabara, but now known as Old Tavern, in Forsythe county, North Carolina. Their archives state that they "traveled by Winchester and Augusta Court-house, now Staunton, Va., a small town of twenty houses, in the mountains." They came in a wagon drawn by six horses, with articles necessary for their comfort, and not infrequently had to unload in part and transport their goods in parcels over the hills.

The Colonial Assembly passed an act at their session which began in November, 1753, reciting that part of the county and parish of Augusta was within the bounds of the Northern Neck belonging to Lord Fairfax, and setting off this portion of Augusta and a part of Frederick to form the county of Hampshire.

The "returns" of the early sheriffs give us an idea of the state of the country and the times in which those officers lived. In the year 1751, the sheriff, on an execution issued in the cause of *Johnson vs. Brown*, made return: "Not executed by reason, there is no road to the place where he lives." Other executions were returned as follows: "Not executed by reason of an axx;" "Not executed by reason of a gun." In *Emlen vs. Miller*, 1753: "Kept from Miller with a club, and Miller not found by Humphrey Marshal." In *Bell vs. Warwick*, 1754: "Executed on the within John Warwick, and he is not the man." In August, 1755, forty-nine executions were returned: "Not executed by reason of the disturbance of the Indians."

In 1756, Deputy Sheriff Sampson Mathews assumed the functions of a chancellor. Having an execution in his hands in the case of Ramsay vs. Burton, he made return substantially that the judgment ought not to have been rendered, as the debt had been paid. Another execution, however, was put into his hands, and on that he made the following return: "Not executed by stress of water, and deft. swore if I did get across to him he would shoot me if I touched any of his estate; also he is gone out of the country."

With the view of ascertaining something about the family life and domestic economy of the people up to the time to which these annals have arrived, we have examined the inventories and appraisements of

the personal estates of deceased persons, from 1745 to 1752. These inventories include every article of personal property, from horses and cattle to old clothes and glass bottles. The values are stated in pounds, shillings and pence, but we give them here in dollars and cents, estimating one pound Virginia currency as $3.33⅓.

The first inventory on record, after the County Court was opened, in 1745, is that of Joseph Martin. Amongst other property he owned a mare, saddle and bridle, appraised at $12.50; "bed and bedclothing and crosscut saw," worth $10.83; and two pocketknives and a glass bottle, put at 25 cents.

For many years after the first settlement there were apparently no feather beds; but pillows, bolsters and bedticking were appraised, the last-mentioned no doubt filled with straw or chaff.

The next decedent was Abraham Strickler, whose estate was appraised April 19, 1746. He was a rich man for the time and country, the total valuation being $722.00. He left 20 cows and calves, appraised at $3.33⅓ each; 7 cattle three years old, worth $3.80 each; 11 hogs, $1.16⅔ each; 2 stills and implements, $110; 60 gallons of liquor, 42 cents per gallon; 4 cart wheels with tire, $13.33⅓; wash tub, 50 cents; 25 deer skins, $11.50; 66 pounds of old brass, $5.50; best bed and furniture, $6.66⅔; rifle and smoothbore gun and moulds, $11.66⅔; "all Abraham's wearing clothes," $6.66⅔.

The inventory embraces plows, hoes, axes, hay-forks, scythes, sickles, augurs, turner's tools, and implements of rope-making. As far as appears, the deceased owned no tables, chairs, table-knives and forks, spoons, or glass or chinaware.

The mention of "cart-wheels with tires" is the first intimation of a wheel vehicle in the settlement. This decedent and another are the only persons who left stills. No loom is mentioned in any inventory of this period, although coarse cloth was no doubt woven at an early day. But the looms were probably regarded as fixtures, and not a part of the personal property. Many persons had wool-cards and spinning-wheels. There were no pictures, musical instruments or cups and saucers during this period. Nearly everybody owned horses, cattle and Bibles. In 1746, four horses were appraised at $33.33⅓, an average of $8.33⅓; and in the same year "a great Bible" was appraised at $2.91.

John Dobchin owned 12 sheep, valued at 83 cents each. Robert Crockett owned 2 work oxen, worth $18.33⅓, and a chest of drawers, worth $8.33⅓, but no table or chair.

George Hays, a housekeeper, who died in 1747, had 12 spoons, the lot valued at 25 cents. The spoons were pewter, of course. Many

persons had spoon-moulds, and kept pewter on hand for making spoons and plates.

Abraham Drake left an unusual quantity of wearing apparel. He had 2 coats, 5 vests, 3 pairs of breeches, 2 pairs of drawers, a hat, and 12 shirts.

Joseph Watson, who died in 1747, had dishes and spoons, worth 50 cents; and knives and forks, worth 58 cents. These are the first knives and forks we find inventoried.

Samuel Cunningham had half a dozen knives and forks, 5 pairs of scissors, 7 clasp-knives, 19 spoons, and 4 pewter dishes.

Next we have the inventory of the wearing apparel of two spinsters, Frances and Jannet Hutcheson, who died in 1748. Their wardrobe consisted of 8 petticoats, 6 gowns, 2 jackets, 2 short cloaks, 4 old fine shifts, 14 old coarse shifts, 2 silk handkerchiefs, 3 hoods, shoes and stockings, and "old clothes and trumpery," valued at 16⅔ cents. They also had 5 coarse sheets, 5 blankets, a rug, bolster and bedtick, basin, porringers and woodenware.

Robert Wilson, the owner of many cattle and some farming implements, left a pair of boots and a pair of shoes, valued at 66⅔ cents each pair. His bedclothes were appraised at $10.

At last we find a man, Ludovick Freedly, who owned a wagon, which was valued at $5. This was in 1749, seventeen years after the first settlement of the county.

Patrick Cook was a high-liver for the time. He left, in 1749, a stool, 7 chairs, a wig, 2 tablecloths, a table (the first), 3 beds and bedsteads, a lookingglass (the first), worth 16⅔ cents, wooden trenchers and dishes, and one knife and 2 forks, worth 8⅓ cents.

The first slave owner appears in 1749. James Coburn owned a negro man, appraised at $66.66⅔; and a negro woman worth $110. He also had pewter dishes, plates and spoons, an "iron-shod wagon," worth $23.33⅓, and bed, bedding and bedstead, worth $4.16⅔. He was a rich man, however, his personal estate amounting to $1122.

Matthew Skeen owned a feather bed and bed clothes, worth $5.50; and Mark Evans, besides 3 sheep, owned 31 books.

Martin Kauffman was of a literary turn, but probably kept books for sale. His library consisted of 4 bibles, 2 testaments, 8 hymn and psalm books, 10 small books called "Golden Apples," and sundry other small books. He had also a "house clock," valued at $16.66⅔, 10 stacks of bees, a wagon, much live stock, tools and implements, but very little household furniture. His personal estate was appraised at $777.90.

The Rev. John Hindman, the first rector of Augusta Parish, died in 1749, leaving the following property : 9 horses, a book of Common Prayer, 15 volumes of sermons, 2 minister's gowns, 5 wigs, 2 shirts and a wallet, valued at 50 cents.

John Moffett, whose estate was appraised in 1749, had many horses, 2 beds and bed-clothing, worth $5, 6 knives and forks, and a Bible and 2 small books, worth $3.

Peter Kinder had 2 chairs.

Samuel Scott owned 4 slaves, valued at $283.33⅓; spoons, noggins, trenchers, &c., $1.66⅔ ; 2 pairs of breeches, $1.66⅔—no table or chair.

James Shields, who died in 1750, had, among other property, a knife and fork, valued at 21 cents.

Matthew Shaupe owned a wagon, 21 sheep, 9 bee hives, etc.

Michael Rinehart, among other things, left "a peair of old schlippers," worth 8⅓ cents.

After 1751, wagons were quite numerous. One man who died during that year had a nursery of apple trees, valued, however, at only $2.66⅔.

Col. James Patton, the nabob of the settlement, was killed in 1755, but his personal estate was not appraised till 1758. In the list we find the first mention of silver spoons, but only 3. The other articles, in addition to many bonds, are 12 chairs, 2 tables, a looking glass, 3 cups and saucers, the best bed and furniture, ($16.66⅔), and 4 holland shirts.

During, at least the first year of the settlement, the people must have subsisted on fresh meat, without bread or salt ; and for some years thereafter, their dwellings were not much better equipped with furniture than the Indian wigwams of the period.

From the absence of any report to the contrary, it is inferred that the early settlers enjoyed good health. There was no malaria in the region, and the people were not swept off by pestilence as were the settlers on the sea coast. Nor did the people suffer from want of food, such as it was. While the colonists in lower Virginia wasted their time in idleness, or in futile search for gold, the sturdy people of the Valley set to work at once to cultivate the soil, and soon had "bread enough and to spare." John Lewis had a mill near Staunton in 1751, but when it was built we do not know. Until it began to grind corn, the people must have relied for food chiefly on the Indian dish, hominy.

The first settlers brought, or rather came on, horses, and probably a few cows were driven along. Dogs, of course, followed their mas-

ters. When hogs and sheep were brought from Pennsylvania, across the Potomac and up the Valley, we have no means of ascertaining. There is also no record of the birth of the first white child in the settlement around the site of Staunton. There were many infants, however, before the year 1740.

NOTE.—Alexander Breckinridge lived not quite five years after he came to the Valley, but the inventory of his personal property, made June 5, 1744, and recorded at Orange C. H., shows that his house was better equipped than the dwellings of most of the early settlers. Besides some wooden and pewter vessels, he had one pot, a candlestick, a pair of tongs and a fire shovel, eight knives, six forks, (worth 50 cents), one oval table and one square table, a looking-glass and one tumbler. No spoons of any kind.

GABRIEL JONES, THE KING'S ATTORNEY.

Gabriel Jones was the son of John and Elizabeth Jones, of the county of Montgomery, North Wales. At what date this couple came to America is not known. They settled at Williamsburg, Virginia, and on the 13th of August, 1721, their first child, a daughter, named Elizabeth, was born in William and Mary College. Nearly three years later, on May 17, 1724, Gabriel was born, about three miles from Williamsburg. Another son, named John, was born at the same place, June 12, 1725.

John Jones, the father, appears to have died before the year 1727. Mrs. Jones and her children were in England at the beginning of that year, and on February 20th her daughter was baptized at St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London, as shown by the parish record.

In April, 1732, Gabriel was admitted as a scholar of the "Blue Coat School," Christ's Hospital, London, on the presentation of Mr. Thomas Sandford. There he remained seven years. Under date of April 12, 1739, the following entry appears on the records of the school:

"Gabriel Jones is this day taken and discharged from the charges of this Hospital forever, by Elizabeth Jones, his mother, and by Mr. John Houghton, of Lyon's Inn, in the county of Middlesex, Solicitor in the High Court of Chancery, with whom he is to serve six years."

This brings his history up to 1745, in which year his mother died. Having served out his term of apprenticeship, the young lawyer, then twenty-one years of age, was no doubt "admitted to the bar." The family were of "gentle blood," but in reduced circumstances. One of Mr. Jones' descendants preserves some old coin, on the paper wrapping of which is written in his own hand: "This is the patrimony I received from my mother. From my father I received nothing." As early as 1750 he used the same crest and coat-of-arms as Sir William Jones, indicating a relationship with that celebrated man.

Gabriel Jones found means to return to America soon after he attained his majority and was "free of his indentures." He located first in Frederick county, and on March 1, 1747, bought a tract of land near Kernstown, where he lived for a time. He resided in Frederick in April, 1746, when he was appointed prosecuting attorney for Augusta, and was then only twenty-two years old.

On the 16th of October, 1749, Mr. Jones married Margaret Morton, widow of George Morton, and daughter of William Strother, of King George county. Mrs. Jones was born in 1726, and died in 1822, in her ninety-seventh year. She is described as a lady of eminent Christian character.

A deed of Christopher Francisco, of Pennsylvania, to Gabriel Jones, of the county of Frederick, dated August 8, 1751, is recorded in the clerk's office of Augusta county. The land conveyed consisted of 244 acres, being a part of 5,000 acres granted by patent to Jacob Stover, lying on the north side of "Shenandore River," in the parish and county of Augusta, and "opposite to the lower end of the Great Island." This was the farm below the present village of Port Republic, upon which Mr. Jones lived many years, and where he died. He was still a resident of Frederick, however, on the 24th of August, 1753, when Alexander Richie conveyed to him 400 acres of land on the north side of James River in the present county of Botetourt. He sold his Frederick property, on which he had lived, December 3, 1753, and probably before the close of that year removed to his farm on the Shenandoah, in Augusta.

If not the first lawyer who resided in the Valley, Mr. Jones was the first member of that profession who lived in Augusta. He was actively engaged in practice for many years. As we have seen, he also represented Augusta in the House of Burgesses in 1757, 1758 and 1771. He was considered a man of great ability and unbending integrity. His only fault, or the only one which tradition tells us of, was an extremely irritable temper, which, when aroused, expressed itself in the strongest terms he could command, mingled with no little profanity. Having a scorn of all dishonesty and meanness, he did not spare a miscreant by tongue or pen. Two of his letters are before us. In one he describes a certain person, whose trickery he was exposing, as "one of the greatest villains," etc., etc. The other is dated July 28, 1782, and was written, when he was sick, to his son—indeed, from his own account he was "very low"—but he summoned strength enough to denounce a man about whom he wrote as a "scoundrel" and "infamous rascal." Yet at the close of this letter he expressed the tenderest affection for his son's wife.

When Rockingham was constituted, in 1777, Mr. Jones became a citizen of that county, and was immediately appointed prosecuting attorney. He was a member of the State Convention of 1788, having his brother-in-law, Thomas Lewis, as his colleague, both of them being zealous advocates of the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Mr. Lewis was a popular man while Mr. Jones was not, and it is related that in a public speech before the election, the latter declined the support of "the rascals" who, he understood, proposed to vote for him be-

cause of his association with the former. Archibald Stuart, of Augusta, went to Rockingham to electioneer for Mr. Jones, who afterwards presented to him a chaise in which to bring home his wife.

He continued to practice law, and the road he traveled, from his residence to the county seat of Rockingham, is still called "The Lawyer's Road." An anecdote related of him, whether true or false, illustrates the awe he inspired in his latter days. It is said that on one occasion, during the trial of a cause before the County Justices of Rockingham, or Shenandoah, he had Hugh Holmes, afterwards the Judge, as his adversary at the bar. Holmes was mischievous and witty, and the old gentleman became angry and profane. The court abstained from interfering as long as possible, but finally put their heads together to confer about the matter. After due consideration, the Presiding Justice announced as the judgment of the court that they would send Lawyer Holmes to jail if he did not quit making Lawyer Jones swear so.

Mr. Jones died in October, 1806. Having always pictured him as a giant in size and strength, we were surprised to learn that he was a man of small stature. His portrait represents him in the old style of dress, with a large wig, and a shade over his right eye. Some of his descendants suppose that he lost his eye during his early life, and others attribute the loss to an accident during his latter years. In the spring of 1887, a window, in memory of Mr. and Mrs. Jones, was inserted by their descendants in a new Protestant Episcopal church, which stands near their former residence.

The children of Gabriel Jones were three daughters and one son, besides one that died in infancy. Margaret Morton, the oldest daughter, married Colonel John Harvie, for some time a member of Congress and for many years Register of the Land Office of Virginia. The descendants of Colonel and Mrs. Harvie are very numerous, and many of them have been highly distinguished. Another daughter married John Lewis, of Fredericksburg; and the third married Mr. Hawkins, of Kentucky.

The John Lewis just named was a merchant, and furnished to General Wilkinson the capital for his trading expedition down the Mississippi. He was a son of Col. Fielding Lewis by his first wife, Catharine Washington, a cousin of the General. He was married five times, and Miss Jones was his third wife.

William Strother Jones, the only son of Gabriel Jones, was born March 21, 1756. In the catalogue of students of William and Mary College we find the name of Strother Jones, son of Gabriel Jones, of Augusta, in 1767. His wife was Fanny Thornton, of Fredericksburg, who died about the year 1790. He was a captain in the Continental army during the Revolution, and subsequently a colonel of militia. It is said that he was an accomplished gentleman, but inherited his father's temper. At one time during the war he was ordered under arrest for "beating a sentry while on post and a corporal on guard."

William Strother Jones, Jr., was the only son of the former. He was born October 7, 1783, lived in Frederick county, married, first, Ann Maria Marshall, a niece of Chief-Justice Marshall; and, second, Ann Cary Randolph, and died July 31, 1845.

The children of the last-named William Strother Jones were, Mrs. F. L. Barton, of Winchester; Wm. Strother Jones, now of New York; Captain James F. Jones, who was murdered in 1866; Francis B. Jones, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Virginia regiment, who was killed at Malvern Hill; and R. B. Jones.

Robert T. Barton, of Winchester, to whom we are indebted for much of the foregoing information, is a great-great-grandson of Gabriel Jones.

John Jones, the brother of Gabriel Jones, had a son named John Gabriel, who was born June 6, 1752, and while still a very young man went to Kentucky. In June, 1776, George Rogers Clark and John Gabriel Jones were chosen, by a popular meeting at Harrodsburg, members of the General Assembly of Virginia. Before they arrived here the Legislature had adjourned, and Jones directed his steps to the settlements on the Holston, leaving Clark to proceed to Richmond. The latter obtained from the council an order for the transportation to Pittsburg of 500 pounds of gunpowder for the use of the people of Kentucky. At the Fall session of the Legislature the two agents of Kentucky were in attendance. They were not received as members, but through their influence the county of Kentucky was constituted. Clark and Jones conveyed the powder from Pittsburg down the Ohio river to a point eleven miles above the present town of Maysville, and concealed it there. In December following, Colonel John Todd and a party of men, under the guidance of Jones, went for the powder; but on Christmas day, when near the Lower Blue Lick, they were attacked by Indians. Jones and several others were killed, and the expedition was abandoned. In January, 1777, however, Colonel Harrod succeeded in finding the powder and conveying it to Harrodsburg.

John Jones, the brother of Gabriel, was not the rector of Augusta parish in colonial times. Some of the descendants of Gabriel Jones state that as far as they know he had no brother whatever. Others not only give the brother's name, but the date of his birth.

Thomas Lewis's Journal.

The journal of Thomas Lewis, the first surveyor of Augusta county, of the expedition of himself and others in 1746, undertaken to establish a part of the line of Lord Fairfax's grant, is preserved by Mr. Lewis's descendants. It constitutes a manuscript volume of many pages, most of which record only courses and distances. But here and there are items of more or less interest. We make the following extracts:

"*Wednesday, September 10th, 1746.*—Set out from home in order to wait on his Majesty's and the Right Honorable Thomas Lord Fairfax's Commissioners at Captain Downs's, from thence to proceed to run the dividing line between his Majesty and Lord Fairfax, from the head spring of the Rappahannock to the head spring of the north

branch of Potowmack. Lay at Michael Woods's this night, having rode 20 miles."

At the date mentioned Thomas Lewis was twenty-eight years of age. He married in 1749, and in 1751 bought the land on the Shenandoah river, near the present village of Port Republic, where he afterward lived and died. His home in 1746, was probably at his father's on Lewis' Creek, about two miles northeast of Staunton. Michael Woods resided east of the Blue Ridge, in Albemarle. The road, or path, between the homes of Lewis and Woods was through Woods' Gap, now called Jarman's.

Captain Downs was probably the Henry Downs who was presented by the Grand Jury of Orange county in 1740, "(for Sabbath-breaking by traveling with loaded horses to Sharrendo.")

On Thursday the surveyor set off very early, was very sick, but rode thirty-five miles to one Franklin's, where he put up.

There is a popular belief in Albemarle that Dr. Benjamin Franklin at one time owned land and resided in that county, but the Albemarle Franklin was no doubt the person mentioned above. Dr. Franklin was then in Philadelphia engaged in the study of electricity. The journal proceeds:

"*Friday.*—Set out about nine. Got to Captain Downs's where was Colonel Fry, one of his Majesty's Commissioners, Colonel Jefferson, one of the surveyors for his Majesty, and Captain Winslo, for Lord Fairfax. After having eat breakfast, came the Honorable William Fairfax and Colonel William Beverley, his Lordship's Commissioners. Likewise Colonel Lomax, one of his Majesty's Commissioners. Likewise George Fairfax, Esq., and Mr. Robert Brooke, one of his Majesty's surveyors."

Colonel Joshua Fry, a native of England, was at one time Professor of Mathematics in William and Mary College, but in 1746, resided in Albemarle. In 1752, he and Lunsford Lomax and James Patton concluded a treaty with the Indians at Logstown. He and Peter Jefferson completed the map of Virginia, known as "Fry and Jefferson's." In 1754, he was Colonel, commanding the Virginia forces against the French, and died on his way with the troops to the Ohio.

Colonel Peter Jefferson, father of the President, was county surveyor and subsequently county lieutenant of Albemarle. He died in 1757. Colonel Beverley was the patentee of "Beverley Manor," in Augusta. Colonel Lomax, grandfather of the late Judge J. T. Lomax of Fredericksburg, was a Burgess from Caroline county in 1756. Mr. Robert Brooke was the grandfather of Governor Robert Brooke and Judge Francis T. Brooke. He accompanied Governor Spotswood in his visit to the Valley in 1716.

The baggage for the expedition was brought to Captain Downs' by wagon on the 12th, but the horses did not arrive till the next day. In the meanwhile a camp was pitched in a field and was visited by "a great number of the neighboring gentlemen."

"*Sunday 14th.*—Most of the gentlemen went to hear Mr. Marshall preach, who returned with them to dinner. Several of us solicited him to preach us a sermon before we set off. He, after making

several religious evasions, showed us the impossibility thereof, and so bid us farewell."

The Rev. Mungo Marshall was rector of the first Orange church. This church stood about ten miles northwest of Orange C. H., near an ancient mound or burial place of Indians, on the right bank of the Rapidan river. Mr. Marshall died in 1758. The vandal spirit which led to the dismantling and destruction of many old colonial churches, did not spare his grave. His tombstone was carried off, and first used to grind paint on, and afterward hides were dressed on it in a tannery. —(Bishop Meade).

Colonel Peter Hedgeman, one of his Majesty's Commissioners, joined the party on the 15th, most of which day was spent in inspecting the horses. Fourteen horses were pronounced fit for service. The number of men in the expedition was forty.

Several days more were passed in preparations. During the night of the 17th the camp was aroused by a quarrel amongst a crowd of drunken people, who used fence rails and stakes with "tolerable good success."

The baggage, being all packed on the 18th, a part was sent off under Mr. Anthony, one of the stewards, by the way of Swift Run Gap, there to be ready when the party should get over the Blue Ridge; the other, under Mr. Genn, to the head of the Conoway (now Conway, a branch of the Rapidan), where the survey was to begin.

"*Friday, 19th.*—We set off from Captain Downs's with expectation of reaching head of Conoway that night. Colonel Fairfax and Colonel Beverley outrode the rest. We called at Hickley's and regaled ourselves with some very good cider. Night coming on, we were obliged to encamp in the mountain before we got to ye spring head."

"*Saturday, 20th.*—The mountain made such a dismal appearance that John Thomas, one of our men, took sick on the same and so returned home."

About 12 o'clock on Saturday the party reached the camp of Fairfax and Beverley, at the head of the river, and immediately proceeded to discover, if possible, which branch the surveyors had measured up in 1736. After an unsuccessful search, it was determined on the 22d to survey three branches in order to discover the right or main branch.

"*Monday, 29th.*—It being impossible to take our horses over the Peaked Mountain, they were sent over Massanutten Gap" (now New Market Gap) "with the commissioners and baggage. Mr. Brooke and I went up to where we left off on Saturday."

"*Friday, October 3d.*—This day several of the horses had like been killed, tumbling over rocks and precipices, and ourselves often in the utmost danger. This terrible place was called Purgatory."

Sunday, 5th—Our situation was such we could not lie by. Our horses were starving; our provisions not being sufficient for us more than one day made it a work of necessity for us to press forward." The mountain was "exceedingly high and very rocky," and darkness overtook them. "We had like been killed with repeated falls," and the horses were in a pitiable condition. At length they reached the foot of the mountain, but their condition was not much improved,

"there being a large water course," with steep banks, which they had often to cross. After almost giving up in despair, they reached camp about ten o'clock, "hardly any of us escaping without broken shins or some other misfortune." But on the morning of the 6th they began again on the top of the mountain.

The commissioners went by an easier route, leaving the surveyors to contend with the difficulties of the mountains. On October 7th "we were very much put to for want of water. We could find no other than a standing puddle wherein the bears used to wallow."

Thursday, 9th.—Went to see Coburn who, with his wife and miller, a buxom lass, repaid the visit in the evening, which we spent very merrily."

On Friday the 10th the party paused at the farthest settlement to obtain a supply of provisions, to have the shoes of the horses fastened on, and to allow the men to wash their shirts. On the 11th they camped on Looney's Creek, which runs into the South Branch.

"*Tuesday, 14th.*—This river was called Styx, from the dismal appearance of the place, being sufficient to strike terror in any human creature. The laurel, ivy and spruce pines so extremely thick in a swamp through which the river runs that one cannot have the least prospect except he look upwards. The water of the river of a dark brownish color, and its motion so slow that it can hardly be said to move. Its depth about four feet. The bottom muddy and the banks high, which made it difficult for us to cross. Most of the horses, when they attempted to ascend the furthest bank, tumbled with their loads back into the river. Most of our baggage, that would have been damaged by the water, was brought over on men's shoulders, such as powder, bread and bed-clothes."

Being without food for man or beast on Sunday the 19th, the party had to push on. On Monday the 20th, a deer and turkey were killed. They heard guns which they supposed were fired by Indians, of whom none were seen. On the 28th one of the men surprised and killed a buck with an axe, and on the same day the party arrived again at Coburn's, on Mill Creek. Several of the inhabitants came to see them.

"*Thursday, 30th.*—This being his Majesty's birthday," (George II), "we concluded the evening in merriment. Drank his Majesty's health, which was followed by a discharge of nine guns."

"*Saturday, November 8th.*—Went down to Lockhart's and encamped. Here we had left some rum and wine, which contributed to our spending the evening very pleasantly, rejoicing we had surmounted so many difficulties." Here also two of the men fell out, and one offered the other a "piece of eight" to fight him. The challenged party accepted and won the money, which, however, was recovered before a justice in Orange.

On Thursday, November 13th, the commissioners and surveyors were together again. The party dined and drank "his Majesty's and Lord Fairfax's health, which was accompanied with a discharge of nine guns to each health." At "Buckner's Quarter" they got some cider and apples.

Colonel Jefferson and Mr. Brooke set off for home on Saturday, November 15th. On Monday the 17th, most of the men being discharged, the horses, tents, etc., were set up at auction at Captain Downs', and on the same day Mr. Lewis took leave of the "gentlemen commissioners" and started home. He arrived at Michael Woods' about two o'clock, crossed the Blue Ridge that evening, spent the night at Samuel Gay's, and reached home on the 19th, having been absent two months and nine days.

The surveyors had agreed to meet at Colonel Jefferson's the first of January "to make out what plans of the Northern Neck were wanted." Therefore Mr. Lewis took to horse again on December 30th, and arrived at Colonel Jefferson's on the 3d of January The other surveyors, Mr. Brooke and Captain Winslo, not coming, he waited till the 14th, and then started to Essex county in search of them. He arrived at Mr. Brooke's the night of the 15th, visited Colonel Beverley on the 16th, and in the evening went with Mr. Brooke to see Colonel Lomax.

On the 23d the surveyor's assembled at Colonel Jefferson's, and began their "plans of the Northern Neck" the next day. But finding they wanted paper and other things, they had to send to Williamsburg for a supply. On Sunday, February 2d, says the journal, "we all rode down to Richmond church, where we heard the Rev. Mr. Stith preach. The gentlemen of the town treated us to a handsome dinner at Mr. Coale's ordinary." By February 21st Captain Winslo and Mr. Lewis "made seven plans of the Northern Neck on Lord Fairfax's account, according to our instructions from Colonel Beverley," and starting from Colonel Jefferson's on the 22d, Mr. Lewis reached home on the 24th.

Colonel Jefferson's permanent residence was at Shadwell, in Albemarle, which is seventy or eighty miles from Richmond; but at the time referred to, he was living temporarily at a place called Tuckahoe, near Richmond [History of Albemarle County.]

TheRev. William Stith, author of the History of Virginia, was a nephew of Sir John Randolph, one of the original patentees of Beverley's Manor. In 1738 he became rector of Henrico parish, and wrote his history in 1740 at Varina, a seat of one of the Randolphs on James river below Richmond. From 1752 till his death, in 1755, he was president of William and Mary College.

We have not followed Mr. Lewis' spelling, which is decidedly "archaic," to use a modern apologetic term. As he grew older he improved in orthography, as his later writings show.

Treaties with Indians.

On the 2d of July, 1744, a treaty was concluded at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, between Thomas Lee, member of the Council of State and one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Colony of Virginia, and William Beverley, Colonel and County Lieutenant of the county of Orange and member of the House of Burgesses, Commissioners ap-

pointed by the Governor of Virginia, and twenty-five chiefs of the Six United Nations of Indians. In consideration of four hundred pounds, current money of Pennsylvania, paid partly in goods and partly in gold money, the Indians renounced their right and claim to all the lands in the Colony of Virginia, and acknowledged the title thereto of the King of Great Britain. This is known as the Treaty of Lancaster, and the instrument was witnessed by James Patton, Robert Brooke, Jr., James Madison and others. The deed was proved in the General Court and ordered to be recorded, October 25, 1744.

Some dissatisfaction having arisen among the Indians in regard to the Treaty of Lancaster, a conference was held at Logstown, on the Ohio, in 1752, between chiefs of the Six Nations and Joshua Fry, Lunsford Lomax and James Patton, Commissioners of Virginia; and another deed was executed by six chiefs, consenting to the deed of July 2, 1744, and promising to assist and protect British subjects settled "on the southern or eastern part of the river called Alleghany." This deed was dated June 13, 1752, and was witnessed by George Croghan, Thomas McKee, William Preston and others.

At Fort Pitt, on July 10, 1775, the chiefs and sachems of the Six Nations, in consideration of twelve thousand Spanish dollars, "or the value thereof in merchandise," and also "the great justice and integrity" of George Croghan to the Indians, conveyed a tract of land on the south side of the Ohio River, beginning opposite the mouth of French creek, or Beef river, etc., etc., containing by estimation six millions (6,000,000) acres. The deed was signed by six chiefs, one making the mark of "the hill," another of "the mountain," etc.; and was witnessed by John Campbell, Thomas Hosier and George Rootes.

On the 30th of July, 1777, George Croghan, "of Fort Pitt, in the State of Virginia," by deed to Dr. Thomas Walker and others, in consideration of five thousand Spanish dollars, conveyed "one clear eight and fortieth part" (125,000 acres) of the tract granted by the Indians to Croghan. Among the witnesses to this deed were George Rootes and Strother Jones.

George Rootes is said to have lived in Augusta, near the Stone Church, but we have found no trace of him in our county archives. From the Catalogue of William and Mary College, we learn that, in 1771, Philip Rootes, son of Philip Rootes of Augusta, was a student at that institution; and in 1779, Thomas Rootes, of Augusta, was a student there. Strother Jones was the son of Gabriel Jones of Augusta.

The deeds herein referred to are printed in full in the book called the "Page Family in Virginia."

The Browns.

The Rev. John Brown was a native of Ireland, educated at Princeton, New Jersey, and pastor of New Providence congregation for forty-four years. His residence was first near the village of Fairfield, and afterwards near the church, on the spot where the late John Withrow long resided.

1. John Brown, the oldest son of Rev. John Brown, was born at Staunton, (probably at Spring Farm, where his maternal grandmother lived), September 12, 1757. He was sent to Princeton College, and when the American army retreated through the Jerseys, joined the troops, crossed the Delaware with them, and remained some time as a volunteer. He afterwards was a member of a Rockbridge company, and with it served under LaFayette. His education was completed at William and Mary College. The sketch of him in Collins's History of Kentucky (Volume II, page 252), says he "assisted the celebrated Dr. Waddell for two years as a teacher in his school, read law in the office of Mr. Jefferson, and moved to Kentucky in 1782." After Kentucky became a State he was three times consecutively elected a United States Senator. He was also a member of the House of Representatives one or more terms. In 1805 he retired to private life, and after that declined all overtures to take office. He died August 28, 1837, at Frankfort. His wife was a daughter of the Rev. John Mason, of New York, and sister of the distinguished Rev. John M. Mason.

The late Judge Mason Brown, of Frankfort, was a son of the Hon. John Brown. One of Judge Brown's sons was the late Benjamin Gratz Brown, of Missouri, the candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States on the "Greeley Ticket," in 1872. Another of his sons is Colonel John Mason Brown, of Louisville.

2. James Brown, the second son of Rev. John Brown, was distinguished as a lawyer in Kentucky. His wife was a sister of Mrs. Henry Clay. Upon the acquisition of Louisiana, he removed to New Orleans, was associated with Livingston in compiling the civil code of that State, was several times elected to the United States Senate, and was subsequently Minister to France. He died in Philadelphia in 1830, without issue.

3. Dr. Samuel Brown, the third son, studied in Edinburgh, and for many years was a professor in Transylvania University.

4. Dr. Preston W. Brown, the youngest son, studied his profession in Philadelphia, practised in Kentucky, and died in 1826.

The Rev. John Brown became pastor of New Providence in 1753, and continued such till 1796, when he followed his sons to Kentucky. He died at Frankfort in 1803, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, his wife having died in 1802 in her seventy-third year.

Mr. Brown had two daughters.—Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. Thomas B. Craighead, of Tennessee, son of the Rev. Alexander Craighead, and Mary, wife of Dr. Alexander Humphreys.

John Humphreys, whose wife was Margaret Carlisle, lived in the county of Armagh, Ireland. His oldest son, David Carlisle Humphreys, came to America in 1763, when he was about twenty-two years old, and lived for eight years in Pennsylvania. There he married Margaret Finley, who is the Mrs. Margaret Humphreys mentioned on a future page. In 1771 he removed to Augusta county, and purchased a farm near Greenville, where he died in 1826, aged eighty-five years. His children were three sons, John, Samuel and Aaron Finley, and five daughters who were the wives respectively of Samuel McCutchen, Samuel Blackwood, David Gilkeson, James S. Willson and Archibald Rhea.

Dr. Alexander Humphreys was a brother of David C. Humphreys. He came to America some years later than David C., and lived first near New Providence church. He afterwards removed to Staunton, where he practised his profession till his death, in 1802. His widow and children then removed to Frankfort, Kentucky.

Major ANDREW HAMILTON was born in Augusta county in 1741. His parents were Archibald and Frances Calhoun Hamilton, who came to this country from Ireland. Archibald is said to have been a descendant of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, who was regent of Scotland during the infancy of Mary Stuart.

The date of Archibald Hamilton's settlement in Augusta is not known. He was probably one of the first to come, and like other early settlers, located on the public domain, without legal title to his homestead. In 1747, however, he received from William Beverley, the patentee, a deed for three hundred and two acres of land on Christian's creek, in Beverley Manor, for the nominal consideration of five shillings. He also acquired lands by patent from the Government. He survived till about the year 1794. His children were five sons, Audly, John, Andrew, William, and Archibald, and a daughter, named Lettice.

Andrew Hamilton married, in August, Jane Magill, a native of Pennsylvania, and in 1765 removed to South Carolina and settled in Abbeville, in the neighborhood of Andrew Pickens, afterwards the celebrated General Pickens, who had gone with his parents from Augusta some years previously. Both Hamilton and Pickens entered the military service at the beginning of the Revolutionary war. The former served through the whole war, first as captain and then as major under General Pickens, and took part in nearly all the important battles in South Carolina and Georgia. At one time he was imprisoned in a block-house on his own estate.

After the war, Major Hamilton was elected to the Legislature of South Carolina, and continued to serve in that capacity till he was unfitted for it by old age. Then he was requested to nominate his successor, who was immediately elected.

The life of Major Hamilton was long and eventful. He died January 19, 1835, in the ninety-fifth year of his age, his wife having died April 20, 1826, in her eighty-sixth year. The remains of this aged and distinguished couple lie in the cemetery of Upper Long Cane Church, of which General Pickens and Major Hamilton are said to have been the first elders.

Major Hamilton is described as a strict Presbyterian in his religious faith, and a man of inflexible will, dauntless courage, and superb physical development. He left many descendants, and among them are the Simonds and Ravenels, of Charleston, Parkers and Waites, of Columbia, Calhouns, of South Carolina and Georgia, and Alstons and Cabells, of Virginia. Some time before the year 1830, Major Hamilton and one of his daughters, Mrs. Alston, made a trip on horseback from South Carolina to Augusta county, to visit the spot where he was

born and reared. It was his first visit—one of tender remembrance—since he had left the county in his youth. A brother of his went to Kentucky, and was the founder of a wealthy and distinguished family.

The Rev. CHARLES CUMMINGS was born in Ireland and emigrated to Lancaster county, Virginia, where he taught school and studied theology with the Rev. James Waddell. He was licensed to preach by Hanover Presbytery at Tinkling Spring, April 17, 1766. As stated heretofore, he became pastor of Brown's meeting-house congregation in 1767. The elders present at his ordination were George Moffett, Alexander Walker and John McFarland. In 1773 he was called to minister to two congregations on the Holston, and settled near Abingdon. The call was signed by one hundred and twenty heads of families—Campbells, Blackburns, Edmondsons, Christians, Thompsons, Montgomerys, and others. The country on the Holston was then exposed to Indian inroads, and Mr. Cummings was in the habit of carrying his rifle with him into the pulpit. On one occasion he was engaged in a deadly conflict with the Indians. In 1776 he accompanied the troops under Colonel Christian in their expedition against the Cherokees, and was the first minister that ever preached in Tennessee. He died in 1812.

The Rev. JAMES MADISON, D. D., was born August 27, 1749, near Port Republic, then in Augusta county. He was educated at William and Mary College, and first studied law, but soon abandoned that profession for the ministry. In 1773 he was chosen Professor of Mathematics in William and Mary, and going to England was there licensed as a Minister by the Bishop of London. Returning to Virginia he resumed his place in the College, of which he became President in 1777. He presided as Bishop over the first Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia, in May, 1785. During the same year the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the University of Pennsylvania. He died in 1815. His children were a son, James C. Madison, of Roanoke county, and a daughter, Mrs. Robert G. Scott, of Richmond.

CHAPTER IV.

INDIAN WARS, ETC., FROM 1753 TO 1756.

From 1753, for more than ten years, war raged all along the frontier. We do not propose to give a history of the general war and can only briefly sketch some of the principal events which immediately concerned the people of Augusta county.

Some account of the Indian tribes most frequently in contact with the white settlers of this region is appropriate here. Withers states, in his "Border Warfare" [p. 39], that when Virginia became known to the whites, the portion of the State lying northwest of the Blue Ridge and extending to the lakes was possessed by the Massawomees. These were a powerful confederacy, rarely in unity with the tribes east of that range of mountains; but generally harassing them by frequent hostile irruptions into their country. Of their subsequent history, nothing is now known. They are supposed by some to have been the ancestors of the Six Nations.

"As settlements were extended from the sea shore," says Withers, "the Massawomees gradually retired, and when the white population reached the Blue Ridge, the Valley between it and the Alleghany was entirely uninhabited. This delightful region of country was then only used as a hunting ground, and as a highway for belligerent parties of different nations, in their military expeditions against each other. In consequence of the almost continuous hostilities between the northern and southern Indians, these expeditions were very frequent, and tended somewhat to retard the settlement of the Valley, and render a residence in it, for some time, insecure and unpleasant. Between the Alleghany mountains and the Ohio river, within the present limits of Virginia, there were some villages interspersed, inhabited by small numbers of Indians, the most of whom retired northwest of that river as the tide of immigration rolled towards it. Some, however, remained in the interior after settlements began to be made in their vicinity.

"North of the present boundary of Virginia, and particularly near the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, and in the circumjacent country, the Indians were more numerous and their villages larger. In 1753, when General Washington visited the French posts on the Ohio, the spot which had been selected by the Ohio Company as the site for a fort, was occupied by Shingess, King

of the Delawares; and other parts of the proximate country were inhabited by Mingoes and Shawanees [Shawnees]. When the French were forced to abandon the position which they had taken at the forks of Ohio, the greater part of the adjacent tribes removed further west. So that when improvements were begun to be made in the wilderness of Northwestern Virginia, it had been almost entirely deserted by the natives; and except a few straggling hunters and warriors, who occasionally traversed it in quest of game, or of human beings on whom to wreak their vengeance, almost its only tenants were beasts of the forest."

We have no statistics of Indian population in 1753. A Captain Hutchins visited most of the tribes in 1768, and made the most accurate estimate he could of their numbers at that date. The Indian population was no doubt much greater in 1753 than 1768; ten years of war having thinned their ranks considerably. In the latter year the statistics were as follows, as reported by Hutchins: The Cherokees, in the western part of North Carolina, now Tennessee, numbered about two thousand five hundred. The Chickasaws resided south of the Cherokees, and had a population of seven hundred and fifty. The Catawbas, on the Catawba river, in South Carolina, numbered only one hundred and fifty. These last, although so few, were remarkably enterprising. They are said to have frequently traversed the Valley of Virginia, and even penetrated the country on the Susquehanna and between the Ohio and Lake Erie, to wage war with the Delawares. The more northern tribes were the Delawares, Shawnees, Chippewas, Wyandots, Miamis and other northwestern tribes, and had an aggregate population of about three thousand five hundred. The Shawnees, the terror of the inhabitants of Augusta county from the frontier to the Blue Ridge, in 1753, numbered only about three hundred fighting men in 1768. They then dwelt on the Sciota and Muskingum rivers, in Ohio, having sixteen small villages. We write the name Shawnee as it is generally pronounced. Some historians write it Shewanee, and Parkman calls the tribe Shawanees. The Shawnees and Delawares were close allies.

Col. James Smith, a native of Pennsylvania, was captured by Indians, in 1755, when he was eighteen years old, and detained amongst them five years; but being adopted into the tribe, was treated with great kindness. He became a prominent citizen of Bourbon county, Kentucky, and in 1799 published an account of his life and travels. He says: "I am of the opinion that from Braddock's war until the present time, there never were more than three thousand Indians at any time in arms against us, west of Fort Pitt, and fre-

quently not half that number. According to the Indians' own accounts, during the whole of Braddock's war, or from 1755 till 1758, they killed or took fifty of our people for one that they lost." Afterwards, the frontiersmen, especially the Virginians, learned something of the Indian mode of warfare, and fewer whites and more Indians were killed; yet, even then, the savages claimed, and Smith believed with good reason, that they killed or took ten of our people for one that they lost. Col. Smith thinks the Indians displayed admirable skill in warfare.

Kercheval states that the Catawba and Delaware Indians were said to have been engaged in war at the time the Valley was first entered by white people, and that the feud was continued for many years afterwards. Several bloody battles were fought between these tribes on or near the Potomac. One of these occurred at the mouth of Antietam creek, in 1736, it is believed. "The Delawares," says Kercheval, "had penetrated far to the south, committed some acts of outrage on the Catawbas, and on their retreat were overtaken at the mouth of this creek, when a desperate conflict ensued. Every man of the Delaware party was put to death, with the exception of one who escaped after the battle was over, and every Catawba held up a scalp but one. This was a disgrace not to be borne; and he instantly gave chase to the fugitive, overtook him at the Susquehanna river, (a distance little short of one hundred miles), killed and scalped him, and returning showed his scalp to several white people, and exulted in what he had done." Other battles between these tribes occurred at Painted Rock, on the South Branch; at Hanging Rock, in Hampshire; and near the site of Franklin, Pendleton county. According to Kercheval, a few Shawnees continued to live in the lower valley till 1754, when they removed west of the Alleghany mountain.

According to tradition, a battle between Indians occurred on the Cowpasture river, near Millborough, Bath county, where there is a small mound supposed to cover the remains of the slain. In the spring of 1886 the floods washed away a portion of the mound, and exposed to view five large skeletons in a good state of preservation. Tradition also says that an Indian maiden, from a neighboring eminence, watched the battle, in which her lover was engaged.

Europeans paid little or no attention to the claim of the Indians to the territory which they held, or roamed over. France held Canada and Louisiana, which latter was understood to embrace all the country west of the Mississippi river. The territory mentioned was conceded by England to France; but not content with this vast domain, the French claimed all the territory watered by streams tributary to the

Mississippi. In pursuance of their claim, they built several forts on the Ohio, and finally Fort Du Quesne, where Pittsburg now stands, at that time, as held by Virginians, within the county of Augusta. In 1753, Governor Dinwiddie sent Major Washington to remonstrate with the French officer commanding on the Ohio, and to warn him that war was inevitable unless he withdrew. The French persisting in their claim, Dinwiddie began to prepare for the conflict, and invited the co-operation of the other colonies. The Indians, at first not specially friendly to either side, were conciliated by the French, and proved their faithful and efficient allies during the war.

It is generally supposed that the French were specially skilful in gaining the friendship of the Indians, and it may have been so to a considerable extent; but there is another reason why the Shawnees, Delawares and other Algonquin tribes, became their efficient partisans. Champlain and other early French settlers in Canada, to ingratiate themselves with the Indians of that region, assisted them in their wars with the Iroquois, or Five nations, of New York, and thus gained their lasting friendship, while the English secured the Iroquois as allies. The Shawnees, Delawares and others were congeners of the Canada Indians. The Iroquois waged incessant and exterminating war with all other tribes.

The Iroquois were composed originally of five tribes,—Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas,—and occupied the country from Upper Canada to West Virginia, surrounded by Algonquins. They were called the "Five Nations" of New York, where most of them resided. The Tuscaroras joined the confederacy, and they were then known as the "Six Nations."

In 1754, David Tygart and a man named Files, crossed the Alleghany mountain and settled near each other on a branch of the Monongahela, since known as Tygart's Valley River. Files located at the mouth of a creek where Beverley, the county-seat of Randolph, now stands, and Tygart a few miles higher up the river. They had not been there long, when feeling unsafe they concluded to return to the settlements; but before they proceeded to do so, the family of Files was attacked by Indians, and every member killed, except a son who was absent from the house, but within sight of the massacre. Young Files fled to the house of Tygart and gave the warning, which enabled that family to escape and leave the country. [Trans-Alleghany Pioneers, p. 253.]

Colonel James Patton was "County Lieutenant," or commander-in-chief, of the Augusta militia in 1754. In January of that year Governor Dinwiddie wrote to him that he had determined to send two

hundred men to reinforce the troops then building a fort on the Monongahela. He therefore ordered Patton to "draw out" the militia of the county, and from them obtain by volunteering, or drafting, fifty men for the purpose. The troops were to be "at Alexandria, the head of Potomack river, by the 20th of next mo. and if possible with their arms, &c." As the county was large, the number of men called for so small, "and the pay so very good," the Governor did not doubt that there would be a sufficient number of volunteers. They were to be commanded, he said, by Major George Washington. The company was no doubt raised and led by Andrew Lewis. At any rate, Lewis was with Washington, July 4, 1754, at the capitulation of Fort Necessity, and, although wounded and hobbling on a staff, by his coolness probably prevented a general massacre of the Virginia troops. Washington had been compelled to fall back to Fort Necessity, a rude stockade at Great Meadows. On the 3d of July, about noon, six hundred French, with one hundred Indians, came in sight and took possession of one of the eminences, where, says Bancroft [Vol. IV, p. 121], every soldier found a large tree for his shelter, and could fire in security on the troops beneath. For nine hours, in a heavy rain, the fire was returned. At last, after thirty of the English, and but three of the French had been killed, De Villiers, the French commander, proposed a parley. The terms of capitulation which were offered were interpreted to Washington, who did not understand French, and, as interpreted, were accepted. On the 4th, the English garrison, retaining all its effects, withdrew from the basin of the Ohio.

Then began the famous seven years war which kept all Europe ablaze while it lasted. It is curious that the first blow was struck in the wilds of America and by George Washington.

In his book called "Georgians," to which we have heretofore referred, Governor Gilmer relates an occurrence near Staunton as follows:

"In June, 1754, a party of twelve Northwestern Indian warriors stopped at John Lewis's on their return from the South, where they had been satisfying their revenge upon the Cherokees for some injury received. Some of his neighbors happened to be there, whose families or friends had suffered from attacks of the Indians. They insisted upon the party remaining until night, and exhibiting their dances. Upon their consenting, they left and employed the time until dark collecting the neighbors who had suffered from Indian murders. A beef was killed, and a large log fire made, around which the Indians assembled, cooking and eating to their stomach's content. They danced and drank whiskey until their lookers-on were satisfied with

the display of their antics, and then went on their way homeward as far as the Middle river, where they lodged in Anderson's barn. As soon as they were sound asleep the whites were upon them with their axes, knives and guns. Only one escaped. For that night's doings many Virginia wives were made widows, and mothers childless. The government of Virginia endeavored to punish the perpetrators. All fled to some distant part of the extended frontier of the colonies, except one by the name of King, who lived a skulking life for a long time always keeping his gun near him. He sometimes would go to the old Augusta church, the great assembling place for worship of the Scotch-Irish of that part of the country, where, seated upon the sill of the door with his inseparable companion, the rifle, in his hand, he listened to the words of the preacher, so necessary to the comfort of the Irish spirit, whether Protestant or Catholic. He was suffered to work out his own punishment, avoiding all men, and avoided by all."

We presume this story is substantially true as related. Governor Gilmer's mother being a daughter of Thomas Lewis, the surveyor and burgess, the facts had to pass through only one or two hands to reach him. We, however, think it probable that the occurrence took place a year or two earlier than the time mentioned; and we find no evidence in the proceedings of the County Court, or the voluminous correspondence of Governor Dinwiddie, of any effort to bring the perpetrators of the outrage to punishment.

Governor Dinwiddie wisely or unwisely precipitated the war between the English and French in America. After it began he threw himself into the fray with great ardor. He was indefatigable in recruiting troops, calling for help from neighboring colonies and England, writing letters, and scolding and blustering. He rivaled Horace Walpole, one of his correspondents, in the number, if not in the elegance, of his epistles. His voluminous correspondence, published by the Virginia Historical Society, and edited by R. A. Brock, secretary, etc., is full of interest to those who have a taste for such literature. He was too much pressed for time and space to write his words in full, and often it is difficult to read his productions. He set the rules of grammar and spelling at defiance—especially when in a passion he rebuked a military officer, or abused the savages. The latter suffered terribly at his hands, being denounced as "wicked murderers," "insatiate cowards," "villainous," "banditti," "infidels," "vermin." He was economical to the extent of parsimony, demanding an account of every pound of powder or lead he issued to the troops. Without military training or experience he planned campaigns, and undertook

to instruct George Washington and Andrew Lewis how to fight the Indians. He was punctilious in etiquette, and informed Washington: "The method that you are to declare war is at the head of your companies, with three vollies of small arms for his Majesty's health and a successful war."

Many of the Governor's letters were addressed to Augusta men, and others relating to events taking place here. We shall refer to some of them.

Writing to the Lords of Trade, July 24, 1754, Governor Dinwiddie gives a highly exaggerated account of the casualties at Fort Necessity. He reports the number of the enemy killed as three hundred, and "of our people," thirty.

He set to work energetically to repair the disaster and to organize another expedition to the Ohio. By his order, Fort Cumberland was built at Wills's creek where the city of Cumberland, Maryland, now stands, and Colonel James Innes was put in command of it. This gentleman was born in Scotland, but came to Virginia with some troops from North Carolina. He was a favorite with the Governor, who addressed him in one of his letters as "Dear James." Notwithstanding "the intolerable obstinacy of our neighboring colonies," as Governor Dinwiddie expressed it, North Carolina had sent some troops. One of the companies, commanded by Captain Bryan, on their march towards Cumberland on the 27th of July, "mutinied at Augusta Court-house," says the Governor, "and would march no further till a friend of mine advanced £40." Innes was expected to proceed across the Alleghanies and assail the French, and Washington, then a colonel, was to co-operate. Andrew Lewis was a captain in Washington's regiment, having been commissioned March 18, 1754.

Richard Pearis, whose name is also witten Parris, or Paris, was located on Holston River, Augusta county, in 1754, in order to trade with the Cherokees and other southern Indians. The Governor utilized him as far as possible. Some Indian depredations had occurred in that quarter, and the Governor writes to Pearis August 2d, "I am surprised the inhabitants on Holstein river should submit to be robbed by a few Indians." He sends his thanks to a certain Chickasaw warrior for "resenting the murder of one of our people." "Let the Chicksaw know that I greatly approve of his conduct, and have a real esteem for him." He wishes to know whether "the Emperor," or "Old Hop" is the head man of the Cherokees. He exhorts Pearis to stir up the Indians to prevent the building of forts by the French in

that quarter. The trader wanted to obtain "the long island in Holston river," and is encouraged to hope he may get it.

As we have seen, Governor Dinwiddie was all agog for a campaign immediately against the French at Fort Duquesne, [Pittsburg]. Washington was opposed to it under the circumstances. The force which could be raised was too small, and the season was too late for a march over the Alleghanies. The Virginia Assembly at first refused to vote a supply of money. Some members of that body had opposed the original measures of the Governor, which resulted in the war. They were not sure that England had a just title to the region around Fort Duquesne, which was held and claimed by the French.—[Irving's *Life of Washington*, Vol. I, p. 103]. Under the pretext of protecting all settlers on the waters of the Mississippi, a supply was finally granted, and the Governor proceeded to raise a regiment of three hundred men, divided into six companies, of fifty men each. Joshua Fry was Colonel, and Washington, Lieutenant-Colonel; but the latter soon succeeded to the command, on the death of the former. Recruiting went on slowly, till bounty land on the Ohio river was promised to the soldiers. Early in August, 1754, Washington rejoined his regiment at Alexandria, and was urged by the Governor to raise the full complement of men, and unite with Colonel Innes, at Wills's creek.

Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the Earl of Albemarle, August 15, 1754, pleading for assistance from "home," as England was still called. Two regiments of regular forces, he said, would be absolutely necessary. To Earl Granville he wrote on the same day, that the French intended to build forts, not only on the Ohio, but on Greenbrier, Holston and New rivers, and "the back of North Carolina." On the 6th of September, he had heard "complaints from our frontier in Augusta county of many parties of Indians, etc., robbing and ill-treating our people." In another letter of the same date, he says: "The French and Indians are now making incursions among our inhabitants in Augusta county, threatening our people to depart from their plantations, and propose building forts on Holstein's, Green Brier's and other rivers."

"Therefore," wrote the Governor to Washington, September 11, 1754, "I now order you to give a detachment of forty or fifty men to Capt. Lewis. With them he is to march imediately to Augusta county, in order to protect our frontier from the incursions of small parties of Indians, and I suppose some French. Order him to march imediately, and to apply to Col. Patton, the County-Lieutenant, who will direct him where to proceed that he may be most useful." A letter was addressed to Captain Andrew Lewis the same day,—the first of a long series,—of which we give a literal copy:

"Sir: I have order'd Colo. W. to give You a detachm't of 40 or 50 Men from his regim't; with them you are imediately to march for Augusta Co'ty. Apply to the Co'ty Lieut. for his direct'n, where You may be most usefull in protecti'g the Frontiers of y't Co'ty. If You happen to meet with any Parties of French or Ind's, You are imediately to examine the Ind's, of w't Nat'n, and take them Prisoners, if they cannot give a proper Acc't of themselves, and if any Party sh'd be obstrepolous and commit any hostilities on our Subjects, in y't Case You are to repell Force by Force, but I expect You will be very circumspect in Y'r Conduct, and behave with good Discipline of Y'r Men, and a proper Courage, so y't You may recomend Y'rself to the Service of Y'r Country. You are to apply to Colo. Patton, Y'r Father, or any other Person for Provisions for Y'r Men. I recomend Frugality on this Head, and" [that you] "have Y'r Acc't thereon properly kept, and so just, y't You can swear to the Truth thereof, and it shall be p'd. You are to carry with You a suitablee Qu'ty of Amunit'n, and if two or three Horses are wanted to carry the same, apply to Maj'r Carlyle, shew him this Let'r, and he will supply You therewith. You shall hereafter have my Orders w'n to return to join the other Forces. I now desire You to be as expeditious as possible in getting to Augusta, as I have several Letters of some Parties of Ind's, &c., Robbing and Plundering our People. Write me from Augusta. I wish You Health and Success in the Com'd You are ordered on, and I remain, Sir, Y'r Friend, &c."

On the 6th of October Captain Lewis was on his march to protect the frontier. He went somewhere west or south of Staunton, but to what point we cannot ascertain, and built a stockade fort there to check Indian raids,—perhaps it was in the Greenbrier country, or it may have been Fort Lewis, near the site of the present town of Salem, in Roanoke county. He could not be spared, however, to remain there long, when an advance of the main army from Wills's Creek, or Fort Cumberland, was contemplated. The Governor wrote to him on November 5th: "You are to be in readiness to march to Wills's Creek on the first notice from Governor Sharpe" [of Maryland], "who now commands the forces, or by order of Colonel Stephens. I am now recruiting more men; if you can get any with you I desire you may enlist them, and if you want money for that service, if Colonel Patton or any other person advances it, draw on me and I will pay it." It is a matter of regret that we have no account of what Andrew Lewis did or suffered in this expedition.

In October, the House of Burgesses made a liberal grant for the public service, and during the winter of 1754–'5 ten thousand pounds

were sent from England. The Governor became more energetic than ever. He determined to increase the number of companies to ten, and to settle disputes among officers about rank he reduced all the commands to independent companies, so that there should be no officer in a Virginia regiment above the rank of captain. Washington, considering it derogatory to his character to accept a lower commission than he had held, resigned and went home.

Peter Hogg,* born in Scotland in 1703, settled in Augusta with his brothers, James and Thomas, about 1745, and married here Elizabeth Taylor. He was a captain in Washington's regiment, having been commissioned March 9, 1754. He finally became a lawyer of some note in the Valley. In January, 1755, he was recruiting on the Eastern Shore, and on the 19th of that month Governor Dinwiddie wrote to him with characteristic bluntness: "When you had your commission I was made to believe you could raise forty men. You carried up to Alexandria only nine, and that at a very great expense. You have now been two months getting fourteen. There is not an ensign that has been recruiting but has had more success. * * The forces are all marched for Wills's Creek. I therefore order you to proceed directly with all the recruits you have raised either to Alexandria or Fredericksburg, and make what dispatch you can to join the forces at Wills's Creek." On the 1st of February the Governor wrote to Hogg: "I received your letter and am glad you have raised forty men, with whom I desire you to proceed the most ready way for Winchester and Wills's Creek, where I expect the rest of our forces are by this time." [In the foregoing extracts we have omitted most of the capital letters and written out many words in full.]

Andrew Lewis was left in Augusta till after February 12, 1755. The Governor wrote to him on that day: "I now order you to leave the Ensign, a Sergeant, a corporal, and eighteen private men at the fort you have built, and with the rest of your company you are to march imediately for Winchester, and there remain till you have further orders. * * If you can 'list some stout young men that will march with you to Winchester, they shall, after review, be received into the service, and be paid their enlisting money."

The ensign left to hold the fort was William Wright. The Governor wrote to him on the 12th, instructing him "to keep a good look out," to be exact in his duties, to make short excursions from the fort, and to apply to Colonel Patton, in case of danger, to have some of his militia ready at an hour's warning.

* Ancestor of the Hoges and Blackleys of Augusta.

The apathy of other colonies was a great affliction to the Virginia Governor. He wrote to Lord Fairfax, February 24, 1755: "But my heart is grieved, and I want words to express the obdurate and inconsistent behaviour of our neighboring colonies, not as yet awakened from their lethargy, North Carolina only excepted, who have voted £5,000 for the expedition. Maryland Assembly now sitting. Pennsylvania Assembly adjourned without voting one farthing." [The Quakers who had control in Pennsylvania opposed the war.]

Where Andrew Lewis was and what doing from February 12, 1755, till the fall of that year, we cannot ascertain. Although ordered by the Governor, in February, to proceed with most of his company to Winchester, he could not have accompanied General Braddock on his disastrous expedition. In a letter to Colonel Stephen, April 12, 1755, the Governor refers to Captain Lewis as if he were not then at Cumberland, but he was probably in the vicinity of that place. Writing to Lewis, himself, however, July 8th, he says: "You was ordered to Augusta with your company to protect the frontier of that county. We have lately a messenger from thence giving an account of some barbarous murders committed on Holston's river, which has greatly intimidated the settlers. Colonel Patton being here he carries up blank commissions of officers to raise one company of rangers of 50 men, for the further protection of the inhabitants. I, therefore, desire you will correspond with the above gentleman, and if occasion is, he has orders to send for you to assist in defeating the designs of these wicked murderers." But in a letter to Colonel Patton, on the 8th, he says: "Inclosed you have a letter to Captain Lewis, which please forward to him. *I think he is at Green Brier;** and another letter to Lieutenant Wright, who I think is at Holston's river."

Lieutenant Wright seems to have gone from his former post,—the fort built by Lewis,—to Holston river, and the Governor was dissatisfied on account of the poor speed he made. Writing to the Lieutenant, also on the 8th, he says:—"I have been informed you was twenty-two days in marching six miles; this is not agreeable to the opinion I conceived of you."†

General Braddock arrived in Virginia February 19, 1755, with two regiments of British soldiers, and proceeded to Alexandria, as the most

* Mrs. Towles states that her uncle, Andrew Lewis, and her father, William Lewis, were at Braddock's Defeat, and that the latter was wounded. She could hardly be mistaken in regard to her father. Mrs. Floyd says Andrew Lewis was a colonel under Braddock, but if with Braddock at all he was only a captain.

† It is said that Lieut. Wright and two soldiers were killed by Indians, July 12, 1755, at Reed Creek.

convenient place at which to organize an expedition to the Ohio. Washington was summoned from Mt. Vernon, to act as one of the General's aides, and promptly undertook the duty. The command consisted of the two regiments of regulars, augmented by some Virginia levies, selected for the purpose; two companies of "hatchet men"; six of rangers, from different provinces; and one troop of light horse. The whole composed an army of nearly twenty-five hundred men.

The Virginia recruits and companies were clothed and drilled to make them look like soldiers. They were ridiculed by young British officers, one of whom wrote: "They performed their evolutions and firings as well as could be expected, but their languid, spiritless and unsoldier-like appearance, considered with the lowness and ignorance of most of their officers, gave little hopes of their future good behavior." In a few weeks, however, the survivors of Braddock's army entertained a different opinion of the provincial troops.

The army set out from Alexandria April 20th, and proceeded by by way of Winchester, Fredericktown and Cumberland. What Augusta men accompanied the expedition, we do not know. It is said that Peter Hogg was one of the Virginia captains, and we know nothing to the contrary. He was ordered by Governor Dinwiddie to repair to Alexandria, only a little before General Braddock arrived there. An humble member of the expedition was a negro slave named Gilbert, who died in Staunton, in 1844, at the reputed age of one hundred and twelve years.

Leaving General Braddock and his army to pursue their tedious and painful march, let us observe the course of a traveler on a peaceful errand, who at the same time traversed the Valley of Virginia.

The Rev. Hugh McAden, a young Presbyterian minister, went from Pennsylvania to North Carolina on horseback in 1755. He kept a diary of his trip, which we find in Foote's Sketches of North Carolina. It appears from the diary that an excessive drought prevailed in the country during that summer.

On Thursday, the 19th of June, Mr. McAden set off up the Valley of the Shenandoah, of which he says: "Alone in the wilderness. Sometimes a house in ten miles, and sometimes not that." On Friday night (20th) he lodged at a Mr. Shankland's, eighty miles from Opecquon (near Winchester), and twenty from Augusta Courthouse. On Saturday he stopped at a Mr. Poage's—"stayed for dinner, the first I had eaten since I left Pennsylvania."

From Staunton he went with Hugh Celsey [Kelso?] to Samuel Downey's,* at the North Mountain, where he preached on the fourth

* Grandfather of the Rev. James C. Wilson.

Sabbath of June, according to appointment. His horse being sick, or lame, he was detained in the county, and preached at North Mountain again on the fifth Sabbath in June, and in "the new courthouse" on the first Sunday in July. The diary says: "Rode to Widow Preston's Saturday evening, where I was very kindly entertained, and had a commodious lodging." The lady referred to was the widow of John Preston, and lived at Spring Farm, now Staunton Water Works.

On Monday, July 7th, Mr. McAden rode out to John Trimble's, more encouraged by the appearances at North Mountain than in Staunton. He went on Tuesday to the Rev. John Brown's, the pastor of New Providence and Timber Ridge. Mr. Brown had set apart a day of fasting and prayer "on account of the wars and many murders committed by the savage Indians on the back inhabitants," and vehemently desired the traveler to tarry and preach "in one of his places." He consented, and preached on Friday, July 11th, at Timber Ridge "to a pretty large congregation."

The diary proceeds: "Came to Mr. Boyer's [Bowyer], where I tarried till Sabbath morning, a very kind and discreet gentleman, who used me exceedingly kindly, and accompanied me to the Forks, twelve miles, where I preached the second Sabbath of July [13th] to a considerable large congregation. * * Rode home with Joseph Lapsley, two miles, from meeting, where I tarried till Wednesday Morning [16th]. Here it was I received the most melancholy news of the entire defeat of our army by the French at Ohio, the General killed, numbers of inferior officers, and the whole artillery taken. This, together with the frequent accounts of fresh murders being daily committed upon the frontiers, struck terror to every heart. A cold shuddering possessed every breast, and paleness covered almost every face. In short, the whole inhabitants were put into an universal confusion. Scarcely any man durst sleep in his own house, but all met in companies with their wives and children, and set about building little fortifications to defend themselves from such barbarians and inhuman enemies, whom they concluded would be let loose upon them at pleasure. I was so shocked upon my first reading Colonel Innes's letter that I knew not well what to do."

This was Braddock's defeat, which occurred on the 9th of July. On Wednesday, the 16th, Mr. McAden left Mr. Lapsley's in company with a young man from Charlotte county, who had been at the Warm Springs, and was flying from the expected inroad of savages.

The speed with which news of the disaster was circulated is wonderful. Colonel Innes was left by Braddock in command of Fort Cumberland. He wrote to Governor Dinwiddie on the 11th, giving

him the first tidings of the defeat, and the letter was received by the Governor on the 14th. Cumberland being distant from Williamsburg 250 miles. It is hardly possible that this was the letter alluded to by Mr. McAden, who was more than 150 miles from Williamsburg; but Colonel Innes no doubt wrote also to the County Lieutenant of Augusta, and the direful news was speeded through the country.

Thackeray, in his novel called "The Virginians," gives an account of Braddock's defeat, and refers to the marvelous rapidity with which tidings of the disaster were circulated. Alluding to Eastern Virginia, he says: "The house negroes in their midnight gallops about the country, in search of junketings or sweethearts, brought and spread news over amazingly wide districts. They had a curious knowledge of the incidents of the march for a fortnight at least after its commencement. * * But on the 10th of July a vast and sudden gloom spread over the province. A look of terror and doubt seemed to fall upon every face. Affrighted negroes wistfully eyed their masters and retired, and hummed and whispered with one another. The fiddles ceased in the quarters; the song and dance of those cherry black folk were hushed. Right and left everybody's servants were on the gallop for news. The country taverns were thronged with horsemen, who drank and cursed and bawled at the bars, each bringing his gloomy story. The army had been surprised. The troops had fallen into an ambuscade and had been cut up almost to a man. All the officers were taken down by the French marksmen and savages. The General had been wounded and carried off the field in his sash. Four days afterwards the report was that the General was dead, and scalped by a French Indian."

We have further evidence of the widespread anxiety and alarm, in the sermons of the celebrated Samuel Davies, who then resided in Hanover county. On the 20th of July, 1755, he preached to his people from Isaiah, xxii, 12-14: "And in that day did the Lord God of hosts call to weeping and to mourning, etc. When he began to prepare his discourse the news of the disaster had not been received, but full of forebodings the preacher, after referring to the peace and abundance lately enjoyed by Virginians, exclaimed: "But what do I now see?—what do I now hear? I see thy brazen skies, thy parched soil, thy withered fields, thy hopeless springs, thy scanty harvests. Methinks I hear the sound of the trumpet, and see garments rolled in blood, thy frontiers ravaged by revengeful savages, thy territories invaded by French perfidy and violence. Methinks I see slaughtered families, the hairy scalp clotted with gore, the horrid arts of Indian and Popish torture." So he proceeded for several pages, and then: "Thus far

had I studied my discourse before I was alarmed with the melancholy news that struck my ears last Thursday. Now every heart may meditate terror indeed; now every face may gather blackness; now I may mingle horrors in the picture I intended to draw of the state of my country. For what do I now hear? I hear our army is defeated, our general killed, our sole defence demolished." The people are earnestly exorted to rally and show themselves "men, Britons, and Christians on this trying occasion." "What," asks the preacher, "is that religion good for that leaves men cowards on the approach of danger?" "And permit me to say," he continues, "that I am particularly solicitous that you, my brethren of the Dissenters, should act with honor and spirit in this juncture, as it becomes loyal subjects, lovers of your country, and courageous Christians." At the close of the discourse he remarked: "It is certain many will be great sufferers by the drought, and many lives will be lost in our various expeditions. Our poor brethren in Augusta and other frontier counties are slaughtered and scalped."

Braddock's defeat occurred, as stated, on July 9, 1755. It was a slaughter, rather than a battle. Colonel Dunbar, the British officer who succeeded to the command on the death of Braddock, retreated, or rather fled, with the remnant of the army to Winchester: and fearing for his safety even there, retired with the regulars to winter quarters in Philadelphia. Washington and other Virginians who escaped the massacre, returned to their homes deeply mortified and indignant at the inefficiency of the leaders of the expedition.

Young James Smith was detained in Fort Du Quesne at the time of the defeat, and says, in his narrative already quoted: "I had observed some of the old country soldiers speak Dutch; as I spoke Dutch, I went to one of them, and asked him what was the news? He told me that a runner had just arrived, who said that Braddock would certainly be defeated; that the Indians and French had surrounded him, and were concealed behind trees and in gullies, and kept a constant fire upon the English, and that they saw the English falling in heaps, and if they did not take the river, which was the only gap, and make their escape, there would not be one man left alive before sundown. Some time after this I heard a number of scalp-halloos, and saw a company of Indians and French coming in. I observed they had a great many bloody scalps, grenadiers' caps, British canteens, bayonets, etc., with them. They brought the news that Braddock was defeated. After that, another company came in, which appeared to be about one hundred, and chiefly Indians, and it seemed to me that about every one of this company was carrying scalps; after this came another

company with a number of wagon horses, and also a great many scalps. Those that were coming in, and those that had arrived, kept a constant firing of small arms, and also the great guns in the fort, which were accompanied with the most hideous shouts and yells from all quarters; so that it appeared to me as if the infernal regions had broke loose.

"About sundown I beheld a small party coming in with about a dozen prisoners, stripped naked, with their hands tied behind their backs, and their faces and part of their bodies blacked,—these prisoners they burned to death on the bank of Alleghany river opposite to the fort. I stood on the fort wall until I beheld them begin to burn one of these men; they had him tied to a stake, and kept touching him with firebrands, red-hot irons, etc., and he screaming in a most doleful manner,—the Indians in the mean time yelling like infernal spirits. As this scene appeared too shocking for me to behold, I retired to my lodgings both sore and sorry.

"When I came into my lodgings I saw Russell's Seven Sermons, which they had brought from the field of battle, which a Frenchman made a present of to me. From the best information I could receive, there were only seven Indians and four French killed in this battle, and five hundred British lay dead in the field, besides what were killed in the river on their retreat.

"The morning after the battle I saw Braddock's artillery brought into the fort; the same day I also saw several Indians in British officers's dress, with sash, half-moon laced hats, &c., which the British then wore."

Thomas Carlyle, in his history of Frederick the Great, alludes to almost every occurrence of any importance in the civilized world during the time of his hero. Among other things he tells about Braddock's Defeat. Braddock's two regiments, he says, ran away at the battle of Prestonpans in 1745; but it is hardly probable that after ten years the rank and file of the regiments were the same. Still, the regiments were unfortunate, to be routed first by barelegged Highlanders, and then by naked savages. Of Braddock while borne from the field, Carlyle says: "The poor General,—ebbing homewards, he and his enterprise, hour after hour,—roused himself twice only, for a moment, from his death-stupor: once, the first night, to ejaculate mournfully, 'Who would have thought it!' And again once, he was heard to say, days after, in a tone of hope, 'Another time we will do better!' which were his last words, 'death following in few minutes.' Weary, heavy-laden soul; deep sleep now descended on it—soft, sweet cataracts of Sleep

and Rest; suggesting hope, and triumph over sorrow: 'Another time we will do better;' and in few minutes was dead!"

The consternation was universal, and many of the settlers on the western frontier fled across the Blue Ridge, and even to North Carolina. Among the refugees to that province was the Rev. Alexander Craighead, with a portion of his congregation. Mr. Craighead came from Pennsylvania and settled on the Cowpasture river, near Windy Cove (now Bath county), in 1749. It is said he had a double motive for leaving Virginia,—to escape the savages, and also the disabilities imposed here upon Dissenting ministers. He was a man of ardent temper, and could not brook the idea of holding the frontier and protecting the people of Eastern Virginia from savage inroads, while not permitted to celebrate the rite of marriage according to the ceremonies of his own church. He died in North Carolina in 1766.*

The alarm about Staunton is described by the Rev. John Craig in his narrative. He says: "When General Braddock was defeated and killed, our country was laid open to the enemy, our people were in dreadful confusion, and discouraged to the highest degree. Some of the richer sort that could take some money with them to live upon were for flying to a safer part of the country. My advice was then called for, which I gave, opposing that scheme as a scandal to our nation, falling below our brave ancestors, making ourselves a reproach among Virginians, a dishonor to our friends at home, an evidence of cowardice, want of faith and a noble Christian dependence on God, as able to save and deliver from the heathen; it would be a lasting blot to our posterity." Mr. Craig urged the building of forts, one of which was to be the church. He says: "They required me to go before them in the work, which I did cheerfully, though it cost me one-third of my estate. The people readily followed, and my congregation in less than too months was well fortified."—[See *Foote's Sketches*, page 32.]

In the above extract, Mr. Craig seems to refer to the building of the present stone church, and to fix the date as not earlier than 1755; but possibly his reference is particularly to the fortifications constructed around the building, the remains of which are still visible. Many families took refuge there upon occasions of alarm. The cattle were, of course, left on the farms, and the cows were likely to suffer by going unmilked. It is said that the Moffett family, whose residence was miles away, had a negro female servant who displayed courage and fidelity at such times worthy of a heroine. Every night, mounted

*A daughter of Mr. Craighead was the first wife of Patrick Calhoun, father of John C. Calhoun. The latter's mother was a Miss Caldwell.

on a black horse, as less likely to be seen by a lurking foe than one of a different color, she rode home, relieved the swollen udders of the kine, churned the milk of the previous night, and returned with the butter to the fort before daylight.

Governor Dinwiddie never wearied in denouncing and ridiculing Colonel Dunbar for going into winter-quarters in midsummer. Writing to Colonel Patton July 16th, he says: "I am sorry to hear a further dismal account of murders in your county, and I fear your people are seized with a panic in suffering the Indians in such small companies to do the mischief they do without raising to oppose them. Surely if they were properly headed and encouraged they would overcome them all. I have sent some powder, &c., to Colonel Stewart. I have ordered the whole militia of this dominion to be in arms, and your neighboring counties are directed to send men to your assistance on your application."

It is curious to discover that the people of Halifax county also were apprehensive of Indian invasion, but Halifax then extended westward to the Blue Ridge.

The Governor of Virginia found constant occupation during this time in writing scolding letters, but in writing abroad he stood up for the credit of the provincial troops. To Sir Thomas Robinson, referring to Braddock's disaster, he said: "All the officers and men raised here behaved well, but am sorry to hear the private men of the regulars were seized with panic, run away like sheep."

To Colonel James Patton, the Governor wrote, August 1st: "This day I have sent a cart load of ammunition, &c., to your Court House. How can you think I am able to order sustenance to the poor people that have left their plantations? I wish they had not been seized with such panic as prevented their resisting the few enemies that appeared in your county." At the date of this letter Colonel Patton was in his grave.

Foote's Sketches of Virginia, second series, contain a long account of the circumstances attending the death of Colonel Patton, and of the captivity and escape of Mrs. Mary Ingles. Dr. John P. Hale, of Kanawha, a descendent of Mrs. Ingles, in his work called "Trans-Alleghany Pioneers," gives a still fuller and, doubtless, more accurate account, and we shall mainly follow the latter.

Thomas Ingles, says Dr. Hale, came from Ireland when a widower, with his three sons, William, Matthew and John, and settled first in Pennsylvania. According to tradition, he, in 1744, accompanied by his son, William, then a youth, made an excursion into the wilds of Southwest Virginia, going as far as New River. On this

occasion, it is supposed, he became acquainted with Colonel James Patton. The latter then or soon afterward held a grant from the British crown of 120,000 acres of land west of the Blue Ridge, at that time Augusta county, but in the present counties of Botetourt, Montgomery, etc. The old town of Pattonsburg, on James river, in Botetourt, was called for him, and the opposite town of Buchanan was so named for his son-in-law, Colonel John Buchanan.

During the same excursion, probably, the Ingleses for the first time encountered the Draper family, who had settled on James River, at Pattonsburg. This family consisted of George Draper, his wife, and his two children, John and Mary. While living at Pattonsburg, George Draper went out hunting, and was never heard of again. About the year 1748 the Ingleses, Drapers, Adam Harman, Henry Leonard and James Burke, removed from James river and settled near the present town of Blacksburg, in Montgomery county, calling the place Draper's Meadow, since known as Smithfield.

In April, 1749, the house of Adam Harman was raided by Indians, but, as far as appears, no murders were perpetrated. This is said to have been the first depredation by Indians on the whites west of the Alleghany. It was reported to a justice of the peace for Augusta county, with a view to the recovery of damages allowed by law.

William Ingles and Mary Draper were married in 1750, and John Draper and Bettie Robertson in 1754. The marriages no doubt took place in Staunton, there being no minister nearer Draper's Meadow authorized to perform the ceremony.

In July, 1755, Colonel Patton went to the upper country on business, and was accompanied, it is said, by his nephew, William Preston. He was resting from the fatigues of his journey, and also seeking recovery from sickness, at the dwelling of William Ingles and the Drapers. It was on Sunday, the 8th of July, says Dr. Hale—but circumstances had led us to fix the date at least a week later*—that an unexpected assault was made on the house by Indians. Preston had gone to Philip Lybrook's to engage his help in harvesting. William Ingles and John Draper were away from the house. Foote says they and others were at work in the harvest field; but if it was on Sunday the statement is quite certainly incorrect. Mrs. John Draper, being in the yard, was the first to discover the Indians. She hastened into the house to give the alarm, and snatching up her sleeping infant ran out on the opposite side. Some of the Indians fired upon her, breaking her right arm, and causing the child to fall to the ground. Taking

* The "Preston Register" gives the date as July 30.

up the infant with her left hand she continued her flight, but was overtaken, and the scull of the child was crushed against the end of a log. At the moment of the assault, Colonel Patton was sitting at a table writing, with his broadsword before him. Being a man of great strength, of large frame, and over six feet high, he cut down two Indians, but was shot and killed by others out of his reach. Other persons killed were Mrs. George Draper, the child of John Draper, and a man named Casper Barrier. The Indians plundered the premises, securing all the guns and ammunition, and setting fire to the buildings, immediately started on their retreat, carrying with them as prisoners Henry Leonard, Mrs. John Draper, and Mrs. Ingles and her two children,—Thomas four, and George two years of age. The unarmed men in the field could only provide for their own safety. The country was sparsely settled, and some days elapsed before a rescuing party could be collected.

The Indians, on their hasty retreat, stopped at the house of Philip Barger, an old man, cut off his head and carried it in a bag to Lybrook's. Preston and Lybrook had gone back to Draper's Meadows by a different route from that taken by the Indians, and thus they escaped.

In letters written by Governor Dinwiddie on the 11th of August (nine letters were written by him the same day) he referred to Patton's death. To Colonel David Stewart, of Augusta, he wrote that Patton "was wrong to go so far back without a proper guard." He hoped the wagons with ammunition did not fall into the hands of the Indians; but he could not conceive what Patton was to do with ammunition "so far from the inhabited part of the country." Writing to Colonel Buchanan at the same date, he expressed regret that the men sent by Buchanan "after the murderers, did not come up with them." This is the only information we have of any pursuit.

A letter written by John Madison, Clerk of the County Court of Augusta, to his cousin, Col. James Madison of Orange, father of President Madison, dated August 19, 1755 (erroneously printed 1753), shows the spirit of the times. We find it in Rieves's *Life of Madison*. The writer says: "Four families on their flight from a branch of New River this minute passed my house, who say that five men were murdered at the house of Ephraim Voss, on Roanoke, since the death of Col. Patton. 'Tis shocking to think of the calamity of the poor wretches who live on the Holston and New rivers, who for upwards of a hundred miles have left their habitations, lost their crops and vast numbers of their stock. Could you see, dear friend, the women who escaped, crying after their murdered husbands, with their helpless

children hanging on them, it could but wound your very soul." He alludes to the appointment of Andrew Lewis as Lieutenant of the county, and expects to see his instructions on next court day. He is extremely obliged to "good friends for the guns sent," and will return them as soon as otherwise provided. He is also much obliged to Col. Madison for an invitation to take refuge with him, but his "train" is too large; and moreover, if he loses his all with his life, his children may as well go too. In a postscript he says: "I verily believe they are determined on our destruction. However, as they come in small parties, if they will be so kind as to stay till I have finished my fort, may Heaven send me a few of them."

Colonel Patton's will was admitted to record by the County Court of Augusta, at Staunton, at November term, 1755. It was executed September 1, 1750, and witnessed by Thomas Stewart, Edward Hall, and John Williams. The following are extracts?

"I commend my soul to God who gave it, hoping, through his mercy and the merits and intercession of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to be eternally happy. My body I commit to Providence, but if convenient to where I resign my last breath, to be buried at the Tinkling Spring, where my wife now *lays*. * * I order ten pounds to be paid to the Rev. John Craig, minister at ye Tinkling Spring, as his *stepans** due from October, 1740, until October, 1750, out of the money now due me by y't congregation, which money I have advanced for them to build their meeting-house, &c. Providing I do not pay s'd £10 before my death. I leave ten pounds out of the aforesaid debt when collected, to be *layed* out by the minister *onley* for a pulpit and pulpit cloth."

The testator divided his estate between his two daughters, Mary, wife of William Thompson, and Margaret, wife of Colonel John Buchanan, and their children. The Thompsons thus acquired Springhill and about 3,000 acres known as "Indian Fields," on the waters of Holston river. William Thompson and wife had a life estate in the property, with remainder to their son, James Thompson. The Buchanans had two daughters, Mary and Jane. The latter became the second wife of Col. John Floyd, and mother of the first Governor Floyd.

The executors appointed were John Buchanan, William Thompson, William Preston, and Silas Hart. The last named declined to serve. Possibly he did not like the direction of the will, that any question arising between the executors about the estate should be finally settled by the minister and elders of Tinkling Spring congregation! The

*Scotch-Irish for "stipends."

inventory of the estate shows that the testator was wealthy, independently of his lands.

It is unnecessary to say that Colonel Patton's request as to his burial place, was not complied with. It was impossible at that day to transport a corpse from Smithfield to Tinkling Spring. He was buried near the spot where he "resigned his last breath," and his grave was covered with loose stones. There is no slab or inscription. An idle report arose that a large amount of money was buried with the body, and the grave was desecrated a few years ago by vandals in search of the treasure.

Let us now briefly relate the adventures of Mrs. Ingles. On the third night out she gave birth to a female child, but was able to proceed the next day on horseback. She and the other prisoners were taken by the Indians to Ohio. Being a woman of extraordinary courage and tact, she ingratiated herself with the savages, making shirts for them and gaining their good-will in a hundred ways. Her two older children were, however, separated from her, and she then determined to escape, if possible. The narrative of her courage and sufferings on her trip home is almost incredible. She was absent about five months, of which time forty-two days were passed on her return.

With an elderly "Dutch woman," captured on the frontier of Pennsylvania and detained in servitude, Mrs. Ingles was taken by a party of Indians to Big Bone Lick, now Boone county, Kentucky, to make salt. This place was so called from the large number of mastodon bones found there,—some of the ribs and tusks were so long as to be used for tent poles. She prevailed upon the old woman mentioned, whose name is not known, to accompany her in her flight. Her infant could not be taken along. It was therefore deposited in a crib and abandoned by its mother, whose grief may be imagined, but not described.* Loading a horse with corn, the fugitives proceeded up the Ohio river. Before they reached the Big Kanawha the old woman became frantic from exposure and hunger. She afterwards made an insane attack upon Mrs. Ingles' life, and the latter only escaped by outrunning her pursuer and concealing herself.

Mrs. Ingles finally came to the remains of some abandoned settlements and found a few turnips which had not been consumed by wild animals. She had now been out forty days, and had traveled not less than twenty miles a day. Her clothing had been worn and torn by the bushes until few fragments remained. In this condition she reached a clearing made in the spring on New river by Adam Har-

*Some of Mrs. Ingles' descendants vehemently deny that she had an infant to eave behind, but we follow Dr. Hale.

man. He recognized her call, and hastened to meet and carry her to his cabin. Mr. Harman took her on horseback to a fort at Dunkard's Bottom, and there she was found the next day by her husband and her brother, John Draper, who had been making every effort in their power for the rescue of the captives.

The old Dutch woman found her way to the settlements, and in course of time returned to Pennsylvania through Staunton and Winchester.

Mrs. Draper was released six or seven years afterward. George Ingles died in captivity while still a child. Thomas was redeemed by his father when he was seventeen years of age. He was unable to speak English, and is said to have been a perfect savage in appearance and manners. His father sent him to school, but he never became fully reconciled to civilized life.

But let us follow the fortunes of Mrs. Ingles somewhat further. As stated, she was taken on her return to a fort at Dunkard's Bottom, on the west side of New River, near Ingles' Ferry. Feeling insecure there, her husband took her twenty miles further east to Vass' fort, where the settlers of that region had gathered for safety. This fort was near the head of Roanoke river, about ten miles west of where Christiansburg now stands. Many of the forts, so called, were merely log pens, and others were log or stone dwellings, larger and stronger than ordinary, which, however, afforded shelter from savages unprovided with artillery. Vass' fort was a small structure erected by the settlers as a place of temporary refuge. The name was variously written, Voss, Vause, or Vaux.

Still fearing an attack by Indians, Mrs. Ingles prevailed upon her husband to take her east of the Blue Ridge. On the very day they left Vass', that fort was captured by Indians, and every one in it killed or taken prisoner. John Ingles, a bachelor, and the wife and child of his brother, Matthew, were killed in the fort. Matthew was out hunting when the attack was made, and hearing the firing, hastened back. He shot one Indian, and clubbed others with his gun, till it was wrenched from his hands. He then seized a frying-pan that happened to be near, and belabored his foes with the handle till he was wounded and overcome. The Indians carried him off, but some time after, being released or escaping, he returned to the settlement. He never entirely recovered from his wounds, however, and died a few months after his return.*

* Mrs. Judge Allen Taylor, of Botetourt, was a descendant of Mrs. Ingles. Other descendants, besides Dr. Hale, are the children of the late Mrs. William J. Gilkeson, and also Mrs. R. S. Harnsberger, Mrs. William D. Anderson, and others, of Augusta. Mrs. Ingles died in 1813, aged 84.

The fort is supposed to have been destroyed by the Indians. In 1756, however, a stronger Fort was built there at public expense, under the superintendence of Captain Peter Hogg, and the latter is the fort alluded to by Governor Dinwiddie in his correspondence as Vass' or Voss' fort.

From early in 1755 till he finally left the province and went "home," Governor Dinwiddie's letters flew thick and fast. On the 11th of August he wrote to Captain Andrew Lewis, recognizing him as next in command to Colonel Patton, in Augusta, and enclosing blank commissions for the officers of a company of rangers. He also sent him £200 to defray expenses. To Colonel John Buchanan he wrote, recommending the employment of dogs for finding out the Indians. By the 25th of August he had four companies of rangers in Augusta. In another letter of the same date he speaks of five companies on the frontier of the county. He still had an eye to economy, however, and took time to advise Captain John Smith that forty shillings was too much to pay for a coat to be given to some friendly Indian warrior. He never did get over the loss of the wagon which Colonel Patton had with him in his last expedition. In a letter to Washington, dated December 14th, 1755, the Governor complained of Captain Hogg's extravagance as follows: "Captain Hogg sent a messenger here for money to pay for provisions for his company. The quantity he mentioned I think was sufficient for twenty months, and charged £10 for a trough to salt the meat in, besides the barrels."

In pursuance of measures adopted by the colonial government, Washington was commissioned as Colonel and Commander-in-Chief of Virginia troops. The officers next in rank to him, chosen by himself, were Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Stephen and Major Andrew Lewis. Peter Hogg was a captain, and William Fleming an ensign.

The records of the County Court always indicate the state of the times. At August court, 1755, Joseph Carpenter, having supplied several Indians with ammunition, whom he thought to be friendly, the court fearing they might be "allied to the French King," ordered the accused into custody till he should give security.

At October term, 1755, many claims were allowed for patrolling, for provisions for Captain David Lewis' company of rangers, for going on express, and for guarding the arms and ammunition sent for the use of the county. At November court a number of persons qualified as officers of foot companies.

A new court-house was completed in 1755, and first occupied by the court August 21.

In several letters, Governor Dinwiddie expressed disapprobation of the conduct of Captain Dickinson, of the Augusta rangers, in allowing certain Indians to slip out of his hands. They were called "praying Indians," because they professed to be Christianized, but were supposed to be partisans of the French. Some friendly Cherokees were expected at Staunton to be employed against the Shawnees, and the Governor wrote to David Stuart and Robert McClanahan to treat these allies well.

A letter written by Robert McClanahan, dated September 23, 1755, relating to supplies for rangers and Indian allies, was found among the papers in an old suit. The name of the person to whom it was addressed, does not appear; but circumstances indicate that it was either William Preston or Robert Breckinridge. The writer speaks of one hundred and fifty Cherokees who were expected, and inquires when and to whom the supplies should be delivered. He says that Capt. Dickinson and his company had "a small scrimmage" with nine Indians, in which one white man and one Indian were killed, and "two small Indian boys belonging to the Cherokees, being captives, were released." The boys were at Fort Dinwiddie, and the Governor had been written to in regard to them. If the Cherokees were informed about the boys, "perhaps it might exasperate them against our enemies," says the writer.

By October 11th, Washington was in command at Winchester, and at that date wrote to the Governor giving an account of affairs there. The utmost alarm and confusion still prevailed. The militia refused to stir. No orders were obeyed which were not enforced by a party of soldiers or the commander's drawn sword. The people threatened to blow out his brains. On one day an express, spent with fatigue and fear, reported a party of Indians twelve miles off, the inhabitants flying, etc. A second express ten times more terrified than the former, arrived with information that the Indians had gotten within four miles of town, and were killing all before them. Only forty-one men could be mustered, and on leading them out the colonel found, instead of Indians, three drunken soldiers of the light horse on a carousal. A mulatto and a negro hunting cattle and mistaken for Indians, had caused the alarm at the farther point. The inhabitants, however, pressed across the Blue Ridge, firmly believing that Winchester was taken and in flames. Captain Waggoner, who had arrived from Eastern Virginia, reported that he "could hardly pass the Ridge for the crowds of people who were flying as if every moment was death."

Washington had lately made a visit of inspection from Fort Cumberland, on the Potomac, to Fort Dinwiddie on Jackson's river. On the 14th of October Major Lewis arrived at Winchester, from Fredericksburg, with eighty men of the regiment, on the way to Fort Cumberland. On the 25th the detachment reached Cumberland, having passed deserted houses, cornfields laid waste, and the remains of a white man killed by Indians and partly devoured by wolves. Two women caught in the act of robbing abandoned houses, were ducked by order of Maj. Lewis. [Journal of Capt. Charles Lewis of Caroline county.]

Badly as the Governor thought or wrote of our forefathers of Augusta county, he did not think more favorably of the people elsewhere. In October he condoled with Lord Fairfax, County Lieutenant of Frederick, for having to live among such a set of people.

After so much strife and excitement, it is a relief to close this chapter and the year 1755 with a peaceful extract. At a meeting of the vestry of the parish, November 27th, it was "ordered that the Rev. Mr. John Jones preach at James Neeley's on Roan Oke; at John Mathews, Sn., in the forks of James river; at Augusta Courthouse; at Captain Daniel Harrison's, and at any place contiguous to Mr. Madison's, at such times as said Jones shall think proper." The forks of James river was in the present county of Rockbridge,* and Captain Harrison and Mr. Madison lived in Rockingham.

Allusion has been made to a new courthouse in 1755. The work was projected in 1752, but not completed till the summer of 1755. We have no description of the building. It no doubt furnished better quarters for "his Majesty's Judicatory" than courthouse No. 1. At any rate it had a chimney and fireplace, for in 1763 the sheriff was "ordered to purchase a pair of fire-dogs for the courthouse chimney, and employ workmen to repair the hearth." This building was occupied by the Court till 1788.

The old courthouse, No. 1, was not removed when No. 2 was built, but was converted into a residence. Squire Robert McClanahan was the renter of the house in 1763, and in 1771 his son-in-law Alexander St. Clair lived in it. It was of course divided into several rooms, and it is to be hoped that means had been provided for heating, that a floor had been laid, and that the "holes cut for windows" had shutters to them, if not glass lights.†

*The region east and south of the site of Lexington.

†I have a peculiar interest in this house from the fact that my maternal grandmother, a daughter of Alexander St. Clair, was probably born in it.—J. A. W.

The BRECKINRIDGES were driven by persecution from Ayshire, Scotland, to the north of Ireland, during the reign of Charles II. In 1728 Alexander Breckinridge came to America, and after residing a few years in Pennsylvania, removed to Augusta county, and settled on a farm near the site of Staunton. As we have seen, he was one of the commissioners of Tinkling Spring congregation, August 11, 1741. He died in 1746, and his name does not appear again in our annals.

From the records of Orange Court, in 1740, when Alexander Breckinridge "proved his importation," it appears that he had seven children exclusive of his daughter* Sarah, wife of Robert McClanahan.

The names of three of the children are illegible, but one of these was Adam. Of his sons John and Smith, daughter Letitia† and two anonymous children, we have no information. George Breckinridge, his father's Administrator, probably removed to Albemarle, as stated elsewhere. The only mention of him we have found in Augusta county records is the fact that he conveyed 245 acres of land in Beverley Manor to Robert Breckinridge, May 16, 1747.

George Breckinridge's wife was Ann Daws. He had three sons, Alexander, Robert and John; and three daughters, Jane, Elizabeth, and Letitia. The descendants of this branch are numerous. They write their names Breckenridge, not Breckinridge.

Robert Breckinridge remained in the county, living on a farm adjacent to Staunton, and became prominent during the Indian wars. He incurred the hostility of Governor Dinwiddie, and was roundly berated by that irate letter-writer, for which we do not think the worse of him. The town of Staunton being incorporated in 1761, Major Breckinridge was named in the act as one of the trustees, in association with his brother-in-law, William Preston, his nephew or cousin, Alexander McClanahan, and others. Some time thereafter he removed to the "upper country," and when Botetourt was constituted, in 1769-'70, he was one of the first justices of the peace and lieutenant-colonel of the militia of that county. He died in Botetourt in 1772.

Colonel Breckinridge's first wife was a daughter of Robert Poage, one of the first Justices of Augusta county, who probably came to America and the Valley with the Breckinridges, Prestons and others. By her he had two sons, Robert and Alexander. These sons, according to Mrs. Floyd's narrative, not living harmoniously with their father's second wife, were sent to Hanover county to learn the carpenter's trade with Francis Smith, Col. William Preston's brother-in-law. They became skilful workmen, and were employed by Colonel Preston to build his dwelling-house at Smithfield. Both of them entered the continental army when the war of the Revolution arose, and became officers, and both removed to Kentucky soon after the war. Robert, Jr., was a member of the Kentucky Convention and Legislature, and the first Speaker of the House of Delegates. He died, an old and wealthy man, in Louisville some time after 1830. Major Alexander Breckin-

*Perhaps a sister instead of daughter.

†Married Elijah McClanahan in 1749.

ridge died comparatively young. His wife was the widow of Col. John Floyd, daughter of Col. John Buchanan, and granddaughter of Col. James Patton. Among his children was James D. Breckinridge, who represented the Louisville district in Congress about the year 1836, and who was a half-brother of the first Governor Floyd.

Colonel Robert Breckinridge's second wife was Lettice Preston, daughter of John Preston, of Staunton, and her children were four sons, William, John, James and Preston, and a daughter, Jane, wife of Samuel Meredith.

William Breckinridge, son of Robert, married in Augusta, but spent most of his life in Kentucky. He was the father of the late John Boys Breckinridge, of Staunton.

John Breckinridge, the next son of Colonel Robert, was born on his father's farm, at Staunton, December 2, 1760, and removed with the family to Botetourt in 1769, or thereabouts. He was educated at Liberty Hall (?), and while a student, before he was twenty-one years of age, was elected by the people of Botetourt a member of the State Legislature. Marrying Miss Cabell, of Buckingham county, he settled in Albemarle, on James River, and rapidly gained distinction as a lawyer. He was elected to Congress by voters of Albemarle district, but declined the position. In 1793 he removed to Kentucky, and during the administration of President Jefferson was Attorney General of the United States. He died in 1806, only forty-six years of age. One of his sons was Cabell Breckinridge, a distinguished lawyer, who died young, leaving a son, General John C. Breckinridge, late Vice-President of the United States. The other sons of John were the celebrated divines, Rev. Drs. John, Robert J. and William L. Breckinridge.

James Breckinridge, third son of Colonel Robert, spent his life in Virginia. He was long known as General Breckinridge, of Botetourt, and was distinguished as a lawyer and member of Congress. Among his children were Messrs. Cary and James Breckinridge, of Botetourt, Mrs. Edward Watts, of Roanoke, Mrs. Mary M. Bowyer, of Botetourt, and Mrs. Robert Gamble, of Florida.

Preston Breckinridge, the fourth son of Colonel Robert, married a Miss Trigg, and died in middle life, leaving daughters, but no son.

William Preston was the only son of John Preston, and was born in Ireland in 1730. He was therefore about ten years old when he came with his father to the Valley. For most of his education he was indebted to the Rev. John Craig, near whose residence he lived, according to the testimony of his daughter, Mrs. Floyd. His first regular appointment was posting the books of the Staunton merchants and aiding his uncle, Col. Patton, in his extensive business. He was deputy for Wallace Estill, when the latter was High Sheriff of Augusta. He was also clerk of the Vestry of Augusta Parish and clerk of the Court-Martial of the county. Step by step he rose to higher employments. During the Indian wars he became quite prom-

inent as captain of a company of rangers, and many of the letters of Governor Dinwiddie in that stirring time were addressed to him. When the town of Staunton was incorporated in 1761, he was one of the board of trustees. In the same year he married Susanna Smith, of Hanover county. He represented Augusta in the House of Burgesses in 1766-1768-'9, and was probably a member from Botetourt in 1774. Upon the formation of Botetourt in 1767, he removed to that section, and was one of the first justices of that county. At the first court he qualified also as county surveyor, coroner, escheator and colonel of militia. His residence was at a place called Greenfield, near Amsterdam. Fincastle county was formed in 1772, and Colonel Preston became its first surveyor. In 1773, he acquired the Draper's Meadows estate, removed his family there in 1774, and changed the name to Smithfield. He intended to accompany Colonel William Christian in his march to the Ohio, in the fall of 1774, but was detained at home by his wife's condition. The child born to him at that time was James Preston, who became Governor of Virginia. In 1480, Colonel Preston was engaged with Colonel Arthur Campbell and Colonel Christian in their respective expeditions against the Cherokees. The legislature of North Carolina included him with Colonel Campbell in a vote of thanks for their services in protecting the frontier. Throughout the war of the Revolution he was actively employed, holding important command in Southwest Virginia, and his official papers show that he was a man of more than ordinary culture. He died at Smithfield in 1783, leaving eleven children, of whom five were sons. One of his sons, General Francis Preston, married the only daughter of General William Campbell, and was the father of William C. Preston of South Carolina.

Colonel Preston was taken ill at a regimental muster, June 28, 1783, and died the following night. He was five feet, eleven inches in height, inclined to corpulency, of ruddy complexion, with light hair and hazel eyes. His wife survived till June 18, 1823, having lived a widow forty years.

Several full accounts of this numerous and prominent family are already in print, and therefore the subject is not pursued further here.

JOHN MCDOWELL, who was killed by Indians near the forks of James River in 1742, had two sons, Samuel and James, and a daughter, Martha, wife of Colonel George Moffett.

Samuel McDowell was born in 1733.—In 1773 he was a member of the House of Burgesses from Augusta. There is reason to believe that he was captain of an independent company of rangers at the battle of Point Pleasant, in 1774. In 1775-6, he and Thomas Lewis represented Augusta in the State Convention. When Rockbridge was formed in 1777, he became a citizen of that county, his residence being there. In 1781, he commanded the battalion of Rockbridge militia at the battle of Guilford. In June of the same year, he was sworn in, at Staunton, as a member of the Governor's Council, Governor Nelson qualifying on the same day at the same place.

At the close of the Revolutionary war, in 1783, Samuel McDowell removed to Kentucky with his wife and nine younger children, leaving two married daughters in Virginia. One of these daughters was the wife of Andrew Reid, the first clerk of Rockbridge County Court, and father of the late Col. Samuel McDowell Reid of Lexington. The other married daughter, whose name was Sally, was the first wife of Caleb Wallace of Charlotte county (subsequently of Botetourt), who was first a Presbyterian minister, then a lawyer, and finally a judge of the Supreme Court of Kentucky.

Samuel McDowell was one of the three judges of the First Kentucky Court (and is now generally known as Judge McDowell), president of nine conventions which met at Danville between December 27, 1784, and July 26, 1790, and president of the convention which framed the first constitution of Kentucky, in 1792. He died in 1817, aged eighty-four. His son, Dr. Ephraim McDowell, studied medicine with Dr. Humphreys, in Staunton, completed his professional education in Edinburgh, Scotland, and was very eminent as a surgeon. Among the numerous descendants of Judge McDowell were General Irvine McDowell, of the United States Army, General Humphrey Marshall, and the wife of James G. Birney, the "Liberty" candidate for President of the United States in 1840 and 1844.

James McDowell, son of John and Magdalene, had one son, also named James, the Colonel McDowell of 1812, and father of the late Governor James McDowell.

The wife of Judge Samuel McDowell was Mary McClung. Her brother, John, was the father of William McClung, who removed to Kentucky and became a judge of considerable distinction. He died in 1815. His wife was a sister of Chief Justice Marshall, and his sons, Colonel Alexander K. McClung and the Rev. John A. McClung, D. D., were highly distinguished. A brother of Judge McClung, the late Mr. Joseph McClung, lived and died on Timber Ridge.

ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, the Captain in the Sandy Creek expedition, first sheriff of Rockbridge, etc., was born in County Down, Ireland, in 1708, and there married his cousin, Margaret Parks. Their oldest child, a daughter, was born in Ireland, in 1735. Coming to America, in 1737, he settled first at Nottingham, Pennsylvania, where four more children were born, including William, the oldest son. About the year 1747 the family came to the Valley and settled in Borden's grant, on Timber Ridge. The wife of Captain Alexander died in 1753. At the time of his wife's death, Captain Alexander was in Pennsylvania, having gone there, with John Houston, to present a call to the Rev. John Brown to become pastor of New Providence and Timber Ridge congregations. Before Mr. Brown's arrival, the celebrated Samuel Davies visited the Valley and preached at Timber Ridge. No doubt to the surprise and dissatisfaction of the plain Scotch-Irish people of the Valley, Mr. Davies carried a gold-headed

cane and wore a finger-ring, which had been presented to him in England. Most of the original members of New Providence and Timber Ridge churches, including Archibald Alexander, had been converted in Pennsylvania, under the preaching of George Whitefield, and were called "New Lights." In 1757 he married his second wife, Jane McClure. Her children were five sons and three daughters. Of Archibald Alexander's children, six sons and six daughters became heads of families. The names of the sons were William, Joseph, John, James, Samuel and Archibald. The son William married Agnes Ann Reid, and was the father of ten children, including the distinguished Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander. The oldest daughter, Elizabeth, married John McClung, and was the mother of Margaret (or Elizabeth) wife of Robert Tate of Augusta, Judge William McClung and others. Mary, a daughter of Captain Alexander's second wife, married John Trimble, first, and afterwards Lewis Jordan.

The blessing of Abraham descended on Capt. Alexander.—His descendants are almost as countless as the stars. They embrace Alexanders, McClungs, Tates, Stuarts, Paxtons, Moores, Steeles, Grahams, Campbells, Carutherses, Turners, Rices, McCrarys, Trimbles, Wilsons, Cummings, Scotts, Lyles, Doakes, &c., &c.

Robert Alexander, the founder of the first classical school in the Valley, was a brother of Captain Archibald Alexander, and preceded the latter to America and to the Valley. He married, in Pennsylvania, Esther Beard. His children were—

1. William, who died in Rockbridge, in 1829, leaving children; 2. Robert, who lived in Campbell county, and was clerk of the county court for many years, being succeeded in office by his son, and he by his son, both called Jack Alexander; 3. Peter, who, it is believed, went to the West; 4. Hugh, who died unmarried; 5. James, who married Peggy Lyle, of Rockbridge, and removed to Greenbrier; and daughters, Ann, Esther, Ellen and Sally. The last-named was the second wife of Colonel John Wilson, of Bath county.

William Wilson and his wife, Barbara McKane, were married in Dublin, Ireland. They came to America about 1720, and settled at Forks of Brandywine, Chester county, Pennsylvania. At that place, their son John, mentioned above, was born, in December, 1732. In the fall of 1747, this family came to Augusta, and settled near New Providence church. John went to school to Robert Alexander, and became a skilful surveyor. The Rev. William Wilson, of Augusta, was a cousin of William Wilson and wrote his will.

In 1762, William Wilson and his family removed to Jackson's River, now Highland county, near Stony Run church. The next year they were assailed by a band of Indians, supposed to have been a part of those who perpetrated the first Kerr's Creek massacre.

After this Indian raid the Wilsons returned to the neighborhood of New Providence, and remained there till the close of the Revolutionary war, when they went back to Jackson's River. William Wilson died in March, 1795.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, John Wilson entered the military service, and he is said to have commanded a regiment of militia at the siege of Yorktown. Previous to the war he married Isabella Seawright, but she died childless in a short time. In December, 1785, he married Sally Alexander, daughter of his old teacher. He was one of the first justices of Bath, when that county was established, in 1791. His wife died in 1808, and he on the 21st of January, 1820.

The children of Colonel John Wilson were a son, William, born January 9, 1787, at the house of his grandfather, Robert Alexander; and two daughters, Peggy, who married Mr. Hanna, of Greenbrier, and Esther, who married Major John Bolar, of Bath.

William Wilson, Jr., married Sally McClung. His children were John, who died unmarried; Susan, who married Washington Stephenson, and Sarah, who married Adam Stephenson, of Highland county.

Gilbert Christian with his wife, three sons—John, Robert and William—and a daughter, Mary, landed at Newcastle, Pennsylvania, in 1726, and in 1732 removed to a spot near the site of Staunton, on Christian's Creek, giving his name to that stream. John Christian was a prominent citizen, and is repeatedly mentioned in the earlier pages of these Annals. He was one of the first Justices of the Peace, etc., etc. Robert married Isabella Tiffins, of the lower Valley, and is the ancestor of the Christians now living in the county. William is presumed to be the Capt. William Christian mentioned elsewhere as member of a "Council of War," in 1756. His wife was Mary Campbell, probably a sister of Arthur Campbell. Mary Christian married, first, John Moffett and became the mother of Col. George Moffett and others. She married, secondly, John Trimble, and became the mother of Capt. James Trimble, of whom much remains to be said.

Israel Christian, a very prominent citizen of Augusta, is believed to have been a nephew of Gilbert. He is said to have had some training in the mercantile business before he left Ireland. He came to Augusta in 1740, and was a prosperous merchant at Staunton for some years. He was a representative of Augusta in the House of Burgesses in 1759-'61. His wife was Elizabeth Stark. One of his daughters married Col. William Fleming; one was the second wife of Caleb Wallace; another married William Bowyer, of Botetourt; and a fourth Colonel Stephen Trigg, of Kentucky. A county in Kentucky was named in honor of his son, William, and another for his son-in-law Trigg. He was the founder of the towns of Fincastle and Christiansburg.

William Christian, son of Israel, was born in Augusta in 1743. He was a member of the House of Burgesses in 1774 (from Botetourt), and leaving Williamsburg he raised a company and hastened to join General Andrew Lewis, but failed to overtake him till the night after the battle of Point Pleasant. In 1775 he was chosen Lieutenant-Colonel of the first Virginia regiment of which Patrick Henry was colonel. In 1776, however, he became colonel of the first battalion of Virginia militia, and commander of an expedition against the Cherokee Indians. The troops under his command consisted of two battalions from Virginia and one from North Carolina, which, with other men employed, composed an army of one thousand six hundred to one thousand eight hundred men. The campaign lasted about three months. Not one man was killed, and no one died. The Indians fled at the approach of the army, but many of their towns were destroyed and their fields wasted. On the return of the army to the settlements, Fort Henry was built at Long Island, in the Holston, near the present Virginia State line, and supplies were taken to it from Rockbridge and Augusta counties. The fort was then supposed to be in Virginia.

In 1780 he commanded another expedition against the Cherokees. In 1781 he was appointed by General Green at the head of a commission to conclude a treaty with the Indians, his Virginia associates being Arthur Campbell, William Preston and Joseph Martin. In 1785 he removed to Kentucky, and settled near Louisville. The year following he and others pursued a party of marauding Indians across the Ohio river, and overtook two of them near the spot where Jeffersonville, Indiana, now is. There he was shot and killed by one of the Indians, both of whom were instantly killed by Christian's companions. His body was carried home, and the inscription on his tombstone states that he was killed April 9, 1786, aged 43. His wife was a sister of Patrick Henry. Colonel Bullitt, of Kentucky, was his son-in-law. His only son died while a youth.

CHAPTER V.

INDIAN WARS, &C., FROM 1756 TO 1758.

Although the preceding chapter closed so peacefully, the war was not over. In fact the worst part of it was still to come, and for eight years longer there was no peace on the frontiers, and no feeling of security by any of the white settlers west of the Blue Ridge.

It is impossible to relate a tenth part of all the stories of adventure during these stirring times which have come down to us. Many of these are of doubtful authority, and others founded on fact are so marred by mistakes as to time, place, etc., that they have to be omitted. Nobody appears to have cared or thought at the time of making a record of passing events, and in the course of a few generations oral tradition became contradictory and unreliable.

Governor Gilmer and other writers relate that the house of Col. John Lewis was assailed by Indians on one occasion when the sons and retainers of the family were absent. Though old and infirm, Colonel Lewis is said to have stationed himself at a port-hole and kept up a constant shooting at the Indians, whilst his wife reloaded the guns. His sons and servants hearing the report of guns returned home and drove the Indians off.

As related, this story is inconsistent with the authentic history of the times. It is not probable that any dwelling within two miles of Staunton was ever besieged or assailed by hostile Indians. We know, however, that before war had arisen, parties of Indians often traversed the country, calling at houses, and soliciting, and to some extent demanding, supplies, just as white "tramps" do now-a-days. Very likely, during this time, a party came to the house of Colonel Lewis, and becoming troublesome, the doors were closed, and guns fired to frighten them away.

Here we may give some particulars in regard to the sons of Colonel Lewis, all of whom were men of mark, and very conspicuous in the early times of the county.

Of Andrew Lewis we have already said much, and shall say much more in these Annals.

Thomas Lewis, the county surveyor, was disqualified for military service by defective vision, but was a man of culture and influence,

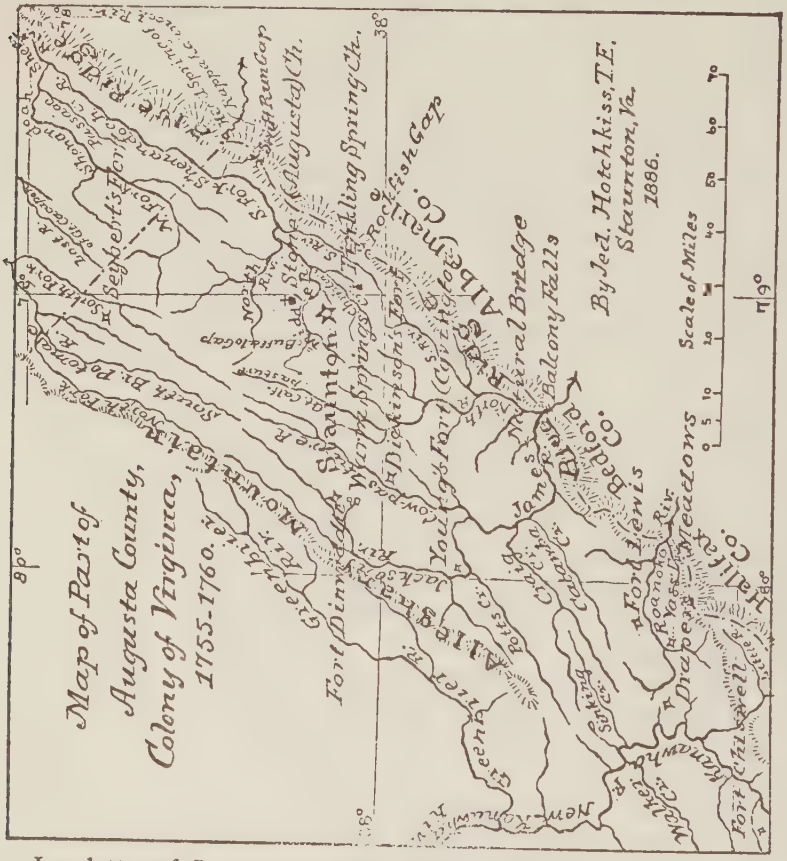
and held various important positions. He was a member of the House of Burgesses and of the State Convention in 1775, and commissioner in 1777 to treat with the Indian tribes on the Ohio. He died October 31, 1790.

William Lewis is said by some of his descendants to have been a physician, while others deny or question the statement. According to Governor Gilmer's testimony, he was as powerful in person and brave in spirit as any of his brothers, but less disposed to seek fame by the sacrifice of human life. Says Governor Gilmer: "He served in the army only when required. He was an officer under Braddock, and wounded at his defeat. He was an elder in the Presbyterian church, of the old covenanting sort." His daughter, Mrs. Towles, describes him as eminently pious. She states that a man who overheard him at his devotions in a retired place, was deeply impressed by his prayer, became pious, and finally entered the ministry of the Methodist church. She had this incident from the person himself. Mrs. Lewis, wife of William Lewis, was originally a Miss Montgomery, of Philadelphia, it is said.

The fame of Charles Lewis, the youngest of the family, has come down to us as that of a hero of romance. From all accounts he was an admirable man, and if his life had not ended prematurely would have achieved great distinction. At an early age he was reported to be the most skilful of all the frontier Indian fighters. Once, it is said, he was captured by Indians, whilst out hunting, and suffered the usual treatment at their hands, but made his escape. He was forced to go with the Indians many miles, barefoot, his arms pinioned behind him, and goaded on by knives. Upon coming to a high bank, he burst the cords which bound him and plunged down the steep into the bed of a stream. The Indians followed him, but when his strength failed he fell among some tall weeds, and his pursuers failed to discover him. Before he could rise and continue his flight, a new enemy was discovered. A rattlesnake was coiled near his face and apparently about to strike; but on his remaining still, the reptile glided away.

During December, 1755, or earlier, Governor Dinwiddie planned an expedition against the Shawnee town supposed to be on the Ohio river, at or near the mouth of the Big Sandy. This expedition has been known as the "Sandy Creek Voyage." Washington did not approve of it, but at the request of the Governor, appointed Major Andrew Lewis to command. The distance from the settlements was too great, supplies for a large body of men could not be transported such a distance over so rugged a route, and the army could not find subsistence in the wilderness, and, moreover, it was doubtful whether

there was any Indian settlement at or near the Big Sandy. But the Governor was full of his plans, and could not be dissuaded. He entertained high expectations, and wrote on the subject to nearly everybody, —to Major Lewis and his subordinate officers, and to public functionaries in America and England.


Map of Part of
Augusta County,
Colony of Virginia,
1755-1760. ±
By Jed. Hotchkiss, T.E.
Staunton, Va.
1886.
Scale of Miles
Augusta Co.
Albemarle Co.
Staunton R.
Middle R.
North R.
Calfpasture R.
Cowpasture R.
Jackson's R.
Greenbrier R.
Meadows
Fort Lewis
Fort Dinwiddie
Fort Young
Fort Trial
Fort Frederick
Fort Prince George
Fort Loudoun
Fort Vass
Fort Mayo
Fort Upper Tract
Fort Edward
Fort Stanton
Fort Buchanan
Fort Dickinson
Fort Mercer
Fort Union
Fort Evans
Fort Hall
Fort Trotter
Fort Carrington
Fort Lowther
Fort Hamilton
Fort Hunter
Fort Hogg
Fort Hopewell
Fort Hopewell
Fort Hopewell

and that the men were recalled, when near the Ohio river, by order of Governor Fauquier; but the Dinwiddie papers show that it occurred early in 1756, and that the survivors returned home more than two years before Fauquier became Governor of Virginia. To this day, however, the number of men led out into the wilderness by Lewis is uncertain, and also how many companies there were, and who commanded them. Governor Dinwiddie, in his instructions to Major Lewis, not dated, says he had ordered Captain Hogg, with forty of his company, to march on the expedition; that a draft of sixty men would be made from the companies of Captains Preston and Smith, to be commanded by the latter; and that Captain Samuel Overton's company consisted, he supposed, of forty men, and Captain Obadiah Woodson's of forty more. He says: "One Capt. McMett and some others proposed some men on a voluntary subscription." "From the forementioned four companies," continues the Governor, "the Cherokee Indians and the volunteers, making in all 350 men, I think will be sufficient for the expedition; but if you should think more men necessary, I leave it to you." He appears never to have known the number of the men. In several of his letters he speaks of the Cherokees under Pearis as numbering one hundred and thirty, and in another as eighty; while his statements of the number of white men vary from two hundred to three hundred. Among the captains usually mentioned are, Peter Hogg, William Preston, John Smith and Robert Breckinridge, besides Captains Overton and Woodson. These were captains of rangers, then employed in guarding the frontier. Archibald Alexander commanded a volunteer company, and, it is said, that Captains Montgomery and Dunlap led other companies also raised for this special service. Certainly there was no scarcity of captains, but the size of the companies was small, and we are not sure that all the persons named accompanied Lewis. Captain David Stuart acted as commissary.

Of Peter Hogg and William Preston we have already spoken. John Smith was the ancestor of the late Judge Daniel Smith of Rockingham, Joseph Smith of Folly Mills and others.*

Dr. William Fleming was a lieutenant, but in whose company does not appear. From a letter addressed to him, February 6th, by Governor Dinwiddie, it seems that he acted also as surgeon of the expedition, and was to be paid for his "extra trouble." Medicines were furnished by Dr. George Gilmer, physician and apothecary in Williamsburg.

* The pay of Capt. John Smith's company to June 25, 1756, was £576.13.—Hening, Vol. 7, p. 200.

Captain Overton's company was raised in Hanover county, and was the first organized in the colony after Braddock's defeat. To this company the Rev. Samuel Davies preached, by request, August 17, 1755, from the text: "Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people, and for the cities of our God," etc. 2 Sam. x: 12. The preacher asks: "Is it a pleasing dream? Or do I really see a number of brave men, without the compulsion of authority, without the prospect of gain, voluntarily associated in a company to march over trackless mountains, the haunts of wild beasts, or fiercer savages, into a hideous wilderness, to succor their helpless fellow-subjects, and guard their country?" But the sermon is memorable chiefly on account of a note by the preacher, in which he speaks of "that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom," he says, "I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner, for some important service to his country."

Archibald Alexander was the executor of Benjamin Borden, the younger, and ancestor of the well-known Rockbridge family of that name, and the late Mrs. McClung, of Staunton.

The person referred to by Governor Dinwiddie as "one Captain McMett" was no doubt Alexander McNutt, a subaltern officer in Captain Alexander's company. He has been mentioned as the purchaser of a town lot in Staunton. It is stated that Lieutenant McNutt kept a journal of the campaign, which he presented to the Governor, and which was deposited in the executive archives at Williamsburg. In this journal the writer reflected upon the conduct of Major Lewis, which led to a personal affray between Lewis and McNutt in Staunton.

Major Lewis's command rendezvoused at Fort Frederick, which is stated by some writers to have been on New River, and by others, on the Roanoke, near the site of the present town of Salem. While waiting at the fort for horses and pack saddles, the Rev. Messrs. Craig and Brown preached to the soldiers.

In his instructions to Major Lewis, the Governor is very minute. Among other things, he says: "You are to do everything in your power to cultivate morality among the men, and that they may have dependence on God, the God of armies and the giver of victory." He does not omit to "recommend frugality."

To several of the captains, the Governor wrote also. Captain John Smith, it seems, wanted biscuit furnished for the expedition, but is told he must provide corn-meal or flour. Money to the amount of £100 was sent to the Captain, which "you must account for on your return," says the Governor. To one and all he recommended

"care and diligence," "love and friendship." He sent £100 to Pearis, or Paris, reminding him, however, that it was to be accounted for, and enjoining "unanimity and friendship."

The Governor thought the expedition ready to start on February 6th, and so wrote to Governor Dobbs, of North Carolina, but in this he was premature; and finding out his mistake, he rebuked Major Lewis for his tardiness. At the same time he charged the Major to "take care [that] Mr. Pearis behaves well and keeps sober." The distance, he thinks, is 200 miles. He concludes as follows: "I have no further orders than desiring you to keep up good discipline and your people in good morality, forbidding swearing and all other vices, and put your trust in God, the protector and disposer of all things."

We pause to mention that in February, 1756, John O'Neil was examined by the County Court on the charge of speaking treasonable words and acquitted, but being convicted of "abusing the government and cursing the Bible" he was held for trial.

The expedition having started at last, Governor Dinwiddie turned his attention for a time to other matters. He indited a long report to the Lords of Trade on the state of the province. In this he broaches the idea of a chain of forts from the head waters of the Potomac, upon the ridges of the Alleghany, to the North Carolina line, for the protection of the frontier, and also the establishment of another colony west of the Alleghany, with such indulgences in matters of religion etc., as would induce Protestant Dissenters to settle in that region.

In March, 1756, the Provincial Assembly passed an act providing for the construction of the forts referred to—"to begin at Henry Enoch's, on Great-Cape-Capon, in the county of Hampshire, and to extend to the south fork of Mayo river, in the county of Halifax."

In regard to the Dissenters in the province, the laws affecting them were always relaxed in times of war or public danger, and many of them were disposed to act as if all such laws were abolished. We find that the Rev. John Brown, of New Providence, was so imprudent as to perform the marriage ceremony twice in 1755 for members of his flock, but, discovering his mistake, he did not officiate again in that manner till 1781, when the law authorized him to do so.—[See list of marriages by Mr. Brown, published in *Staunton Spectator* of December 18, 1866.]

We are not done, however, with Governor Dinwiddie's report to the Lords of Trade. He had been endeavoring for more than four months to raise a thousand men for the protection of the frontier, but had not been able to recruit above half that number. He says:

"They are a lazy, indolent set of people, and I am heartily weary of presiding over them." He estimated the population of the colony as 293,472,—whites 173,316, and blacks 120,156. The number of white tithables in Augusta county in February, 1756, he states as 2,273, and of blacks only 40. Multiplying the white tithables by 4, as he did, the white population of the county was 8,992. All negroes, male and female, over sixteen years of age, were tithables, and therefore the black tithables were multiplied by 2, showing a total black population in the county of about 80.

After the departure of Major Lewis on his expedition, Governor Dinwiddie did not forget the enterprise. He continued to refer to it in his correspondence, and to express sanguine hopes. He had also sent commissioners, Peter Randolph and William Byrd, to conclude formal treaties with the Cherokee and Catawba Indians.

Major Lewis started from Fort Frederick on February 18, and reached the head of Sandy Creek on the 28th. Before the middle of March the supply of provisions began to run low, and soon afterwards some of the party were rescued from starvation only by the killing of several elks and buffaloes. On March 11 ten men deserted, and finally the whole body, except the officers and twenty or thirty of the privates, declared their purpose to return. It is related that on the westward march the raw hides of several buffaloes were hung upon bushes near a certain stream, and that on the return the men in the extremity of their hunger cut these hides into thongs, or tugs, and devoured them. From this circumstance, it is said, the stream referred to received the name of Tug river, which it still bears. Some writers state that a day or two after the retreat began a party of Captain Hogg's men went out from camp in pursuit of wild turkeys and encountered a dozen Indians in war paint, who fired upon them. According to these writers, two of the white men were killed, and the fire being returned, one Indian was wounded and captured. What was done with him is not mentioned. This story, however, like many other things related of the expedition, is of doubtful authenticity. Governor Dinwiddie's letters imply that no hostile Indians were encountered.

It required two weeks for the men to reach the nearest settlement, and during that interval they endured great suffering from cold and hunger. Some of the men who separated from the main body perished.

At what date Major Lewis and other survivors of the expedition returned to the settlements, we have not found stated. Governor Din-

widdie alludes to their return, in a letter to Washington, dated April 8th. He takes no blame to himself, but indulges in sarcasm towards Lewis. "Major Lewis," he says, "and his men are returned, having done nothing essential. I believe they *did not know the way to the Shawnesse towns.* I expect him in town to give an account of his march," etc. To Governor Dobbs he writes, April 13: "The expedition against the Shawnesse proved unsuccessful. They were gone upwards of a month; met with very bad weather; a great part of their provisions lost crossing a river, the canoes being overset. They were obliged to eat their horses, and are returned, having taken the Frenchmen, who I believe are of the neutrals, bound to Fort Duquesne. The commissioners that went to the Cherokees, &c., are not returned, but write me the Cherokees and Catawbas are in good humor and profess great friendship. They are ready to assist us with their warriors, if they can have a fort built for their women and children."

The French "Neutrals" mentioned by the Governor were some of the people banished from Nova Scotia and brought to Virginia, of whom an account will be given on a future page. Parties of them went roaming through the country in the endeavor to get to the French settlement in the northwest.

Fifteen of the returned Cherokees visited the Governor at Williamsburg, and he endeavored to induce the whole party, reduced to sixty, to march to Winchester and join Washington.

Andrew Lewis made his peace with the Governor. At any rate, whether in wrath or as a token of favor, he was immediately ordered to proceed to the Cherokee country, now East Tennessee, and build the fort those Indians had stipulated for as a condition of their sending reinforcements. He was directed to enlist sixty men who could use saw and axe, "taking great care to be as frugal as possible," to be much on his guard "against any surprise from the enemy lurking in the woods," and to lose no time about the business. This order was issued April 24th. Of course it required some time for Major Lewis to get ready, and in the meanwhile he was the superior military officer in Augusta.

On the 27th of April, in consequence of a report that the French and Indians had invested Winchester, the Governor called out the militia of ten counties, and Major Lewis was ordered to speed the departure of the Cherokees under Pearis to join Washington. The reports from Winchester were greatly exaggerated, and the alarm in that quarter soon subsided; but some new cause of anxiety had arisen in Augusta. On the 5th of May the Governor wrote to Lewis, in a

very sulky mood. He was surprised at "the supineness of the people of Augusta," who were "intimidated at the approach of a few Indians," and most shamefully ran away. "They are always soliciting for arms and ammunition. Of the first," said the Governor, "I have none, and powder and lead they have been supplied with more from me than any six counties in this Dominion, and as they have not exerted themselves in any action against the enemy I fear those supplies have been misapplied, but still if they want a little powder I can supply them if they will send for it, as the other counties do, but I have no lead." That unfortunate wagon lost by Colonel Patton the year before, was still on the Governor's mind, and he declares that the county must pay for it. Colonel Jefferson, of Albemarle, (father of President Jefferson), was ordered to take half of his militia to Augusta; but Lewis was on no account to remain here. He was, with all possible dispatch, to proceed to the Cherokee country and build the fort there. No time was to be lost. Captain Hogg would assist the people of Augusta. It was hoped that the Cherokees were on the march to Winchester.

We do not know in what part of the country this alarm arose. Probably it was the disaster at Edward's fort, April 18th, mentioned in a note on page 111, Volume 1, *Dinwiddie Papers*. This note states that Edward's fort was on the Warm Springs mountain, now Bath county, but Kercheval, who was more likely to be accurately informed, says it was on Capon river, between Winchester and Romney. In 1756, according to the note referred to, but in 1757, according to Kercheval, thirty or forty Indians approached the fort and killed two men who were outside. Captain Mercer, at the head of forty of the garrison, sallied out in pursuit of the enemy, but fell into an ambush, and he and all his men, except six, were slain. One poor fellow, who was badly wounded, lay for two days and nights before he was found, the whites not venturing sooner to collect and bury the dead.

The apprehension of the people, and the unwillingness of the men to enlist in the army, were natural and unavoidable. Augusta men were always ready to go on any warlike expedition when their homes could be left in safety, but to abandon wives and children to the merciless savages was more than ought to have been demanded. The enemy did not come in military array, with banners and martial music, to war upon men in arms; but in small parties, by stealth, hiding by day in the forests and mountains, and in the dead hour of night, or at early dawn, falling upon the isolated cabins of white settlers. Then, woe to the women and children left defenceless by the absence of husbands and fathers! It was no common danger. Gov-

ernor Dinwiddie, in his comfortable quarters at Williamsburg, was totally unable to appreciate the difficulties and the spirit of the people.*

The Governor's vituperation of the people of Augusta did not impair the intense loyalty of the County Court, however others of the population may have been affected by it. This spirit was carried to excess, and rather absurdly exhibited at times. It was in 1756 that one Francis Farguson was brought before the court "by warrant under the hand of Robert McClanahan, gent., for damning Robert Dinwiddie, Esq., for a Scotch peddling son of a b——," and found guilty. He was discharged, however, on apologizing and giving security to keep the peace.

Major Lewis did not get off till the month of June. The Cherokees, brought out by Pearis, refused to go to Winchester, but went home, promising, however, to come back with a larger reinforcement of their tribe. The Governor, on the 12th of June, addressed a stately message "to the Emperor, Old Hop, and other sachems of the great nation of Cherokees."

It was determined by a council of war, held at Fort Cumberland, that Captain Hogg should have the care of constructing the forts provided for by Act of Assembly. Washington addressed instructions to Hogg, dated Winchester, July 21, 1756. The militia of Augusta were ordered out to assist. The forts were to be twenty or thirty miles apart, to the southward of Fort Dinwiddie, on Jackson's river. Lieutenant Bullitt was to be left at Fort Dinwiddie, with thirty privates of Hogg's company, and the other forts were to be garrisoned by fifteen to thirty men each. Hogg was instructed not to divide his force, but to keep his men together, and build fort after fort, without attempting to construct more than one at the same time. This precaution indicates the danger of attack by the enemy. The building of the

* The historian Parkman entertained a much more favorable opinion of the Virginia frontier settlers than Governor Dinwiddie, although he has depicted them as ruder in appearance and manners than they were. In his work called *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* he says: "The advancing frontiers of American civilization have always nurtured a class of men of striking and peculiar character. The best examples of this character have, perhaps, been found among the settlers of Western Virginia, and the hardy progeny who have sprung from that generous stock. The Virginian frontiersman was, as occasions called, a farmer, a hunter, and a warrior, by turns. The well-beloved rifle was seldom out of his hand; and he never deigned to lay aside the fringed frock, moccasins, and Indian leggins, which formed the appropriate costume of the forest ranger. * * * Many of his traits have been reproduced in his offspring.—From him have sprung those hardy men whose struggles and sufferings on the bloody ground of Kentucky will always form a striking page in American history."

forts was a scheme of the Governor's, disapproved by Washington, and resulted in no good.

In a letter to Henry Fox, Esq., dated July 24th, Governor Dinwiddie says: "About one month ago, one hundred French and Indians came into Augusta county, murdered and scalped some of the *unweary* and unguarded people, but I think the militia drove them over the mountains." It is tantalizing that we cannot ascertain the scene of this raid, and other circumstances; but it probably occurred on the frontier, and more or less remote from the western limit of the present county. In a letter to General Abercrombie, dated August 12th, the Governor alluded to the raid just mentioned, or another—we cannot tell which. He says: "About a month ago, a hundred of them" [Shawnee Indians] "with some French, came into the county of Augusta, in this Dominion, killed and carried away prisoners twenty-four of our people. We killed sixteen of them."

The record book of Courts Martial held by officers of Augusta militia, from 1756 to 1796, has in part escaped destruction. Both backs have disappeared, and some leaves also here and there, but a large part of the volume remains.

We find from this volume that "a Council of War" was held at Augusta Courthouse, July 27, 1756, by order of the Governor, to consider and determine at what points forts should be erected along the frontier for the protection of the inhabitants. The Council was composed of Colonels John Buchanan and David Stewart, Major John Brown, and Captains Joseph Culton, Robert Scott, Patrick Martin, William Christian, Robert Breckinridge, James Lockhart, Samuel Stalnicker, Israel Christian, and Thomas Armstrong. William Paxton acted as clerk. The William Christian mentioned was the son of Gilbert, and not Israel Christian's son of the same name, who was then a boy.

The Council unanimously agreed that forts should be constructed at the following places: "At Peterson's, on the South Branch of Potowmack, nigh Mill Creek," two miles from the northern county line; at Hugh Man's Mill, on Shelton's tract, 18 miles from Peterson's; "at the most important pass between the last named place and the house of Matthew Harper, on Bull Pasture" [the place afterwards designated was Trout Rock, 17 miles from Man's]; at Matthew Harper's, 20 miles from Trout Rock; and at Captain John Miller's, on Jackson's river, 18 miles from Harper's. The Council then say: "As the frontiers are properly protected by the forts of Captains Hog [Dinwiddie's], Breckinridge and Dickinson, there is no want of a fort unto the mouth of John's Creek, a branch of Craig's Creek, at which place a fort is to

be erected." John's Creek was 25 miles from Dickinson's fort. Fort William, 20 miles from John's Creek, and supposed to be the same as Breckinridge's fort, was deemed "sufficient to guard *that* important pass," and the next place to the southwest, 13 miles distant, designated for a fort, was Neal McNeal's. The remaining places named for forts are, Captain James Campbell's, 13 miles from McNeal's; Captain Vaux's [Vass'], 12 miles from Campbell's; and Captain John Mason's on the south side of Roanoke, 25 miles from Vaux's. From Mason's "to the first inhabitants in Halifax county, south side of Ridge," was 20 miles.

The Council ordered, subject to the approval of Captain Peter Hogg, that Fort Vaux be at least one hundred feet square in the clear, with stockades at least sixteen feet long, and be garrisoned by seventy men. The other forts were to be sixty feet square, with two bastions in each. The garrisons, besides Vaux's, were to be as follows: Mason's and McNeal's thirty men each, Dickinson's forty, Dinwiddie's sixty, and each of the others fifty men.

In Fort Dinwiddie there was an underground passageway covered with logs, from the blockhouse to a spring within the stockade, which was only recently filled up.

The services rendered by soldiers in the forts when garrisoned, are thus described by J. T. McAllister: "Two men, provisioned for three or four days, were sent out in each direction along the mountains. They were under strict orders not to build a fire in any event, and to return within the three or four days, unless they had reports to make earlier. They had to watch the gaps or low places in the mountain chains, and in some cases had to cover a distance of thirty miles. As soon as these parties returned, other parties were sent out in their places."

The length of frontier to be protected was estimated by the Council as two hundred and fifty miles, and the number of men to garrison the forts as six hundred and eighty. The scheme was abandoned, however, only one or two new forts having been built.

The Courts Martial record book gives the names of the captains of militia in 1756. The captains of horse were Israel Christian, Patrick Martin and John Dickinson; of foot, besides those already named, Samuel Norwood, James Allen,* George Willson, John Mathews, Joseph Lapsley, James Mitchell, Daniel Harrison, Abram Smith, Ephraim Love, Ludovick Francisco, and Robert Bratton.

* Captain Allen's company, in 1756, consisted of sixty-eight men, and was composed of Walkers, Turks, Kerrs, Robertsons, Bells, Crawfords, Givenses, Craigs, Pattersons, Poages, and others.

The Governor had received no report from Major Lewis up to August 19th. Writing to Washington on that day, he says: "Col. Stewart, of Augusta, proposed and sent the sketch for fourteen forts, to be garrisoned by 700 men, but I took no notice of it, waiting for Captain Hogg's report of what he thinks may be necessary, and to be managed with frugality, for the people in Augusta appear to me so selfish that private views and interest prevail with them without due consideration of the public service, which makes me much on my guard with them." He appears to have cherished a bitter animosity towards Stewart, the name being then generally so written, but now Stuart.

On the 20th, the Governor had tidings from Lewis, and was happy in the expectation of soon receiving a reinforcement of one hundred and fifty Cherokees and fifty Catawbas. He desired to have provisions for these allies at several points on their march to Winchester, and, not being acquainted with any person in Augusta he could confide in, ordered Colonel Clement Read, County-Lieutenant of Lunenburg county, to make arrangements for supplies at Roanoke and Augusta Courthouse. Colonel Buchanan had advised him that wheat could be bought at Roanoke for 2s. 6d., and if Read had "an opinion" of Buchanan, the latter might be employed to make purchases. Five chests of small arms and six barrels of gunpowder were sent to Roanoke for the Indians. To Lewis the Governor wrote on the 30th of August: "I have wrote Col. Washington that he may expect the Cherokees under your conduct, and I order you to march them with all possible expedition. They shall be supplied at Winchester with all sorts of ammunition, but no cutlasses to be had here."

Captain Hogg enjoyed the Governor's entire confidence, and was no doubt worthy of it.—they were brother Scots. To him the Governor poured out his heart on September 8th:—"The behavior and backwardness of the militia in assisting you is unaccountable, or can I account for the dastardly spirit of our lower class of people in general, but that of Augusta county, I think, exceeds them all." Colonel Buchanan, commanding the Augusta militia, and probably then residing on the Roanoke river, is accused of inefficiency; and it turned out that Colonel Read had "no influence but in his own county." By the date of this letter, the writer had changed his mind about the forts. He thought as many as three unnecessary, and the one Hogg was then building, enough. "Dickinson," adds the Governor, "is now here, and says he was sent for to the general muster when his fort was attacked. I told him he had no call to be there when he otherways was on duty, and he confesses his errors, but says he con-

stantly kept centries and scouting parties from the fort for some months" [or miles] "round, and those that went after the Indians, he says, were militia under different officers, that he could not command them; that he had 120 pounds of powder and 200 pounds of lead when attacked. In short, I am of opinion, if there had been proper conduct they might have destroyed some of the enemy."

Here again we are ignorant of details. Dickinson's fort was on the Cowpasture river, some four miles below Millborough. Withers says [*Border Warfare*, page 75] the garrison was so careless that several children playing under the walls outside the fort were run down and caught by the Indians, who were not discovered till they arrived at the gate. He states that the circumstance occurred in 1755, but was no doubt mistaken in regard to the date. He, moreover, is silent as to an assault upon the fort; but in addition to the Governor's reference to one, there is a reliable tradition of an assault, during which a young girl aided in moulding bullets for the men. This young girl was the grandmother of Judge William McLaughlin. The incident mentioned of her may, however, have occurred in 1757, when Dickinson's fort was assailed again. Tradition also informs us that at one time, when a party of hostile Indians was believed to be at hand, a married woman, hastening with her family and neighbors to take shelter in Dickinson's fort, was seized with the pains of child-birth on the way, and was detained in the forest till her agony was over.

In September, 1756, the number of Indian allies expected by the Governor had grown to four hundred, and he was correspondingly elated. The Cherokees were highly pleased with their fort, but desired a small garrison of white men to hold it during the absence of their warriors. Captain Overton, with most of the men sent to build the fort, had returned by September 18th. Major Lewis remained to bring in the Indian reinforcement.

At a Court Martial held September 11, 1756, Colonel David Stewart presiding, several persons were exempted from military duty, among them one man for the reason that two of his children were "natural fools."

From the "Preston Register" we learn that, in September, 1756, the Indians fell upon the settlement on Jackson's river, at or near Fort Dinwiddie. They killed 13 people, including Ensign Madison, Nicholas Carpenter, James Montgomery, John Bird, and George Kinkead; and carried off 28, among them Mrs. Bird and 6 children, Mrs. Kinkead and 3 children, Mrs. Parsinger and 2 children, and 5 children name Carpenter. It is presumed that the family whose name is here written Bird, were the progenitors of the Bath county family who write

their name Byrd. A communication to the "Virginia Magazine of History," by J. T. McAllister, (July, 1894), states that John Byrd was eight years old when he was carried off. Eight years later he was restored to his surviving friends, pursuant, no doubt, to Bouquet's treaty of 1764. A sister was married to an Indian, and never returned. We have no account of Mrs. Byrd and her other children. When John Byrd was given up he wore a gold chain suspended to his nose and ears. He made two attempts to return to the Indians, but was prevented, and died in 1836. He was the grand-father of John T. Byrd, of Bath.

The alarm in Augusta still continued. "One-third of the militia from Augusta," wrote the Governor on September 30th, "and some from other counties contiguous have been ordered out for protection of their frontiers, but they are such a dastardly set of people that I am convinced they do not do their duty, which is the reason of the late invasion there. They have neither courage, spirit, or conduct." Again, on the 26th of October, to Washington: "I received your letter from Augusta, and observe its contents. The behavior of the militia is very unaccountable, and I am convinced they are under no command. I ordered part of the militia to the frontier and there to remain till relieved by others, * * instead thereof, they go and come at their own pleasure, and many of them come here with large demands as if they had done the duty ordered in a proper manner: they are a dastardly set of people, and under no management or discipline, much owing to their officers, who I fear are little better than the private men."

At last Major Lewis returned from the Cherokee country, and brought in only seven warriors and three women, to the Governor's "great surprise and concern."

The French, it was feared, had been tampering with the Southern Indians, and had seduced them from the English. One of the seven was sent back to remind the Cherokees of their repeated promises, and the others in Augusta were exhorted by the Governor to accompany Major Lewis to Winchester.

The fort built by Andrew Lewis was called Fort Loudoun. It was on the south bank of the Tennessee river, at the head of navigation, and about thirty miles south of the present town of Knoxville.*

*As Fort Loudoun was built by a party of men sent from Augusta county, its history is of some interest to the people of the county.

In 1760 it was occupied by two hundred soldiers under Captains Demere (called Dennis) and Stuart, and many people had settled in the vicinity, trusting to the protection of the fort. Amongst the means of defence were twelve cannon,

The middle of November, 1756, having arrived, Governor Dinwiddie, thinking there was no danger of invasion during the cold season, ordered Major Lewis to recall the men on the frontiers, and to reduce the Augusta companies in service to three. In the meanwhile, however, he was much concerned about the accounts sent in by officers of militia in Augusta. Colonel Buchanan was instructed to scrutinize the accounts closely, with the assistance of Captain Hogg. These officers were to meet at Vass' fort, where Hogg was stationed. When December 23d came round, the Governor's wrath was particularly directed to Captain Robert Breckinridge, of Augusta, and Major Lewis was peremptorily ordered to "put him out of commission."

Early in January, 1757, Governor Dinwiddie was full of another scheme. This one was instigated apparently by Captain Voss, Vass, or Vance—the Governor writes the name all sorts of ways, but Vaux was probably the correct mode—and encouraged by Colonel Read and

but in what manner they were transported for hundreds of miles through the wilderness, and from whence, is not known. A small party of Cherokees had accompanied Gen. Forbes in his successful expedition against Fort Du Quesne, in 1758, and returning home through the back part of Virginia helped themselves to some horses found roaming at large. They were pursued by white people and a dozen or more of them were killed. This treatment from allies greatly enraged the tribe, which, added to other causes of discontent, led to an outbreak.—Moreover, the Indians claimed that the fort belonged to them, having been built for their protection, and they regarded its occupation by soldiers as an insult and menace to them.

Fort Loudoun was closely besieged. The garrison and the settlers who had taken refuge there, were reduced to the last extremity by the want of food, and there was no hope of relief from any quarter. Capt. Stuart, therfore, made an agreement with the Indians to surrender the fort, upon condition of being permitted to retire in safety. The soldiers and others marched out, and were allowed to proceed the first day without molestation. But early the next morning, they were surrounded and assailed by the Indians.—At the first fire Capt. Dennis, three other officers, and about twenty-six privates were killed, and all the others were captured. There is a strange uncertainty as to the fate of the unfortunate people. According to one account, the prisoners were afterwards redeemed. Another tradition is that between two and three hundred men, besides women and children, perished in the massacre, and that the Indians made a fence of their bones. Capt. Stuart and two others were saved by the friendly intervention of the Indian Chief, Attakullakualla, called by the whites Little Carpenter. This Indian, who had formed a special fondness for Stuart, purchased him from the leading chief by giving up all his possessions; and fearing for his safety among the Indians, took him out professedly to hunt, and by traveling nine days and nights brought him to the frontier of Virginia.

Stuart adhered to Great Britain during the Revolutionary war. His son, born in Georgia, became a distinguished officer in the British army during the wars of Napoleon.

others. It seems that a number of persons calling themselves "Associators," proposed to raise two hundred and fifty to three hundred men for an expedition against the Shawnees. They were to choose their own officers, to be provided by the government with provisions, arms and ammunition, to have all the plunder, and to be paid £10 for every scalp or prisoner brought in. The provisions were to be carried to Vass' fort, and from thence on horses to the pass in the mountains, where the horses should be kept under a guard. The whole affair was to be kept as secret as possible, to prevent intelligence of it getting to the enemy. The Governor had the affair "much at heart," and on the 1st of February he wrote: "The expedition is very pleasable." It is observable that he wrote to nobody in Augusta on the subject. On the 5th of April he wrote to Colonel Read: "Last Thursday I arrived from Philadelphia, when I was much surprised after the sanguine expressions and assurances of three hundred men from Augusta, etc., entering an association to march against the Shawness towns is defeated by a presumption, they would not proceed with fewer than six hundred. This, I conceived, was intended to load the country with extraordinary expense, and to furnish arms, etc., for that number, which can't be done. * * I believe it's only a few persons that wanted command occasioned this hindrance, and I find it has been usual with the people of Augusta to form schemes of lucrative views, which, for the future, I will endeavor to prevent."

Thus another well-laid plan came to naught. Of course, the people of Augusta were responsible for the failure! By this time the Governor was clamoring to be relieved of his labors,—he was weary and sick, and doubtless nearly all the people in the colony desired his departure, the people of Augusta most of all.

We find from the correspondence, that two parties of Indian tramps, professing friendship, were roaming about in Lunenburg and Halifax counties, and committing depredations. They scalped one of their number in Colonel Read's yard, and otherwise behaved in a "rude and villainous" manner. The Governor feared that Paris was "the ring-leader of all these enormities"; but advised caution in bringing the Indians to reason, as he greatly dreaded a war with the Cherokees.

The Governor's instructions to Washington, of May 16, 1757, state how sundry forts were to be garrisoned, etc. Fort Loudoun [Winchester], 100 men under Washington himself; Edward's, 25 men under a subaltern; Dickinson's, 70 men under Major Lewis; Vass', 70 men under Captain Woodward. At the same time, as he wrote to the Lords of Trade, he had in service 400 Indians from the Catawbas,

Cherokees and Tuscaroras. "I ordered them out with some of our forces," he says, "to observe the motions of the enemy, protect our frontiers, and go a scalping agreeable to the French custom." In another letter of the same date, he says: "I've ordered them out in parties with some of our men to discover the motions of the enemy and to scalp those they can overcome—a barbarous method of conducting war, introduced by the French, which we are obliged to follow in our own defence."

On the 18th of May, one hundred and ten of the Catawba allies were in Williamsburg, on their way home, "pretending they discovered the tracks of Shawnesse and Delawares marching towards their towns; that they must go to protect their women and children." They, however, brought the Governor two Shawnee scalps. On the 26th of May, only some Cherokees and eleven other friendly Indians remained on our frontiers. At that date the Governor complained of many disorders by the Cherokees, while marching through the country. They had killed a Chickasaw warrior, whose squaw, however, made her escape.

A party of thirty Cherokees was at Williamsburg on June 16th, on their way to Winchester, and the Governor was obliged to give them shirts, leggins, paint, etc. Old Hop promised to send out three other parties by way of Augusta.

From a letter written by Governor Dinwiddie to Washington, June 20th, we learn that there was a new alarm at Winchester. French and Indians were said to be marching from Fort Duquesne, probably to attack Fort Cumberland, and one-third of the militia of Frederick, Fairfax, and other counties, were called out. This apprehension subsided; but the Governor wrote to the Earl of Halifax: "I think we are in a very melancholy situation." On the 24th he wrote to Washington: "Major Lewis has been very unlucky in all his expeditions."

During the month of July there were "weekly alarms from our frontiers of the enemy's intention to invade us," and corresponding vigilance and activity on the part of the Governor. On August 3d he wrote to Colonel Read: "It surprises me that I have no account from Augusta of the terrible murders committed on the frontiers. * * I hope I shall have the news you write contradicted, or at least not so dismal as represented, though I am in great uneasiness till I hear from some of the commanding officers in Augusta."

We do not know the scene, and have no account of the circumstances of the disaster referred to in the letter just quoted. Perhaps, however, a letter of August 8th to Colonel Buchanan, colonel of Au-

gusta militia, indicates the place. "Your letter of the 23d of last month," writes the Governor, "I did not receive till the 6th of this, so it was fifteen days coming to my hands. I am sincerely sorry for the many murders and captives the enemy have made, and I fear the people in pay do not execute their duty. Where was Captain Preston and the people at Hogg's?"* "Surely they ought to have been sent for, and repelled the force of the enemy, as the bearer assures me there were not above six attacked their house, and you must be misinformed of the number of two hundred *at Dickinson's fort*—that number, I conceive, would have carried their point, and I am informed Dickinson was not at his fort. This I leave you to inquire into, for I fear the country is greatly imposed on by neglect of the officers," etc. It seems that some people were captured and carried off by the Indians. "One thousand men," continues the letter, "could not cover the whole frontiers, and I am surprised the reinforcement from the regiment are not arrived in Augusta, as Colonel Washington had my orders the 18th of last month to send them directly, and I hope they are with you before this time. * * I am pretty well convinced the enemy must have returned to their towns before this. Let me know where Captain Preston is, and whether the men at Hogg's fort were apprised of the enemy's cruelties, and the reason they did not march against them. * * I am sensibly concerned for the poor people, and heartily wish it was in my power to give them a thorough protection." In a letter to Washington, on the 9th of August, the Governor refers to letters from Augusta, Halifax and Bedford, informing him that the enemy had murdered seven people and captured eleven.

At Dickinson's fort, in 1757, was a boy who in after years became quite famous. He was born in Augusta county, in 1742, and his name was Arthur Campbell. He had volunteered as a militiaman to aid in protecting the frontier. Going one day with others to a thicket in search of plums, the party was fired upon by Indians lying in ambush, and young Campbell was slightly wounded and captured.

James Smith was detained at a Wyandot Indian town near Lake Erie, and tells about the arrival there of a band of warriors. "These warriors," he says, "had divided into different parties, and all struck at different places in Augusta county. They brought with them a considerable number of scalps, prisoners, horses and other plunder. One of the parties brought in with them one Arthur Campbell, that is now Colonel Campbell, who lives on Holston river, near the Royal Oak. As the Wyandots at Sunyendeand and those at Detroit were connected, Mr. Campbell was taken to Detroit; but he remained some

* Fort Dinwiddie?

time with me in this town: his company was very agreeable, and I was sorry when he left me. During his stay at Sunyendeand he borrowed my Bible, and made some pertinent remarks on what he had read. One passage was where it is said, 'It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth.' He said we ought to be resigned to the will of Providence, as we were now bearing the yoke in our youth. Mr. Campbell appeared to be then about sixteen or seventeen years of age." The Bible had been brought from Pennsylvania by a band of predatory Indians.

Young Campbell was taken to the vicinity of the great lakes, and detained a prisoner for three years, when he made his escape and returned home. About six years before the Revolution, he removed to the Holston river, now Washington county, his father and family soon following. He was afterwards prominent in the assembly and the state convention of 1788, as well as during the Revolutionary war. One of his sons, Colonel John B. Campbell, fell at Chippewa, where he commanded the right wing of the army under General Scott. General William Campbell, the hero of King's mountain, also a native of Augusta county, was Arthur Campbell's cousin and brother-in-law.

By this time, Governor Dinwiddie was in an ill-humor with Washington, and wrote him a scolding letter on the 13th of August. Washington had sent in certain accounts, and the Governor complains that he could not tell whether the amount was £100 or £1000. "You have sent a detachment from the regiment to Augusta," says the letter, "but you do not mention the number, or do you mention the receipt of the small arms sent from this, or any account of the misunderstanding with the Indians at Winchester. You must allow this is a loose way of writing, and it is your duty to be more particular to me. * * I approve of your hanging the two deserters." Washington was directed, by the same letter, to give Paymaster Boyd, of the Virginia regiment, a small escort to Augusta Courthouse, where he was to deliver money to Major Lewis, for the men on duty in this county. Lewis appears to have been sent by Washington, with several companies of the Virginia regiment, from Winchester to Augusta, in pursuance of the Governor's order.

On the 15th of August, the Governor being much indisposed, Secretary Withers wrote to Major Lewis, leaving it discretionary with him as to abandoning Vass' fort. About one thing, however, the Major was left no discretion: he must forthwith suspend Colonel Stewart from command, "for raising false alarms, terrifying the people," etc. Stewart, or Stuart as now written, was a colonel of militia. He no doubt communicated to the Governor the recom-

mendation of the Council of War in regard to the chain of forts, which, as we have seen, was contemptuously rejected.

The Governor had not forgotten Captain Dickinson. On September 19th, he wrote to Major Lewis: "Pray ask Captain Dickinson where he was when his fort was last invested. I hear he wasn't in it." The House of Burgesses had voted to raise three hundred rangers, and two hundred of them were intended for the Augusta frontier. The Governor desired Captain Hogg to command them, as he said in writing to Washington on the 24th. In this letter he accuses Washington of ingratitude.

The following extract from a letter of Dinwiddie to Washington, dated October 19th, though not a part of the Annals of Augusta, is too interesting to be omitted: "I cannot agree to allow you leave to come down here at this time; you have been frequently indulged with leave of absence. You know the fort is to be finished, and I fear in your absence little will be done, and surely the commanding officer should not be absent when daily alarmed with the enemy's intentions to invade our frontiers. I think you are wrong to ask it. You have no accounts, as I know of, to settle with me, and what accounts you have to settle with the committee may be done in a more proper time. I wish you well."

Captain Hogg was duly commissioned to command one of the new companies of rangers in Augusta, under direction of Major Lewis. The private men were to be paid twelve pence, about fifteen cents, a day, and find their own clothing. To Major Lewis, the Governor wrote, in October: "Recommend morality and sobriety to all the people, with a due submission and regard to Providence. Let swearing, private quarrels, drunkenness and gaming be strictly forbidden."

The next victim of Governor Dinwiddie's displeasure was Colonel John Spotswood, County Lieutenant of Spottsylvania county. Some blank commissions had been sent to Colonel Spotswood to be delivered to company officers when appointed. Colonel Spotswood, however, had committed the offence of giving a colonel's commission to Benjamin Pendleton, and a major's to Charles Lewis.* The offence was enhanced by the fact that Pendleton had no estate in the county, and kept an ordinary. As to Lewis, whatever his fault may have been, he "deserves no commission from me," says the angry Governor.

*An act of the General Assembly, passed in 1769, in regard to certain entailed lands, shows that a John Lewis, who lived in Gloucester county, had a son named Charles. This Charles was probably the person referred to by the Governor. It is not likely that the County Lieutenant of Spottsylvania would have delivered a commission to Charles Lewis, of Augusta.

Moreover, Thomas Estis and Aaron Bledstone had been appointed captains, although they were insolvent and not able to pay their levies. "This conduct," says the Governor, "is prostituting my commissions entrusted with you, and pray what gentleman of character will role with such persons that have neither land nor negroes"!

The Governor's last letter to Major Lewis is dated December, 1757. In this parting shot, he denounced again the "many villainous and unjust accounts" sent in from Augusta. He says: "Preston and Dickinson are rangers, and so must Captain Hogg's; but I don't agree to have any militia in pay, for they have hitherto been pick-pockets to the country."

Here we take leave of rare Governor Dinwiddie. He took his departure from the country, in January, 1758. On account of the historical value of his letters we could have better spared a better man. He died in Clifton, England, August 1, 1770.

The vestry of Augusta parish had established a "chapel of ease" at the forks of James river,* and paid Sampson Mathews a small salary for his services as reader at that point; but in the fall of 1757, the greater part of the inhabitants thereabouts "having deserted their plantations by reason of the enemy Indians," it was resolved that the chapel referred to was unnecessary, and the services of the reader were discontinued.

At the same meeting, it appearing that the glebe buildings had not been completed, it was ordered that suit be brought against the contractor, Colonel John Lewis. Our ancestors believed in law-suits, and were no respecters of persons. For a year or more the vestry were engaged in litigation with another prominent citizen, Robert McClanahan, who had been High Sheriff and collector of the parish levy, without accounting therefor, it was charged.

An act of Assembly in 1758, provided for the payment of military claims, and a schedule to the act gives the names of the persons entitled to pay. The names of Augusta people fill nearly twenty-two printed pages, among them Elizabeth Preston, £1. 2. 8, for provisions. —Hening, vol. 7, p. 179.

THE CAMPBELLS.

John Campbell came from Ireland to America in 1726, with five or six grown sons and several daughters, and settled first in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania. Six or eight years afterwards he removed to

* About the site of the present town of Lexington.

that part of Orange county, Virginia, which, in 1738, became Augusta county, where many of his numerous descendants lived for many years.

Three of John Campbell's sons came with him to Augusta, viz: Patrick, Robert and David.

I. Patrick Campbell, who died in Augusta, had at least two sons —Charles and Patrick.

1. Charles Campbell, son of Patrick, died in Augusta in 1767. He was the father of General William Campbell, of King's Mountain fame. In his will, dated August 4, 1761, proved in court and admitted to record March 17, 1767, he speaks of himself as a resident of Beverley's Manor. He appointed his wife, Margaret, sole executrix, provided for her support, left 1,000 acres of land on the Holston to his son William, and lands in the same section to his daughters. The inventory of the estate shows a larger amount of personal property than was common at that time.

William Campbell, only son of Charles, was born in 1745. In a short time after his father's death, the whole family moved to the Holston, now Washington county, then in Augusta. The oldest daughter, Elizabeth, married John Taylor, and from her the Taylors of Botetourt and Montgomery are descended; the second, Jane, married Thomas Tate; the third, Margaret, married Colonel Arthur Campbell, her second cousin; and the fourth, Ann, married Richard Poston.

The wife of Gen. William Campbell was a sister of Patrick Henry, and his only child became the wife of Gen. Francis Preston. He died in 1781, at the age of thirty-six. His widow married General Russell. She was eminently pious, in connection with the Methodist church, and was styled "The Elect Lady," or Lady Russell. General Campbell rendered distinguished service during the Revolution, besides his exploit at King's Mountain.

2. Patrick Campbell, second son of Patrick and brother of Charles, went to the southern part of Kentucky, and left many descendants.

II. Robert Campbell,* son of John and brother of Patrick (I), was one of the first Justices of the Peace appointed for Augusta county, in 1745. He died in 1768, without leaving a will. His descendants, if any, are not mentioned by Governor David Campbell in his account of the family. (See Foote's Sketches, 2d series, page 117).

III. David Campbell, son of John and brother of Patrick (I) and Robert (II), married, in Augusta, Mary Hamilton, and had seven sons and six daughters, all of whom, except a son who died young, emigrated to the Holston. The sons were John, Arthur, James, William, David, Robert and Patrick; and the daughters, Margaret, Mary, Martha, Sarah, Ann, and sixth not named.

1. John Campbell, the oldest son of David, was born in 1741, and received a good English education. He accompanied Dr. Thomas Walker in his exploration in 1765, and purchased for his father a tract of land called the "Royal Oak," near the head waters of the Holston. A year or two afterwards, he and his brother Arthur, and their sister

* Or at least a person of the same name.

Margaret, moved to that place and made improvements. About 1771, the parents and the other children removed to the same place.

John Campbell was a Lieutenant in William Campbell's company, Colonel Christian's regiment, in 1774, which arrived at Point Pleasant too late for the battle of October 10th. In July, 1776, he was second in command at the battle of the Long Island Flats of Holston, which resulted in a signal victory over the Indians. In October of the same year he commanded a company under Colonel Christian in his expedition against the Cherokee towns, and up to 1781 was almost constantly in military service. He was appointed clerk of Washington County Court in 1778, and held the office till 1824. His death occurred in 1825. He was the father of Governor David Campbell.

Edward Campbell, another son of John Campbell, the younger, and brother of Governor Campbell, was a lawyer, and father of the late Judge John A. Campbell and others, of Abingdon. A sister of David and Edward married James Cummings, son of the Rev. Charles Cummings, and was the mother of Colonel Arthur Campbell Cummings, of Abingdon.

2. Arthur Campbell, second son of David, died about 1811, in his sixty-ninth year.

3. James Campbell, third son, lost his eye-sight from small-pox, and died at fifty years of age.

4. William Campbell died in his youth before the family moved to the Holston.

5. David Campbell, fifth son of David, was a lawyer and removed to Tennessee. He was first the Federal Judge in the Territory, and then one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the State. His death occurred in 1812, in the sixty-second year of his age. He had been appointed Federal Judge of the Territory which afterwards formed the State of Alabama, but died before he removed his family to the new country.

6. Robert Campbell, sixth son of David, was nineteen years old when he went with his brother to the Holston. He was a volunteer in the expedition of 1774, and a member of his brother John's company at the Long Island Flats, in 1776. In October, 1776, he was in Christian's campaign, and in 1780 was an ensign under Colonel William Campbell at King's Mountain. In December, 1780, he served under Colonel Arthur Campbell, his brother, against the Cherokees. After acting as a magistrate in Washington county for more than thirty years, he removed to the vicinity of Knoxville, Tennessee, where he died in 1831.

7. Patrick Campbell, the youngest son of David, was a volunteer at King's Mountain. He remained with his father and inherited the homestead. In his old age he removed to Williamson county, Tennessee, and died when about eighty years old.

The daughters of David and Mary Campbell—

1. Margaret married the David Campbell who erected a block-house in Tennessee, widely known as "Campbell's Station." She was conspicuous for many excellent traits of character. Her death occurred in 1799, at the age of fifty-one.

2. Mary married William Lockhart before the family removed from Augusta.

3. Ann married Archibald Roane, who was first a teacher at Liberty Hall Academy, Rockbridge, and successively Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, Governor of the State, and Judge again. He died at Nashville in 1831, about seventy-one years of age.

Several other families of Campbells, not related as far as known to those just mentioned, were amongst the early settlers of Augusta. One of these was represented for many years by Dr. Samuel Campbell, of Lexington, uncle of Charles Campbell, the historian; and another by the late Rev. William G. Campbell and his nephew, Professor John L. Campbell, of Washington and Lee University.

THE SMITHS.

Captain John Smith, the ancestor of the Augusta and Rockingham Smiths, appeared at Orange Court, June 26, 1740, and "proved his importation," with the view of taking up public land. The record shows that his wife's name was Margaret, and that his children were Abraham, Henry, Daniel, John and Joseph. They came from Ireland by way of Philadelphia, and were accompanied by Robert McDowell. Captain Smith and others qualified as captain of militia at Orange Court, June 24, 1742. We next hear of him as a captain of rangers in 1755.

The late Benjamin H. Smith, of Kanawha, a great-grandson of Captain John Smith, relates in an unpublished manuscript a series of events in the life of his ancestor, of which there is elsewhere no account. According to this narrative, at some time not stated, Captain Smith, with seventeen men, held a fort where Pattonsburg, on James river, now stands, which was invested by three hundred French and Indians. After a brave resistance for three days, the garrison agreed to surrender the fort upon a stipulation allowing them to return to their homes. Astonished and mortified at finding so few men in the fort, the enemy disregarded the terms of surrender and held the survivors, only nine or ten in number, as prisoners. Three of Captain Smith's sons were with the party, one of whom was wounded during the siege and killed by an Indian after the surrender. The prisoners were taken by the French down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans, and on the way the two young Smiths, who had survived the disaster at the fort, died. Only five of the prisoners lived to reach New Orleans. The Captain and two others were sent to France, and he alone returned to America, after an absence of two years.

Whatever foundation there may be for this story, some of the details are certainly incorrect. There was a fort, so-called, at the mouth of Looney's Creek, a mile above Pattonsburg, but it is safe to say that there never was an inroad into the Valley of three hundred French and Indians. The only Indian raid upon the Pattonsburg neighborhood, of which we have an authentic account, occurred in

1761. It is certain, however, that Capt. Smith was a prisoner at some time or other. By act of Assembly passed in 1765, he was allowed £83, 13s, 9d, his pay while a prisoner, in 1759, apparently.

A list of 307 people killed, wounded, or captured by Indians, in Augusta county, from 1754 to May, 1758, obtained from some unknown source by Dr. Draper, and preserved among the archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society, gives the date of Capt. Smith's capture as June 25, 1756, and the place as Fort Vause, otherwise called Vass, Voss, and Vaux. This fort was at the head of Roanoke river, in the present county of Montgomery, and about ten miles from Christiansburg. The list referred to is called "The Preston Register," but could hardly have been made by Col. William Preston. It is not complete, and is probably not entirely accurate. According to the Register, however, three men were killed at the time and place mentioned, including Lieut. John Smith, son of the captain; four were wounded, but probably escaped; and eighteen persons were captured, including Capt. Smith, his son Joseph, and several women and children.

At a session of the County Court on November 18, 1757, the following order was entered: "Abraham Smith, eldest son and heir-at-law of John Smith, now a prisoner in the French Dominions, having refused to take on himself the administration of the said Smith's estate, on motion of Israel Christian, a creditor, administration of the said estate is granted during the absence of the said Smith."

Captain Smith died at the residence of his son, Daniel, two miles north of Harrisonburg, after the beginning of the Revolutionary war. He applied for a commission in the army, but was refused on account of his age, which greatly offended him. His children who survived him were three sons and one daughter. The latter married Hugh Bowen, of Southwest Virginia, who was killed at the battle of King's Mountain.

I. Abraham Smith, son of John, was captain of militia in 1756. In 1758 he was court-martialed, but acquitted, and his accuser subjected to punishment. In 1776 he was colonel of militia. In 1778, he was one of the first justices of Rockingham and county lieutenant. He owned a large landed estate at the foot of North Mountain, about two miles from North River, which descended to his son Henry.

John Smith, son of Abraham, was an ensign at Point Pleasant. He was the father of the late Abraham Smith, of Rockingham, of Joseph and Silas H. Smith, of Augusta, and of a daughter named Nancy, wife of William Crawford. His wife was Mary Jane Smith, of Culpeper, a descendant of the Captain Smith who visited the Valley, in 1716, with Governor Spotswood. Her first husband was Silas Hart, who died without children.

II. Daniel Smith, son of John, was for some time presiding justice of the County Court of Augusta. In 1776, he was captain of militia. When Rockingham county was organized in 1778, he was one of the first justices of the peace. He was appointed also colonel of militia and one of the coroners. The first County Court of Rockingham was held at his house. His wife was Jane Harrison, sister of Benjamin

Harrison, of Rockingham. On the return of the troops from Yorktown, the victory was celebrated by the military of Rockingham at a grand review in November, 1781. Colonel Smith's horse, taking fright at the firing, sprang aside, and spraining his rider's back, caused his death in a few days. Three of his sons participated in the siege of Yorktown, viz :

1. John, father of the late Judge Daniel Smith.
2. Daniel, who was also at Point Pleasant.
3. Benjamin, father of Benjamin Harrison Smith, of Kanawha.

III. William Smith, son of John and brother of Abraham and Daniel. His family went to Kentucky and have been lost sight of by their Virginia relatives.

The Harrisons, of Rockingham, were intimately connected with the Smiths, but the early history of the former family is involved in much obscurity. They are said to have come from Connecticut, and to have been descendants of Thomas Harrison, one of the judges who condemned King Charles I, to death. We find, that on July 27, 1744, the Rev. John Craig baptized Elizabeth Herison. "an adult person ;" and on January 21, 1747, he baptized David Stuart and Abigal Herrison, "adult persons, after profession of faith and obedience." It is presumed that the females mentioned were members of the Harrison family. John and Reuben Harrison are mentioned under date of 1750, on a former page. Our information is that they were brothers. John never married, and was killed by his slaves. Reuben married, and had several children. Captain Daniel Harrison is mentioned in 1755, and again in 1756. Nathaniel Harrison was fined by the court martial of Augusta county, Oct. 30, 1761, for failing to muster. How Daniel and Nathaniel were related to Reuben, is not known. Thomas Harrison, the founder of Harrisonburg, the son of Reuben, left four sons: Ezekiel, Reuben, John and Josiah, and one daughter, who married a Warren. The present Reuben Harrison, of Rockingham, is a son of Reuben and grandson of Thomas.

Benjamin Harrison, son of Daniel of Rockingham, was a member of the Augusta court-martial, April 19, 1769, and in 1774 commanded a company at Point Pleasant. In July, 1775, he was appointed captain of a company of minute-men. When Rockingham was organized, in 1778, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the militia of that county. According to the information we have, he was not related to the family of Reuben Harrison, but came from Eastern Virginia, probably Loudoun county.

Dr. Peachy R. Harrison, long an eminent citizen of Rockingham, was a son of Colonel Benjamin Harrison, and the youngest of eight children. He was born in 1777, and died in 1848. His wife was Jane Stuart, a daughter of John Stuart, who lived near the Stone church, Augusta.

The distinguished Dr. Gessner Harrison, Professor of Ancient Languages at the University of Virginia, was the second son of Dr. Peachy R. Harrison. He was appointod professor at the age of twenty-one, and held the position thirty years.

The Allens.

James Allen was the oldest son of William Allen, who came from Ireland and settled in Augusta, but at what date is unknown. A brother of William was the grandfather of Dr. Allen who long resided and practiced medicine in the Stone Church neighborhood.

It is believed that James Allen was seven years old at the date of the emigration to America. His brothers, Hugh and John, were born here.

James and Hugh married sisters, daughters of John Anderson, a native of Ireland. John Allen, it is said, was a lieutenant at Braddock's defeat, and was "lost" in that disaster. Hugh was a lieutenant in Colonel Charles Lewis' regiment at Point Pleasant, in 1774. He was killed in the battle and his body was buried by the side of Colonel Lewis' remains. He had three sons, John, William and Hugh, all of whom removed to Kentucky.

[The widow of Lieutenant Hugh Allen, whose maiden name was Jane Anderson, contracted a second marriage, in 1778, with William Craig, born in 1750 and died in 1829. The children of William and Jane Craig, who lived to maturity, were: 1. Jane, wife of James Patterson, of Augusta; 2. James Craig, of Mt. Meridian, died in 1863; 3. Sarah, wife of James Laird, of Rockingham; and 4. Margaret, last wife of James Bell, of Augusta].

James Allen lived near the place now called Willow Spout, on the macadamized road, about eight miles north of Staunton. As we have seen, he was a captain of militia in 1756. He participated in the battle of Point Pleasant, saw his brother Hugh killed, and placed a stone at his grave. He died in 1810 ninety-four years of age, having been an elder of Augusta Stone Church for sixty-four years.

James and Margaret Allen had ten children, two sons and eight daughters, viz:

I. Jane Allen, wife of Captain James Trimble, who removed to Kentucky in 1783, accompanied by the sons of Hugh Allen and many others. (See "The Trimbles.")

II. Ann Allen, wife of Colonel George Poage, who removed from the county. Their children were,—1. Allen; 2. John; 3. William; 4. Jane; 5. Mary; 6. James; 7. Thomas; and 8. Hugh.

III. Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. John McCue.

IV. Rebecca, wife of Major John Crawford. (See "The Crawfords.")

V. Margaret, wife of Major William Bell. (See "The Bells.")

VI. Mary, wife of Colonel Nicholas Lewis, who removed to Kentucky.

VII. Nancy, wife of Captain Samuel Frame, whose children were: 1. John; 2. Thomas; and 3. Nancy.

VIII. Sarah, first wife of James Bell, and mother of Colonel William A. Bell.

IX. William Allen, married Susan Bell, of Kentucky, and removed to Kentucky in 1783, with Captain James Trimble and others. He settled at Lexington and had six children. His oldest daughter

married Matthew Jouett, the artist, and her oldest daughter was the wife of Richard Menifee, the celebrated Kentucky orator. Another daughter married Dr. Alexander Mitchell, of Frankfort, and one of her daughters married Oliver Frazer, the artist. One of Captain William Allen's sons was Colonel William H. Allen, formerly of Augusta county, and another was Colonel James Allen, of Missouri.

X. James Allen, who married Elizabeth Tate. Their children were: 1. William, who married a Miss Poage; 2. John, who married, 1st, Polly Crawford, and 2d, Ann Barry, widow of Dr. William McCue, and removing to Michigan, was the founder of Ann Arbor, so named for his wife; 3. Mary, wife of Captain John Welsh; 4. Margaret, second wife of Major William Poage, of Augusta; 5. Nancy, wife of Charles Lewis; 6. Sarah, wife of George Mayse, of Bath county; and 7. James T. Allen, who married Miss Maynard, of Michigan.

The Preston Register.

The following is a copy of one of the collections of Dr. Lyman C. Draper, which are preserved by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The paper is called "The Preston Register," possibly because the authorship was attributed to Col. William Preston. There are, however, some errors in the list, particularly in regard to names, which Colonel Preston would not have committed:

"*A register of the persons who have been either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners by the enemy, in Augusta county, as also such as have made their escape.*"

1754. Robt. Foyles, his wife & 5 children, Monongalia, killed.
Octob'r—Steren Lyon, Holston River, killed.
John Godman, Holston River, killed.
Benjamin Harrison, Holston River, killed.
1755. ——— Burk, Holston River, prisoner, escaped.
May 3—Mary Baker, Holston River, wounded.
June 18—Sam'l Stalnacker, Holston River, prisoner, escaped.
Samuel Hydon, Holston River, prisoner.
Adam Stalnacker, Holston River, killed.
Mrs. Stalnacker, Holston River, killed.
A servant man, Holston River, killed.
Mathias Counie, Holston River, killed.
June 19—Michael Houck, Holston River, killed.
July 3—James McFarland, New River, killed.
John Bingeman, New River, killed.
Mrs. Bingeman, New River, killed.
Adam Bingeman, New River, killed.
John Cook, New River, killed.
Henry Lin, New River, killed.
A young child, New River, killed.
Nathaniel Welshire, New River, wounded.

Dutch Jacob, New River, wounded.
His wife, New River, prisoner, escaped.
Frederick Stern, New River, wounded.
Mrs. Bingman, jr., New River, wounded.
Mrs. Davies, New River, wounded.
Isaac Freeland, his wife and five children, New River, prisoners.
Bridgeman's son and daughter and a stranger, New River, prisoners.

July 12—Lieut. Wright and 2 Soldiers, Reed Creek, killed.
30—Col. James Patton, New River, killed.
Caspar Barrier, New River, killed.
Mrs. Draper and one child, New River, killed.
James Cull, New River, wounded.
Mrs. English (Inglis) and her two children, New River, prisoners, escaped.
Mrs. Draper, jr., New River, prisoner.
Henry Leonard, New River, prisoner.

Aug. 12—Morris Griffith, Vause's Fort, prisoner, escaped.
Henry Boughman, Greenbrier, killed.
John Cousi and his father-in-law, Greenbrier, killed.
Walter Fishpough, Greenbrier, killed.
George White, Greenbrier, killed.
Old Christopher, Greenbrier, killed.
Mrs. Cousler, Greenbrier, killed.
An old man, his wife and a school-master, Greenbrier, killed.

Sept. —John Thomas, Greenbrier, killed.
Mrs. Fishpough and five children, Greenbrier, prisoners.
Cousler's daughter and Mrs. Ineny, Greenbrier, prisoners.
Corporal Bennet, Greenbrier, killed.

1756. Two girls named Landsixo, South Branch, prisoners.

Feb. —Rob't Looney and a Dutchman, Reed Creek, killed.

March —John Lee, Reed Creek, killed.
Michael Motes, Reed Creek, killed.
Patrick Smith, Reed Creek, killed.
Moses Man, Reed Creek, prisoner.
Vallentine Harman, New River, killed.
Jacob Harman and one son, New River, killed.
Andrew Moses, New River, killed.
Thomas Daries, Roanoke, prisoner, escaped.

June 25—Capt. John Smith, Fort Vause, prisoner, returned.
Peter Looney, Fort Vause, prisoner, escaped.
Wm. Bratton, Fort Vause, prisoner, returned.
Joseph Smith, Fort Vause, prisoner.
Wm. Pepper, Fort Vause, prisoner.
Mrs. Vause and two daughters, a negro and two young Indians, and a servant-man, Fort Vause, prisoners.
Ivan Medley and two daughters, Fort Vause, prisoners.
James Bell, Fort Vause, prisoner.
Christopher Hicks, Fort Vause, prisoner.

——— Cole, Fort Vause, prisoner.
——— Graham, Fort Vause, prisoner.
Benj. Daries, Fort Vause, prisoner.
Lieut. John Smith, Fort Vause, killed.
John Tracey, Fort Vause, killed.
John English, Fort Vause, killed.
Mrs. Mary English, Fort Vause, prisoner.
Wm. Robinson, Fort Vause, wounded.
Tho. Robinson, Fort Vause, wounded.
Sam'l Robinson, Fort Vause, wounded.
Rob't Pepper, Fort Vause, wounded.
Sept. 11—Ensign Madison, Jackson's River, killed.
12, 13, 14—Nicholas Carpenter, Jackson's River, killed.
Steren Sowel, Jackson's River, killed.
James Mais, Jackson's River, killed.
James Montgomery, Jackson's River, killed.
Nicholas Nut, Jackson's River, killed.
John Bird, Jackson's River, killed.
George Kinkead, Jackson's River, killed.
——— Fry, Jackson's River, killed.
Mrs. Boyl, Jackson's River, killed.
Three children named Parsinger, Jackson's River, killed.
Joseph Swobs, Jackson's River, wounded.
———Wilson, Jackson's River, wounded.
Five children of Chas. Boyl, Jackson's River, prisoners.
David Gallaway, Jackson's River, prisoner, escaped.
Mrs. McConell, Jackson's River, prisoner, escaped.
Joseph Carpenter, Jackson's River, prisoner, escaped.
Mrs. Bird and six children, Jackson's River, prisoners.
Mrs. Kinkead and three children, Jackson's River, prisoners.
Mrs. Parsinger and two children, Jackson's River, prisoners.
Five children called Carpenter, Jackson's River, prisoners.
Sam'l Brown, a boy, Jackson's River, prisoner.
——— Swobs, a boy, Jackson's River, prisoner.
John Robinson, Fort Vause, killed.
1857. John Walker, Fort Vause, prisoner.
Feb —Jacob Peters lost six children, South Branch, prisoners, one escaped.
March —Wm. Bradshaw and son, Craig's Creek, prisoners.
May 14—And. Arnold, Jackson's River, killed.
Henry Lawless, Jackson's River, killed.
16—John Moon, Cow Pasture, killed.
Mrs. Moor and five children, Cow Pasture, prisoners.
George Neese and two sons, South Branch, prisoners.
——— Sudie, South Branch, killed.
Henry Lawrence, South Branch, killed.
Michael Freeze and wife, South Branch, killed.
July —Mark Tallet, Jackson's River, killed.
A servant man, Jackson's River, prisoner.
James Allen, Jackson's River, wounded.

——— Swobs, Jackson's River, wounded.
25—Robert Renick, Forks of James River, killed.
Thos. Moon, Forks of James River, killed.
Mrs. Renick and seven children, Forks of James River, prisoners.
Mrs. Denis, Forks of James River, prisoner.
John Crawford, jr., Craig's Creek, killed.
Jno. Alex. Crawford, Craig's Creek, wounded.
Sept. —Serj. Henry, Fort Dinwiddie, killed.
James Stuart, Cow Pasture, killed.
James Stuart, jr., Cow Pasture, prisoner.
James McClung and two children named Cantuell, Cow Pasture, prisoners.
Oct. —James McFerrin, Catawba, killed.
Wm. McFerrin, Catawba, prisoner.
Nov. —Three Dutch people, Brock's Gap, one killed, two prisoners.
John States, Brock's Gap, killed.
1858. Abm. Merchant, Brock's Gap, killed.
Jan. —Wm. Ward, a boy, Fort Dinwiddie, prisoner.
A Soldier of Capt. Woodward, Roanoke, killed.
A Servant of Bryan's, Roanoke, killed.
Mch. 19—Wm. Clepole, Brock's Gap, killed.
Peter Moser, South Branch, killed.
Nicholas Frank, South Branch, killed.
John Coonrad, South Branch, killed.
John Cunningham and two others (names forgotten), South Branch, prisoners.
George Moses, South Branch, wounded.
Adam Harper, South Branch, wounded.
A servant-man killed, and maid and one child prisoners, Cow Pasture.
20—James Gatlire, Roanoke, killed.
Joseph Love, Roanoke, killed.
Wm. Love, Roanoke, killed.
A servant maid and child, Roanoke, prisoners.
——— Snodgrass, a girl, Catawba, prisoner.
Ap'l 24— John McCreary, Cow Pasture, prisoner.
Wm. McCreary, Cow Pasture, prisoner.
Capt. James Dunlap, South Branch, killed.
Josiah Wilson, South Branch, killed.
John Hutchinson, South Branch, killed.
Thomas Caddon, South Branch, killed.
Henry McCullam, South Branch, killed.
John Wright, South Branch, killed.
Thomas Smith, South Branch, killed.
Robert McNully, South Branch, killed.
Wm. Elliott, South Branch, killed.
Ap'l 27—Mrs. Elliott, South Branch, killed.
Ludwick Falck and wife, South Branch, killed.
Adam Little, South Branch, killed.

——— Brock, South Branch, killed.
John Ramsey, South Branch, killed.
Wm. Burk, South Branch, killed.
——— Rooney, South Branch, killed.
Wm. Woods, South Branch, killed.
John McCulley, South Branch, killed.
Thomas Searl, South Branch, killed.
James Gill, South Branch, killed.
John Guy and a stranger, South Branch, killed.
28—Capt. Sylest and sixteen persons not known, South Fork, prisoners.
Twenty-four persons at same place missing, South Fork, prisoners.
May —Moses Moore, Jackson's River, prisoner.

Major John Hays lived on a farm under the Jump mountain, Rockbridge. His sons were—1. Michael Hays, of Ohio, who was an officer in the United States Army in 1812; 2. Andrew Hays, a distinguished lawyer of Nashville, Tennessee; 3. John Brown Hays, of Columbia, Tennessee, whose wife was a sister of President Polk; and, 4. James Campbell Hays, of Tennessee and Texas, who was the father of Jack Hays, the Texan Ranger.

CHAPTER VI.

INDIAN WARS, ETC., FROM 1758 TO 1764.

Before the departure of Dinwiddie, the Earl of Loudoun, commander-in-chief of British forces in America, was commissioned Governor of Virginia, but it is believed he never visited the colony. Francis Fauquier was afterwards appointed, and arrived in June, 1758, the duties of the office being discharged in the meanwhile by John Blair, President of the Council.

It is stated that in the early part of 1758 sixty persons were murdered by Indians in Augusta county, but exactly where and when we are not told.—[*Campbell's History of Virginia*, page 500.] Possibly the allusion is to the massacre at Seybert's fort.*

This fort was in the northern part of the present county of Highland, then Augusta. There the inhabitants of the surrounding country had taken shelter from the Indians. Between thirty and forty persons of both sexes and all ages were in the enclosure. No Indians having yet appeared, a youth named James Dyer and his sister went outside one day for some purpose, and had not proceeded far before they came in view of forty or fifty Shawnees going towards the fort. Hurrying back to provide for their own safety and give the alarm, they were overtaken and captured. The place was incapable of withstanding a vigorous assault, and the garrison was poorly supplied with ammunition. Captain Seybert, therefore, determined to surrender, and did so in spite of the opposition of some of the people. The gate was thrown open, and the money and other stipulated articles were handed over to the Indians. Thereupon, one of the most ruthless tragedies of Indian warfare was perpetrated. The inmates of the fort were arranged in two rows and nearly all of them were tomahawked. A few, spared from caprice or some other cause, were carried off into captivity. Young Dyer was the only captive who ever returned.

He was taken to Logstown, thence to the Muskingum, and thence to Chillicothe, where he remained a prisoner nearly two years. Accompanying the Indians to Fort Pitt, he there concealed himself in a hovel, and after two years more returned home.

* According to the "Preston Register," Seybert's fort was captured on April 28, 1758, and 41 persons were taken prisoners.

At a court-martial held at the courthouse May 19, 1758, upon the complaint of Edward McGary, the conduct of Captain Abraham Smith on a recent occasion was inquired into. Captain Smith was "out with a part of his company on the South Branch after Seybert's fort was burned by the enemy," and was accused by McGary, a member of the company, of cowardice. The court declared the charge without foundation and malicious. They then took McGary in hand, found him guilty of insubordination, and fined him forty shillings for that offence and five shillings "for one oath."

Another expedition for the capture of Fort Duquesne was set on foot early in 1758. It was under command of General Forbes, a meritorious British officer, but in a feeble state of health. Washington was still commander-in-chief of the Virginia troops, now consisting of two regiments, one led by himself and the other by Colonel Byrd. Forbes' command consisted of about 1,600 British regulars, 2,700 men contributed by Pennsylvania, and the Virginia regiments of 1,800 or 1,900, making altogether an army of more than 6,000 men, besides some Indian allies.

Washington gathered his regiment at Winchester, several of the companies being recalled from Augusta, and from that place was ordered to Fort Cumberland, where he arrived on the 2d of July, and was detained there till the middle of September. The troops being scantily supplied with clothing, Washington equipped two companies, under the immediate command of Major Lewis, in hunting shirts, and that style soon became all the fashion.

Colonel Bouquet, who commanded the advanced division of the army, took his station at Raystown, in the centre of Pennsylvania. General Forbes arrived at that place in September, and ordered Washington to join him there. Bouquet then made a further advance, and, while upwards of fifty miles from Duquesne, sent on a detachment under Major Grant to reconnoitre. This body consisted of eight hundred picked men, some of them British regulars, others in Indian garb, a part of the Virginia regiment, and commanded by Major Lewis.

Arrived in the vicinity of the fort, Grant posted Lewis in the rear to guard the baggage, and, forming his regulars in battle array, sent an engineer to take a plan of the works, in full view of the garrison. When he was completely thrown off his guard, "there was a sudden sally of the garrison, and an attack on the flanks by Indians hid in ambush. A scene now occurred similar to that at the defeat of Braddock. The British officers marshaled their men according to European tactics, and the Highlanders for some time stood their ground bravely, but the destructive fire and horrid yells of the Indians soon produced panic

and confusion. Major Lewis, at the first noise of the attack, left Captain Bullitt with fifty Virginians to guard the baggage, and hastened with the main part of his men to the scene of action. The contest was kept up for some time, but the confusion was irretrievable. The Indians sallied from their concealment, and attacked with the tomahawk and scalping-knife. Lewis fought hand to hand with an Indian brave, whom he laid dead at his feet, but was surrounded by others, and only saved his life by surrendering himself to a French officer. Major Grant surrendered himself in like manner. The whole detachment was put to the rout with dreadful carnage."—[*Irving's Life of Washington*, Volume I, page 285.]

Captain Bullitt rallied some of the fugitives, and made a gallant stand. He finally drove off the pursuing Indians, and then collecting as many of the wounded as he could, hastily retreated. The routed detachment returned in fragments to Bouquet's camp, with the loss of twenty-one officers, and two hundred and seventy-three privates, killed and taken. Washington's regiment lost six officers and sixty-two privates.

The Highlanders of Grant's command were not acquainted with the Indian custom of scalping, and it is said that when Lewis was advancing with his provincials he met a Highlander flying from the field, and inquiring about the battle, was answered that they were "a' beaten, and Donald McDonald was up to his hunkers in mud, with a' the skeen af his heed."

No doubt many Augusta men were in the affair just mentioned; but Andrew Lewis is the only one of them whose name we know. He will not appear again in these Annals till 1763, when he was at home, but preparing to go to war. His niece, Mrs. Towles, says he was detained a prisoner at Quebec for three years.

The army of General Forbes resumed its march in November, Washington commanding a division and leading the way. Nearing Fort Du Quesne, the ground was strewed with human bones, the relics of Braddock's and Grant's defeats. Arriving in sight of the fort, the place was found to be abandoned. The French, not exceeding five hundred in number, deserted by the Indians, and without a sufficient supply of provisions, had set fire to the fort and retreated down the Ohio in boats. On the 25th of November, Washington marched in, and planted the British flag on the smoking ruins. The fort was repaired, and the name changed to that of Fort Pitt.

The officers and men of Forbes' army united in collecting the bones of their fellow-soldiers who had fallen in the recent battles and routs, burying them in a common grave.

Col. James Smith says that the Indians, who had been hopeful of driving all the Virginians "over the lake," which was their name for the sea, became discouraged upon the advance of General Forbes to Fort Du Quesne. "They said that Forbes' men were beginning to learn the art of war, and that there were a great number of American riflemen along with the red coats, who scattered out, took trees, and were good marksmen." * * "If it was only the red coats they had to do with, they could soon subdue them, but they could not withstand *Ashalecoa*, or the Great Knife, which was the name they gave the Virginians."

Washington soon retired from the army, and was not again engaged in war till called out at the Revolution. In 1758 he was elected a member of the House of Burgesses from Frederick county.

The County Court of Augusta and the vestry of the parish held regular meetings in 1758, but we find little that is interesting in their proceedings. The vestry appear to have been faithful in taking care of the poor, at least in burying them; and at every pauper burial there was a liberal allowance of liquor at public expense. At one time the parish collector was credited by six shillings expended by him, "for a poor child's burial, two gallons of liquor." At the same time credit was given for 5s, 8d, "for nine quarts of liquor at burial of William Johnson." James Wiley cost the parish, one year, £13, 1s. He seems to have been "a beggar on horseback," as John Young was allowed 10s. for keeping his horse, and 2s. for shoeing the same. He was also allowed 2s. 6d. for leather breeches, and 2s. 3d. for making a shirt. Possibly Wiley was an old ranger who had been disabled in the public service.

At the meeting of the vestry in November, 1758, James Lockhart moved to "lay a levy for building a church in the parish," but the proposition was defeated, the vote standing: for a church, James Lockhart, John Archer, Sampson Archer and John Mathews; against, Colonel Buchanan, John Buchanan, John Christian, Robert Breckinridge and John Smith.

From the close of 1758 till 1761, the people of Augusta appear to have been relieved from the alarms of savage warfare. We have no account of any massacre or raid during that time. The year 1759 is a blank in our Annals, affording not one item.

Canada was surrendered to the English in September, 1760. For many months previously the military operations in that region occupied the attention of the whole country, and after the surrender the English considered the war as over. It was certainly suspended by the Indians on the frontiers of Virginia from early in 1759 till early in

1763. Indeed, through the influence of the Moravian missionary, Christian Frederick Post, the Delawares and Shawnees of Ohio concluded a formal treaty of peace, at Easton, Pennsylvania, in the fall of 1758. The treaty was kept as such treaties usually were, individual whites, as well as Indians, continuing to commit lawless acts.

In 1760 a tragedy occurred in the present county of Rockingham, then part of Augusta, which must be briefly related. Two Indians came to Mill Creek, now Page county, and were pursued by three white men. One of the Indians was killed, but the other escaped with the loss of his gun. The fugitive encountered a young woman named Sechon, on horseback, near the site of New Market. Dragging her from the horse, he compelled her to accompany him. After traveling about twenty miles, chiefly in the night, and getting nearly opposite Keezeltown, in Rockingham, the poor girl broke down, it was supposed, and was beaten to death with a pine knot. Her cries were heard by persons in the neighborhood, and the next day they found her body stripped naked.

We are indebted to Kercheval (page 138) for this narrative. He has preserved accounts of many Indian massacres, but all of them, except the above, occurred outside of Augusta county, even as it was originally, and therefore do not come within the scope of these Annals.

In or about the same year, 1760, a party of eight or ten Indians crossed the Blue Ridge, and murdered some people living east of the mountain, in what was then Bedford or Halifax county. They took several women and children prisoners, and loading horses with plunder returned by way of the New River settlement. A man from the Ingles Ferry fort, who was out in search of strayed horses, discovered the Indians in their camp at night, six miles from the fort. William Ingles assembled sixteen or eighteen men, and, guided by the man who had made the discovery, proceeded to attack the Indians. The assault was made while the Indians were preparing their breakfast, and a sharp fight ensued. One white man was killed. Seven Indians were shot down, and the remainder escaped. All the captives and stolen property were recovered. This is said to have been the last battle with Indians in that region.—[Dr. Hale's narrative.]

The vestry of Augusta county, at their meeting in May, 1760, unanimously agreed to build a church in Staunton, on the ground laid off for that purpose. A committee was appointed to let out the work, which was to be done in "a fashionable and workmanlike manner." The dimensions of the building were 40 feet by 25 feet, and the total cost £499, or $1,663.33⅓. Francis Smith, of Hanover county, con-

tracted to build the church, of brick, and to finish it by December 1, 1762. He entered into bond, with William Preston and Charles Lewis as his securities.

In 1761 the Indians renewed the war with all its horrors, if indeed it had ever been suspended. But from this time, for several years, there is much uncertainty in respect to dates and the scenes of occurrences which are related more or less circumstantially. Our chief authority for some two years is Withers' "Border Warfare," and we shall repeat the narratives of that writer without being able to reconcile contradictory statements, or otherwise elucidate the history.

Withers states that in the summer of 1761 about sixty Shawnee warriors penetrated the settlements on the head waters of James river. They avoided the fort at the mouth of Looney's creek, and passed through Bowen's gap in Purgatory mountain (near Buchanan, in Botetourt county). Coming to the settlements, they killed Thomas Perry, Joseph Dennis and his child, and made prisoner his wife, Hannah Dennis. Proceeding to the house of Robert Renix,* who was not at home, they captured Mrs. Renix and her five children,—William, Robert, Thomas, Joshua and Betsy. At the house of Thomas Smith, they shot and scalped Smith and Renix, and captured Mrs. Smith and a servant girl named Sally Jew.†

George Mathews, of Staunton, and William and Audley Maxwell were on their way to Smith's house at the time of the assault. Hearing the report of the guns as they approached, they supposed there was a shooting match at the place; but on riding up to the house, they discovered the dead bodies of Smith and Renix lying in the yard. The Indians had concealed themselves in and behind the house when they saw Mathews and his companions approaching, and fired upon them as they wheeled to ride back. The club of Mathews' cue was cut off, and Audley Maxwell was slightly wounded in the arm.

The Indians then divided their party, twenty of them with their prisoners and plunder returning to Ohio, while the remainder started towards Cedar creek to commit further depredations. But Mathews and the Maxwells had aroused the settlement, and all the people soon collected at Paul's Fort, at the Big Spring, near Springfield. Here

* Properly Renick.

† The "Preston Register" gives the date of the killing of Robert Renick and capture of his wife and children, as July 25, 1757. It mentions the capture of Mrs. Dennis at the same time, but says nothing about the killing of Joseph Dennis and child and of Thomas Smith. The probability is that Withers confused a raid which occurred in 1757, with the one in 1761, in which George Mathews appeared as an actor. Mathews was only 18 years old in 1757.

the women and children were left to be defended by Audley Maxwell and five other men ; twenty-one men led by Mathews, going in search of the enemy. The Indians were soon encountered, and, after a severe engagement, took to flight. They were pursued as far as Purgatory creek, but escaped in the night, and overtaking their comrades at the mouth of the Cowpasture river, proceeded to Ohio without further molestation. Three whites (Benjamin Smith, Thomas Maury and the father of Sally Jew) and nine Indians were killed in the engagement. Returning to the battlefield the next morning, Mathews and his men buried the dead Indians on the spot. The whites slain there, and those murdered on the preceding day, were buried near the fork of a branch in what was (in 1831) the Meadow of Thomas Cross, Sen.

Mrs. Dennis was detained by the Indians at Chillicothe towns till 1763, when she made her escape, as will be related. Mrs. Renix remained with the Indians till 1767.

The late Dr. Draper of Wisconsin, in unpublished notes to Withers' *Border Warfare*, gives some further account of the Renix, or Renick, family. Upon authority of the "Preston Register," he states that the date of the captivity was July 25, 1757. He obtained his information from various descendants of Robert Renick, who was killed, as we have seen. The son Robert, was about eighteen months old, and was carried by his mother the greater part of the way to Chillicothe. His crying, however, irritated the Indians, and they dashed out his brains against a tree. On arriving at the Indian towns on the Sciota, the prisoners were divided amongst their captors and scattered. Joshua, who was about five years old,* was taken to Piqua, reared in the family of Tecumseh's parents, and after the birth of Tecumseh was the companion of that celebrated Indian and his brother, the Prophet.

Soon after reaching the Indian towns, Mrs. Renick gave birth to a male infant and called his name Robert, after his murdered father and little brother ; and in 1867, William Renick of Greenbrier, then seventy-five years of age, son of the child born in captivity, related the family traditions to Dr. Draper.

In April, 1760, Hanover Presbytery met in Augusta Stone church, and James Waddell, a youth of twenty-one years of age, afterwards widely known, was then received as a candidate for the ministry.†

* Joshua was baptized by the Rev. Mr. Craig in 1746, and was therefore at least eleven years old in 1757.

† Archibald Alexander, Dr. Waddell's son-in-law, preached his trial sermon, before Lexington Presbytery, in the same house, on September 20, 1791.

The town of Staunton was at last chartered by act of assembly, in November, 1761. The first trustees of the town were, William Preston, Israel Christian, David Stuart, John Brown, John Page, William Lewis, William Christian, *Eledge* McClanahan, Robert Breckinridge and Randal Lockheart. The act provided that two fairs might be held annually, in June and November, but positively prohibited the building of wooden chimneys in the town.

An aged man named James Hill, testifying in 1807, in the cause of *Peter Heiskell vs. The Corporation of Staunton*, gave some account of the town in 1762, when he settled here. Sampson and George Matthews kept store at the northeast corner of Beverley and Augusta streets. Sampson Mathews also kept an ordinary in the long frame building, a story and a half high, with dormer windows, which formerly stood on the east side of Augusta street below Frederick. The lot at the southwest corner of Augusta and Frederick was, in 1762, "Matthews' stable lot." Mrs. Woods lived on the west side of Augusta street, about midway between Beverley and Frederick. Mrs. Cowden lived on the west side of Augusta street, a little north of Beverley, and Daniel Kidd lived where the Y. M. C. A. building now stands. The deposition of Hill and the diagram which accompanied it show that most of the twenty-five acres donated by Beverley in 1749 to the county, was occupied by town lots and streets in 1762.

Sampson Mathews was the father-in-law of the late venerable Samuel Clark, of Staunton, and of Mr. Alexander Nelson, whose descendants are quite numerous. George Mathews has already been mentioned, and will often appear again.

Colonel John Lewis, the pioneer, was a member of the Greenbrier Company, and acquired landed possessions in the region named. We have seen that he and his son Andrew, were prospecting in that region, in 1751. The Indian wars checked the proceedings of the Company, and retarded the settlement of the country, but a few families moved there and made two settlements, holding on in spite of the dangers to which they were exposed. .

Colonel Lewis died February 1, 1762, having attained the age of eighty-four years. His will, executed November 28, 1761, and admitted to record November 18, 1762, expressed the writer's pious hopes. He was buried on the farm where he lived, two miles east of Staunton. The executors were the testator's three sons, Thomas, Andrew and William. Charles is named in the will, but no mention is made of Samuel. In person Colonel John Lewis is described as having been tall and muscular, and he is said to have been the best backwoodsman of his day. He was born in the reign of Charles II, and

lived through the reigns of James II, William and Mary, Queen Anne, George I, George II, and during two years of the reign of George III.

The proceedings of the vestry, in 1762, furnish to us several curious items. Samuel Craige was allowed £6, 2s. 6d. "for keeping a Dutchman;" and another item was allowed on account of "goods for the Dutchman." An order was entered in November, 1762, authorizing the purchase of one hundred acres of land, within ten miles from Staunton, on which to erect a poorhouse. The buildings were to have wooden chimneys, and to cost not more than £30—$100. In 1763, the building was postponed for a year, and the work was not resumed till November, 1764.

In 1762, Hugh Green preferred a bill against the parish for keeping Mary Leeper, a pauper, and for her funeral expenses. Among the items of the latter were three gallons of liquor, 9s.; a bushel of flour for cakes, 3s.; and three and a half pounds of sugar, 2s. 11d.

In the same year an account of the widow Young against the parish was recorded in the Vestry Book as follows: "To laying-in, and charges with the attendance of two children; also half pound of pepper, and half pound of allspice, and three quarts and one pint liquor. I likewise acted as granny for Elianor Dunn—£2." Among the items of another account was one "for three pints of wine for sacrament—3s. 9d."

Dr. William Fleming was practising his profession at Staunton, in 1762. For professional services to paupers the parish was indebted to him £15, 11s.

The parish church at Staunton was finished early in 1763, and was accepted by the vestry June 25th. Two members of the vestry,—Sampson Mathews and John Poage,—voted against receiving the building, they "supposing the brick in the church to be insufficient."

As heretofore stated, Canada was conquered by the English in 1760, and for several years afterwards the Indian allies of the French professed to be at peace. Consequently, since 1759, we have had little to record of Indian outrage. Withers' *Border Warfare* is our only authority for the raid on the Upper James River, in 1761, he says, in which the Renick family suffered so greatly. As we have seen, however, "The Preston Register" gives the date of that occurrence as 1757; and Withers is so inaccurate in respect to dates and names, that it is unsafe to follow him implicitly.

The historian Francis Parkman, in his work called *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, gives a full and graphic account of the renewal of the war and its main events. All the military forts held by the French, on and near the great lakes, having been given up, were occupied by the

English, the garrisons of most of them, though far in the wilderness, being very few in number.—The conquerors took no pains to conciliate the Indians, but on the contrary treated them with neglect and a degree of contempt. Thereupon, Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, a tribe occupying the territory in Canada opposite Detroit, who had fought on the side of the French at Braddock's defeat, instigated by resentment of wrongs, real or imaginary, and tempted by the feeble condition of the forts generally, formed an alliance with many tribes to wage a general war against the English. Moreover, the French fur traders persuaded the Indians to take up arms, telling them that their King had been asleep, but was now coming to their assistance.

The war began by an attack on the fort at Detroit, the first of May, 1763, and this fort and Fort Pitt were the only two that escaped capture. The Indians invested Detroit for six months, and the garrison at Fort Pitt was relieved by Col. Bouquet in August, 1763, after the battle at Bushy Run. The whole frontier from New York to Georgia suffered the horrors of Indian warfare for eighteen months; but we can relate only a few occurrences affecting the inhabitants of Augusta county.

Cornstalk, the celebrated Shawnee warrior, appears in history for the first time in 1763. Nothing is known of his youth. It is said that he was born in the Kanawha Valley, about the year 1727.

Mrs. Dennis, who was captured by the Indians in 1761, or 1757, on the upper James river (now Botetourt county), made her escape, as stated, in 1763. She left the Chillicothe towns in June of that year, under pretext of gathering herbs for medicinal purposes. When her flight was suspected, she was pursued and fired at by the Indians, but managed to conceal herself in the hollow limb of a fallen tree. Crossing the Ohio river on a log, and subsisting on roots, herbs, and wild fruit, she arrived, nearly exhausted with fatigue and hunger, on the Greenbrier river. There, after giving up all hope of surviving, she was found by Thomas Athol and others, and taken to the settlement at Archibald Clendenin's, called the Levels. Remaining at this place for a time to recuperate, she was then taken on horseback to Fort Young [Covington], from whence she was conducted home to her relations.

We have two independent accounts of the immediately succeeding occurrences—one by Withers, and the other by Colonel John Stuart, of Greenbrier, in his "Memoir of the Indian Wars." We shall mainly follow the latter.

A few days after Mrs. Dennis had gone from Clendenin's, a party of about sixty Indians, headed by Cornstalk, came to the settlement on

Muddy creek, one of the only two white settlements in Greenbrier. It is supposed that these Indians were in pursuit of Mrs. Dennis. They professed to be friendly, and were treated hospitably by the white people, who imagined that the war was over. Small parties of them were entertained at the various cabins, until, to the astonishment of the unprepared settlers, the savages rose on them and tomahawked all except a few women and children, whom they reserved as prisoners.

From Muddy creek the Indians passed over into the Levels, where some families were collected at Clendenin's—numbering between fifty and one hundred persons, men, women and children. There, says Colonel Stuart, they were entertained, as at Muddy creek, in the most hospitable manner. "Clendenin having just arrived from a hunt, with three fat elks, they were plentifully feasted. In the meantime, an old woman with a sore leg, was showing her distress to an Indian and inquiring if he could administer to her relief; he said he thought he could, and drawing his tomahawk instantly killed her and all the men almost that were in the house.

"Conrad Yolkom only escaped, by being some distance from the house, where the outcries of the women and children alarmed him. He fled to Jackson's river and alarmed the people, who were unwilling to believe him, until the approach of the Indians convinced them. All fled before them; and they pursued on to Carr's creek [now Rockbridge county], where many families were killed and taken by them.

"At Clendenin's a scene of much cruelty was performed; and a negro woman, who was endeavoring to escape, killed her own child lest she might be discovered by its cries.

"Mrs. Clendenin did not fail to abuse the Indians, calling them cowards, etc., although the tomahawk was drawn over her head with threats of instant death, and the scalp of her husband lashed about her jaws.

"The prisoners were all taken over to Muddy creek, and a party of Indians detained them there till the return of the others from Carr's creek, when the whole were taken off together. On the day they started from the foot of Keeney's Knob, going over the mountain, Mrs. Clendenin gave her infant to a prisoner woman to carry, as the prisoners were in the centre of the line with the Indians in front and rear, and she escaped into a thicket and concealed herself. The cries of the child soon made the Indians inquire for the mother, and one of them said he would bring the cow to the calf." Taking the child by the heels he beat its brains out against a tree and throwing it in the

path the savages and horses trampled over it. "She told me," says Colonel Stuart, "she returned that night in the dark to her own house, a distance of more than ten miles, and covered her husband's corpse with rails which lay in the yard where he was killed in endeavoring to escape over the fence with one of his children in his arms." Mrs. Clendenin seems to have been partially crazed from the beginning of the massacre. That night, after giving what burial she could to her husband's body, she was seized with mortal terror, thinking she saw a murderer standing over her. Upon recovering her reason, she resumed her flight, and reached the settlements in safety. Colonel Stuart states that the Indians continued the war till 1764, making incursions within a few miles of Staunton.

Thus the last vestiges of white settlements in the Greenbrier country were exterminated. The number of whites living there is believed to have been at least a hundred. From 1763 to 1769 the country was uninhabited. In the latter year John Stuart, whose narrative we have just quoted, and a few other young men, made the first permanent settlement there.

Withers makes no mention of either of the massacres of Kerr's creek. Stuart merely alludes to the first, in 1763,* writing the name, however, "Carr's" instead of "Kerr's." For the only detailed account of these tragedies we are indebted to the Rev. Samuel Brown, of Bath county, who collected the incidents from descendants of the sufferers many years ago.

The settlement on Kerr's creek, says Mr. Brown, was made by white people soon after the grant of land to Borden in 1736. The families located there consisting of Cunninghams, McKees, Hamiltons, Gilmores, Logans, Irvins, and others, thought themselves safe from the dangers of more exposed parts of the country.

The Indians who exterminated the Greenbrier settlements are described by Colonel Stuart as following Conrad Yolkom to Jackson's

* There is much uncertainty as to the date of one of the Kerr's creek massacres. One of them, which Mr. Brown thought was the first, occurred July 17, 1763, as proved by the record in the old Family Bible of the McKee family.—Mrs. Jenny McKee is recorded as having died on that day, and it is known that she was killed by Indians. But the probability is that this was the second raid, and that the first occurred several years earlier, probably in 1759. Mr. Brown merely gathered and published the traditions of the neighborhood, and his narrative is somewhat confusing. There were two Thomas Gilmores, father and son. The father and his wife, named Elizabeth, were killed in one of the raids; the son was killed in 1763, and his administrators qualified September 20, 1763. The wife of the latter, whose name was Jenny, was carried off by the Indians, but afterwards returned home.

river, and there Mr. Brown's narrative takes them up. He says, some knowledge of their approach had been obtained, and they were met by a company of men under command of Captain Moffett, at or near the mouth of Falling Spring Valley, in the present county of Alleghany. The whites fell into an ambush, were taken by surprise, and some of them slain. Among the slain was James Sitlington, a recent immigrant from Ireland. After this, the Indians went some miles down Jackson's river, and came up the valley of the Cowpasture, to the residence of a blacksmith named Daugherty. He and his wife and two children barely made their escape to the mountain, while their house and shop were burned.

From Daugherty's, the Indians passed up the Cowpasture to a point near the site of Old Millborough. There they divided their company, the larger party returning westward, and the smaller moving towards the settlement on Kerr's creek.

Let us, like Mr. Brown, first follow the larger band of Indians on their retreat. After leaving Millborough, they killed a man whom they met in the narrows, at the Blowing Cave, and whose body fell into the river. They crossed the Warm Spring mountain and camped at the head of Back creek. In the meanwhile, a company of men hastily raised, under command of Captain Christian, was in pursuit of this band of savages, and came upon them at the place last mentioned. The assault was made by the whites prematurely; but, nevertheless, the Indians were routed, a number of them killed, and nearly all of their equipage was taken. Among the spoils, was the scalp of James Sitlington, which was recognized by the flowing locks of red hair. Captain John Dickinson, of Windy Cove, and John Young, who lived near the church since known as Hebron, were with Captain Christian, and also, it is said, some of the young Lewises of Augusta. Thomas Young, brother of John, was slain in the fight. His body was buried on the field, but his scalp, torn from his head by the Indian who killed him, was brought home and buried in the Glebe grave yard.

The Indians who escaped from Christian and his men were again encountered by a company of white men coming up the south branch of the Potomac. More of them were killed, and the remainder driven into the fastnesses of Cheat mountain.

The smaller band of Indians made their descent upon Kerr's creek, on the 17th of July. Their number was twenty-seven, Robert Irvin having counted them from a bluff near the road at the head of the creek. Some weeks before, two boys, named Telford, reported that when returning from school they had seen a naked man near their path. This report was not much thought of till the massacre,

when it was supposed that the man seen by the boys was an Indian spy sent out to reconnoitre.

Leaving the site of old Millborough, the savages passed over Mill mountain at a low place still called the "Indian Trail." Coming on the waters of Bratton's Run, they crossed the North mountain, where it is now crossed by the road leading from Lexington to the Rockbridge Alum Springs, and where there is a large heap of stones, supposed to have been piled up by Indians. From this point they had a full view of the peaceful valley of Kerr's creek. Hastening down the mountain, they began the work of indiscriminate slaughter. Coming first to the house of Charles Daugherty, he and his whole family were murdered. They next came to the house of Jacob Cunningham, who was from home, but his wife was killed, and his daughter, about ten years of age, scalped and left for dead. She revived, was carried off as a prisoner in the second invasion, was redeemed, and lived for forty years afterwards, but finally died from the effects of the scalping. The Indians then proceeded to the house of Thomas Gilmore, and he and his wife were killed, the other members of the family escaping at that time. The house of Robert Hamilton came next. This family consisted of ten persons, and one-half of them were slain. By this time the alarm had spread through the neighborhood, and the inhabitants were flying in every direction. For some reason the main body of the Indians went no farther. Perhaps they were sated with blood and plunder; most probably they feared to remain longer with so small a band. A single Indian pursued John McKee and his wife as they were flying from their house. By the entreaty of his wife, McKee did not wait for her, and she was overtaken and killed. He escaped. His six children had been sent to the house of a friend on Timber Ridge, on account of some uneasiness, caused probably by the report about the naked man.*

The Indians hastened their departure, loaded with scalps and booty, and unincumbered by prisoners. As far as known they joined the party left at Muddy creek, in Greenbrier, without being assailed on the way.

"From one cause," says Mr. Brown, "the lives of some were saved no doubt. A number had gone that day to Timber Ridge church, where services were conducted by the Rev. John Brown. During the intermission between the morning and evening sermons some alarm was given, but such reports were frequently started without foundation, and therefore not much attention was paid to this.

* See "The McKees" at the end of Chapter VII.

The people went into the church for the second sermon, when a messenger arrived with the sad tidings from Kerr's creek. All was immediately confusion and dismay. The congregation was dismissed, and fled in every direction it was thought would afford them safety."

An account of the second and more disastrous raid upon Kerr's creek, said to have occurred about a year after the first, remains to be given. The lamentable occurrence just related spread alarm throughout the county. Some persons residing in Staunton fled across the Blue Ridge. Measures of defence were, however, immediately adopted. At the August court, Andrew Lewis qualified as lieutenant of the county, or commander-in-chief of the county militia; William Preston qualified as colonel, and the following persons as captains: Walter Cunningham, Alexander McClanahan, William Crow and John Bowyer. John McClanahan, Michael Bowyer and David Long qualified as lieutenants, and James Ward as ensign.

The Wilson family also suffered severely from an assault by Indians during the same month, July, 1763. Of this affair we have an account written by Mrs. Margaret Hanna, of Greenbrier county, at the dictation of her father, Col. John Wilson. Mrs. Hanna died in 1878, at the age of eighty-seven years. Her manuscript having come into the hands of Dr. John P. Hale, was published by him in *The Kanawha Gazette*, of December 27, 1887, and we extract from it as follows. The scene of the occurrence was in the present county of Highland, near Stony Run church:

"Just at this time the Wilsons were erecting a new and larger log-house than the original cabin that hitherto served them.

"John had gone to Dickinson's Fort, not far away, to get some help for the house-raising next day; while William, Jr., (called Thomas by others), had gone to a little mill, about a mile distant, to get some meal ground for the house-raising party.

"Two of the sisters, Margaret and Elizabeth, were out on the river bank washing flax-tow; Mrs. Wilson, who was in feeble health, had walked out to where they were at work; an Irishman had a loom in the yard and was weaving; two of the sisters, Susan and Barbara, were in the cabin ironing the family clothes, and the father, with some other men, were at work on the new house logs, when the attack was made.

"In returning from the Fort, John encountered the Indians suddenly, in a turn of the road. They fired on him, and a ball passed through his clothes just under his arm, cutting the gusset of his shirt. He wheeled his horse quickly and fled back to the Fort to get imme-

diate help to go to the rescue of the family, and about twenty returned with him.

"The Indians had passed on to the cabin. The girls at the river washing, saw them coming and started to run, and at the same time tried to help their mother away, but she told them to go and save themselves and leave her. In passing, an Indian threw a tomahawk at the old lady, and severely wounded her in the wrist as she threw up her hand to save her face. The Indians did not pursue them, but hurried on to the cabin. They fired at the Irish weaver, but he escaped with a flesh wound in his shoulder.

"As they entered the cabin, one of the girls, Barbara, ran out and was knocked down and her skull probably fractured, but she was not scalped. The girl remaining in the cabin, Susan, closed the door, and when an Indian put his hand in to try to open it, she mashed and burned his fingers with a hot smoothing iron.

"By this time, the father and his men from the new house foundation came up, and attacked the Indians with hand-spikes and foot-adze; the latter, in the hands of Mr. Wilson, and drove them off.

"When John and his party arrived it was dark, and they were unable to see what mischief had been done. They ascended an elevated point near by, to see if they could discover any fire-light or other evidences of life about the cabin.

"Seeing none, they concluded or feared that the family had all been destroyed. In nearing the cabin other dangers suggested themselves; the family had several fierce dogs, which had been trained to great watchfulness, some were taught to sleep at the back door of the cabin, and some at the front, so as to give warning of approaches from either direction; it also occurred to them that if any of the family survived, they would have sentries stationed to watch for a possible return of the Indians during the night, and that these sentries might fire on them. In the uncertainties, John Wilson himself took the lead, cautiously approached the cabin, and succeeded in reaching it without accident or alarm.

"Upon entering the cabin he was rejoiced to find his father and sister Susan present and unharmed, but was at the same time pained to find his sister Barbara badly wounded, and his mother, two sisters, his brother William and the Irish weaver all missing, and their fates unknown.

"At early dawn next morning, John and his party started out to search for the missing ones. He tracked his mother by her blood about a mile up the river, to where she had alternately walked and crawled, probably not knowing whither she went. When found she

was entirely out of her mind and did not recognize her son and friends, supposing them to be Indians still pursuing her; she rallied however, and lived for many years afterward.

"William, Jr., though he usually wore moccasins, had on the day before put on a pair of shoes. Going toward the mill the searchers found by his shoe-tracks where he had attempted to run when the Indians discovered him—where he had slipped and fallen and been captured by them—where, further along, they had tied him to a tree, and afterwards loosened him again, and taken him off with them. His father always thought that if he had had on moccasins instead of shoes he would have escaped and avoided capture. His pursuers were confident that he had made his shoe-track 'sign' as conspicuous as possible, so as to enable them to follow the trail, but they never overtook him, and he was carried off to the Indian towns beyond the Ohio.

"A returned prisoner reported to the family, some time after, that she had seen him at the Chillicothe towns, but was not allowed to talk with him. She said he had been adopted by a widow who had lost a son, and was kindly treated. He never got home, but died in captivity."

Another account, by John W. Stephenson, Esq., of Bath, a descendant of Colonel John Wilson, is as follows:

"John Wilson, on the day of the raid, was returning from Staunton, where he had been to get nails to be used in putting up the new house, and had purchased a new hat. When the Indians shot at him his hat fell off, and he stopped his horse and picked it up. The Indians were so close he could hear their peculiar *grunt* of satisfaction, thinking they had killed him. He went to a stockade fort, near where Williamsville now is, and got the men to return with him that night. One of the men was David Gwin, then about eighteen years of age. He was afterwards a captain in the Revolution, one of the largest land-owners of Bath county, and grandfather of the Rev. Daniel W. Gwin, D. D., of Kentucky, a distinguished Baptist minister."

Mr. Stephenson states that the son of William Wilson, who was carried off by the Indians, was named Thomas.

A fragment of a letter, which was probably written by Colonel William Preston to his brother-in-law, the Rev. John Brown, and preserved by Colonel John Mason Brown, of Kentucky, throws some light upon the state of the times. It is dated "Greenfield, 27th July, 1763." The writer says:

"Our situation at present is very different from what it was when we had the pleasure of your company in this country. All Roanoke river and the waters of Mississippi are depopulated, except Captain English with a few families on the New river, who have built a fort, among whom are Mr. Thompson and his family. They intend to make a stand till some assistance be sent them. Seventy five of the Bedford militia went out in order to pursue the enemy, but I hear the officers and part of the men are gone home, and the rest gone to Reed creek to help in James Davies and two or three families there that dare not venture to travel.

"I have built a little fort in which are eighty-seven persons, twenty of whom bear arms. We are in a pretty good posture of defence, and with the aid of God are determined to make a stand. In five or six other places in this part of the county they have fallen into the same method and with the same resolution. How long we may keep them is uncertain. No enemy have appeared here as yet. Their guns are frequently heard and their footing observed, which makes us believe they will pay us a visit. My two sisters and their families are here and all in good health. We bear our misfortunes so far with * * * * and are in great hopes of being relieved. I have a thousand things * * * * Captain Christian can't wait * * * I give you joy."

The asterisks indicate parts of the letter torn out.

THE MOFFETTS.

At an early day in the history of the county there were two families of this name in Augusta, which, as far as their respective descendants know, were not at all related. The ancestor of both families was named John. One of these John Moffetts was buried in the North Mountain grave-yard. His son, William, whose wife was Elizabeth Gamble, was for many years a leading citizen of the county. Some of the descendants of James Moffett, brother of William, reside in the Tinkling Spring neighborhood and in Rockbridge. William Moffett is said to have been the first Augusta farmer who raised as much as a thousand bushels of wheat in one season.*

The prominent representative in the county of the other family was Colonel George Moffett, who is often mentioned in the ANNALS, and to some members of this family we here particularly refer.

John Moffett, the ancestor, was amongst the first settlers of the county. His wife's maiden name was Mary Christian, and his children were George, Robert, William, John, Mary, Kitty and Hannah.

* He was the grandfather of the late William Moffett Tate.

At some time prior to 1749,—probably as early as 1742,—he left his home in Augusta to go to North Carolina, and was never heard of afterwards. In the course of time he was presumed to be dead, probably killed by the Indians, and his widow, Mary Moffett, qualified as his administratrix, February 28, 1749, executing bond in the penalty of £500, with her brothers, Robert and William Christian, as her securities. Mrs. Moffett contracted a second marriage, with John Trimble, by whom she had one son, James Trimble.

Col. George Moffett, son of John and Mary Christian Moffett, was born in 1735.—His wife was a sister of Colonel Samuel McDowell. He lived on the Middle River farm, owned for many years past by the Dunlap family, called Mount Pleasant, and built the stone dwelling house still on the place. He was not only prominent during the Indian wars and the Revolution, but was so also in civil affairs, having been a justice of the peace, an elder in the Presbyterian church, and one of the first trustees of Washington College, Lexington. He is said to have been a man of commanding presence, and eminently religious. He died in 1811, aged seventy-six years, and was buried in Augusta church graveyard. His children were John, James McD., Samuel, William, Mrs. General McDowell, of Kentucky, Mrs. Col. Joseph McDowell, of North Carolina, Mrs. Kirk, of Kentucky, and Mrs. James Cochran, of Augusta conny. James McDowell Moffett was the father of the late Mrs. John McCue, and Mrs. Cochran was the mother of Messrs. John, George M., and James A. Cochran.

Two of Col. Moffett's brothers removed to Kentucky in 1783, with their half brother, James Trimble and many other Augusta people. Robert Moffett, one of the two, settled in Jessamine county. He had two sons, John and George, who were captured by Indians soon after their arrival in Kentucky. The ages of the boys were about six and eight years, respectively. They were taken to the Indian town of Piqua, on the Miami river, in Ohio, and John was adopted into the family of Tecumseh's mother. At Wayne's treaty, in 1794, these prisoners were given up, and their father was present with the Kentucky troops to receive back his long-lost sons. George, the younger of the two, was eager to return home; but John was reluctant to leave his Indian mother and friends. He went back, however, with his father, but was restless and unhappy and finally returned to Piqua. There he remained with the Indians till they sold their reservation and removed west of the Mississippi river.

The late John A. Trimble, of Ohio, in a letter dated March 31, 1881, and addressed to Dr. George B. Moffett, of West Virginia, says that when he was a child, in 1807, he saw John Moffett, who was then on his return from a visit to Kentucky. He was in the vigor of manhood, dressed in Indian costume and traveling on foot. Mr. Trimble saw him again in 1828, at his home near Piqua. He had lived during his boyhood and youth with Tecumseh, the celebrated Indian chief, and seemed much attached to him. At the time of Mr. Trimble's visit, Moffett had recently married an elderly lady and settled down to civilized life. But in his early life he had an Indian wife. Mr. Trimble says:

"I was descending the Mississippi in 1819, and landed at a point below Memphis called Mill's Landing. Mr. Mills, the pioneer settler there, had a trading post with the Mississippi Indians, who were encamped about the post. My brother, Cary Trimble, was with me. Mr. Mills, hearing we were from Kentucky, claimed relationship, his wife being a grand-daughter of Robert Moffett, of Woodford. We were invited to his house and my brother at once recognized Mrs. Mills as a relative whom he had known fifteen years before in Kentucky. She related a strange surprise she had a few evenings before from a very old Indian woman. She had noticed for several days the manners of this woman and her close scrutiny and eager gaze as she would meet her. At last she came up to her, exclaiming: 'Moffett! you are Moffett!' Somewhat startled, she called to Mr. Mills, who understood the Indian language, and he learned that the woman was the repudiated wife of John Moffett, a prisoner among the Indians at Piqua, 'long time ago. The woman said she knew Mrs. Mills from her likeness to her uncle when he was a boy. She said also that she had a son, Wicomichee, a young Indian chief, so called 'because his father left him.'"

Mr. Trimble says further, that during the Black Hawk war of 1833, in Northern Illinois, Wicomichee was employed by General Atkinson to recover the captive daughters of Dr. Hull, of Illinois or Missouri, and that he did find and bring them into camp to their father.

THE TRIMBLES.

Five brothers, James, Moses, David, John and Alexander Trimble, came to America from Armagh, Ireland, some time between 1740 and 1744. James and John settled in Augusta county.

I. James Trimble brought with him to America a certificate of a Sir Archibald Atkinson testifying to his good character and qualifications as a land surveyor. Upon the organization of Augusta county, in December, 1745, he was appointed and qualified as deputy county surveyor. He married Sarah Kersey, of the Cowpasture, and lived near the site of Lexington. His remains were interred in the Old Monmouth graveyard. His children were six sons and four daughters. Jane, the oldest daughter, married William McClure; Agnes married David Steele, ancestor of the Rockbridge family of that name; Sarah married Samuel Steele and removed with him to Tennessee, and Rachel married Joseph Caruthers, who also went west.

John Trimble, son of James, was born August 24, 1749, and married Mary Alexander, a daughter of Captain Archibald Alexander by his second wife. Like his father, he was a surveyor. He died while still a young man, leaving one son, named James, born July 5, 1781, who went with his mother to Tennessee, after her second marriage to Lewis Jordan. This son, James, came back to Virginia, studied law with Judge Coalter at Staunton, and returning to Tennessee, practiced his profession at Knoxville and Nashville. He died in 1824. A son of his, named John, was recently living near Nashville.

Alexander Trimble, another son of James, was born February 15, 1762, married Martha Grigsby, and died in 1816, leaving no child. He lived at a place called Holly Hill, three miles east of Lexington. His widow, a woman of rare intelligence, survived him for more than fifty years. To a letter addressed by her in 1845 to John Trimble, of Nashville, we are indebted for most of this family history.

William Trimble, youngest son of James, was sheriff of Rockbridge, and died in Staunton in 1794, when on his way to Richmond with taxes collected by him.

II. John Trimble, brother of James, the surveyor, settled in Augusta on Middle river, about two miles from Churchville, five from Buffalo Gap, and eight from Staunton. He married Mrs. Mary Moffett, widow of John Moffett, and mother of Colonel George Moffett and others. His death occurred in 1764, he having been killed by Indians at the time of the second Kerr's Creek massacre. His widow and his brother, James, qualified as his administrators, November 20, 1764. He had one son, James.

James Trimble, son of John, was born in Augusta in 1756. When a boy of eight years of age, at the time his father was killed, he and others were captured and carried off by Indians.

On the 18th of March, 1768, George Moffett qualified in the County Court as guardian of "James Trimble, orphan of John Trimble."

When eighteen years of age, in 1774, James Trimble was a member of Captain George Mathews' company at the battle of Point Pleasant. During the Revolutionary war he was Captain of Rifle Rangers. His second wife was Jane Allen, daughter of Captain James Allen, of Augusta. In 1783 he, with his family and many others, removed to Kentucky and settled in Woodford county. He liberated his slaves, and was about to remove to Hillsboro, Ohio, when he died, in 1804.

Captain James Trimble and his wife, Jane Allen, had eight children, six sons and two daughters. One of the daughters, Margaret, married her cousin, James A. McCue, of Augusta, and spent a long and honored life in the county. The other daughter, Mary, married John M. Nelson, a native of Augusta, but long a resident of Hillsboro, Ohio. Allen Trimble, oldest son of Captain James Trimble, was Governor of Ohio from 1826 to 1830, and one of his sons is the Rev. Dr. Joseph M. Trimble, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. William A. Trimble, another son of Captain James Trimble, was a Major in the war of 1812, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel in the United States Army till 1819, and a member of the United States Senate from Ohio when he died, in 1821, aged thirty-five years. John A. Trimble, of Hillsboro, the youngest son, a gentleman of literary taste and accomplishments, married a daughter of Dr. William Boys, of Staunton.

The large and respectable Trimble family of North Mountain, Augusta county, of which the late James B. Trimble was a prominent member, are not related, as far as known, to the family of James and John. The John Trimble mentioned as living in the North Mountain

neighborhood in 1755, and also in 1775, was probably the ancestor of the James B. Trimble family.

Judge Robert Trimble and his brother, Judge John Trimble, were distinguished citizens of Kentucky. The former was a member of the Supreme Court of the United States when he died, in 1828. A sketch of him in Peters' Reports, Volume II, says that he was born in Augusta county in 1777; but all the Kentucky authorities state that he was a native of Berkeley county, Virginia. He was probably a grandson of one of the three emigrant brothers who did not come to Augusta.

THE BOWYERS.

Several brothers of this name were among the early settlers of Augusta. Their father, Michael Bowyer, believed to have been of French Huguenot descent, died before the year 1761. His sons were—

1. Thomas Bowyer. He removed to Botetourt, and in 1780-1 was a captain in the 8th Virginia regiment, continental line. Afterwards he was designated as Major Bowyer. He died childless in 1785.

2. John Bowyer went to the settlement in Borden's grant, in 1753, when quite a young man, and at first was a school-teacher, as appears from a deposition in an old suit. He, however, soon married Magdalene Woods–McDowell–Borden, and became independent. At August Court, 1763, he qualified as captain of Augusta militia. He was one of the first Justices of Botetourt, in 1770. In 1781, he was colonel of Rockbridge militia, [his residence being in that part of Botetourt which was thrown into Rockbridge on the organization of the latter county,] and went with his command to lower Virginia on the occasion of Arnold's invasion. His second wife was Mary Baker, of Maryland, aunt or cousin of Mrs. Judge Stuart and Mrs. James Lyle of Staunton. He died near Lexington, in 1806, leaving no child. He is known as General Bowyer.

3. William Bowyer was a merchant in Staunton from 1766 to 1775, and probably longer. In 1772 he was a member of the vestry of Augusta parish, and a church warden in 1777. As Lieut. Colonel of militia, he commanded a body of men sent to reinforce General McIntosh on the Ohio river, in August, 1776. The Court Martial of the county, on April 15, 1779, fined him £10 for not attending a previous meeting. He was Lieut. Colonel of Col. Sampson Mathews' regiment, in the expedition to lower Virginia, in 1781. He was Sheriff of Augusta in 1784. His first wife was a daughter of Israel Christian, by whom he had a daughter who married a Miller, ancestor of the late Fleming Bowyer Miller of Botetourt. His second wife was Margaret Ann, daughter of Thomas Lewis, and widow of John McClanahan, (son of the first Robert McClanahan.) A son of the second wife, William C. Bowyer, was a lawyer, and married a Miss Burwell. Col. William Bowyer lived at the place in Staunton now known as Kalorama. He died intestate some time before 1808, and his step-son, John McClanahan, administered on his estate.

4. Michael Bowyer qualified as Lieutenant of militia at August court, 1763. At a meeting of the court martial, April, 11, 1766, he was fined for attending without a sword. He married Frances Carpenter, in 1766, the certificate of marriage being signed by the Rev. John Jones, and witnessed by Alexander St. Clair and Chris. Graham. He was a member of the Vestry in 1773, and of the County Committee in 1775. He is said to have been a lawyer, but early in the Revolutionary war he had a store in Fincastle, which he left in charge of his nephew, Henry Bowyer, to join the army. He was the father of Capt. John Bowyer, who lived and died near Lexington, leaving a large family.

5. Luke Bowyer is believed to have been a brother of the former. Gen. John Bowyer qualified as his guardian in 1761, and in the official bond the ward is described as "orphan of Michael Bowyer." He was a lawyer, and one of the two attorneys who qualified to pratice at the opening of Botetourt County Court, in 1770.

Col. Henry Bowyer was a Revolutionary soldier, and long a prominent citizen of Botetourt, but it is not known whose son he was. Maj. Thomas Bowyer speaks in his will of Henry Bowyer as his nephew. It is said that when his uncle Michael joined the army early in the Revolution, he left his store at Fincastle in charge of Henry, who was a mere boy. The latter wound up the business in quick time, and joined the army himself, serving most of the time with the cavalry under Col. William Washington. He was Clerk of the Courts of Botetourt from 1791 till 1831, when his son, Henry M. Bowyer, succeeded him in office. He died in 1833.

Colonel William Fleming.

In August, 1755, the month after Braddock's defeat, William Fleming landed in Norfolk. He was educated at the University of Edinburg, and served for some years as a surgeon in the British Navy. Not liking that profession he resigned and came to Virginia. As we have seen he was a lieutenant in the Sandy Creek expedition of 1756, and acted as surgeon. He was afterwards appointed ensign in the First Virginia Regiment, commanded by Washington. In 1758, he was commissioned lieutenant, and served in the campaigns of Forbes and Abercrombie. He was made captain in 1760 and stationed at Staunton, it is said. After his marriage, in 1763, to a daughter of Israel Christian, he resumed at Staunton the practice of medicine and surgery.

Captain Fleming (so called in the record-book) was chosen a Vestryman of Augusta parish, November 24, 1764, in place of John Mathews, deceased, and continued to serve in that office till June 27, 1769. The records of the Vestry show that he was repeatedly allowed payment of bills for professional services to the poor, and from his private account books it appears that he was often called to visit patients in Bedford county. In the fall of 1769 he removed to the new

county of Botetourt, of which he was one of the first justices of the peace.

He commanded the Botetourt regiment at Point Pleasant in 1774. In 1779–'80 he was a member of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, and was the only person from west of the Blue Ridge who sat in that body. Being a member of the Governor's Council in 1781, he acted as chief executive of the State for a time during that year, in the temporary absence from Richmond of Mr. Jefferson.

It is said that he was repeatedly sent by the Government to Kentucky as commissioner to settle land claims, etc., but never removed from Virginia. His death occurred in 1795, at his residence, called Bellmont, near the present town of Roanoke, and his remains were interred in the family burial ground.

The children of Col. Fleming were, 1. John, who never married; 2. William, who married Sally ———; 3. Leonard J., who married Mary, a daughter of Col. William Bowyer; 4. Priscilla, wife of Samuel Wilson; 5. Dorothy, wife of James Bratton; 6. Eliza, wife of Samuel G. Ramsey; and 7. Anne, wife of the Rev. Dr. George A. Baxter.

Fort Defiance is the name of a station on the Valley Railroad, about nine miles north of Staunton. The name has given rise to the belief that a fort stood on the spot during the Indian wars of the eighteenth century. Some imaginative or credulous persons undertake to tell about the people congregating there in times of danger, of the investment of the place by Indians, and of its defence on one or more occasions. But no fort was ever built there, and the name is of comparatively recent origin. For this statement we have the authority of the venerable Adam Link, who lived at the place and conducted the mercantile business there for many years, and who remembers when the name originated. The Old Stone church, four or five hundred yards south of "Fort Defiance," was fortified during the early times referred to, but, as far as known, was never assailed by an enemy. The report that there was a subterranean passage from the church to the spring is entirely untrue.

CHAPTER VII.

INDIAN WARS, ETC., IN 1764.

We now rapidly approach the end of Indian troubles in Augusta county. As white population advanced, the savages receded, and the people of Augusta, as it now is, were delivered from danger and alarm. Indeed, none of the massacres, of which we have given an account, occurred within the present limits of the county; but the scenes of disaster being, at the various times mentioned, parts of the county, the incidents could not be omitted in our history. We presume no reader will think we have devoted too much space to the history of these times. The events related were of thrilling interest. The narrative shows what toil and suffering our ancestors endured to obtain homes for themselves, and to transmit a goodly heritage to us. As we now sit under our vine and fig tree, with none to molest or make us afraid, let us devoutly thank God for present peace and safety.

We find in Mrs. Floyd's narrative a brief account of an assault by Indians on the home of David Cloyd, which was in the present county of Montgomery. Colonel William Preston, who then lived at Greenfield, had gone to Staunton, in March, 1764, when one day, early in the morning, Mrs. Preston was startled by the report of two guns in quick succession in the direction of a neighbor's house half a mile distant. Presently Joseph Cloyd rode up on a plow-horse with the gearing on and related that Indians had killed his brother John, had shot at him (the powder burning his shirt), and having gone to the house had probably killed his mother. Mrs. Preston immediately sent a young man who lived at her house to notify the garrison of a small fort on Craig's Creek, and then despatched a white man and two negroes to Mr. Cloyd's. The latter found Mrs. Cloyd tomahawked in three places, but still alive and conscious. She told about the assault by the Indians, their getting drunk, ripping up the feather beds, and carrying off the money. One of the Indians wiped the blood from her temples with a corn-cob, saying, "Poor old woman!" She died the next morning.

The papers in a law suit tried in the County Court of Augusta, in 1766, give the sequel to the above story. The Indians carried off upwards of £200 in gold and silver. They were pursued by a party

of the militia, and one of them was killed on John's creek, at a distance of thirty miles or more from Cloyd's house. The dead Indian was found in possession of £137, 18s. A dispute arose among the militia as to whether the money belonged to them or to Cloyd, and until the question should be settled, the coin was deposited in the hands of James Montgomery. It was distributed by Montgomery to the militia, many of whom, however, returned their portions to Cloyd, to the amount of £106, 17s. 2d. Cloyd thereupon paid to each of the men who returned the money, the sum of thirty shillings ($5), the reward he had previously offered, and sued Montgomery for the remainder—£31, 10d. The suit was decided November 27, 1766, in favor of Cloyd, but an appeal was taken to the General Court, and we do not know the result. Gabriel Jones was attorney for Cloyd, and Peter Hogg for Montgomery.

It is interesting to see the names of the coins then in circulation. The sum of £137, 19s. 8½d. was made up as follows: "13 Double Loons, 36 Pistoles, 1 Half Double Loon, 4 Guineas, 4 Loodores, 16 Round Pistoles, 3 Half Pistoles, 2 Half Johannas, 9 Dollars, and some small silver."

The pistole was a Spanish coin, worth $3.60; the doubloon was also Spanish, and worth $7.20; the guinea was English, and worth $4.66; the louis-d'or, called loodore, was French, worth $4.44; and the Johannas, called joe, was Portugese, worth $8.

In the year 1764, William Kinkead lived near the source of the Big Calfpasture river, Augusta county, his family consisting of his wife and two children, a boy and a girl.—The story is, that because of the insecurity of the times, the neighbors had brought their valuable possessions to Kinkead's house, it being larger and a safer hiding place than their own dwellings. This fact became known, and led to an attack by Indians.

On the 14th of April, 1764, Kinkead being out on his farm, his home was beset by a party of savages. His wife, finding that escape was impossible, with extraordinary heroism, assisted the Indians in their hurried preparations to leave, so that they might get off before her husband's return, and danger to his life be avoided.—When he came back, his wife and children had been carried off.

Nothing was heard of the captives till after Bouquet's treaty of November, 1764, when Mrs. Kinkead, with other prisoners, was delivered up in pursuance of the stipulation. She carried in her arms an infant daughter born during her captivity, July 25, 1764. Her account of the two older children was, that the boy kept up with the party on their return to Ohio for several days; but he was put in

the immediate charge of a young Indian, who seemed to take pleasure in tormenting the child, often pushing him back and forcing him to reclimb banks and steep places. By this system of treatment the little captive became exhausted and unable to proceed as at first. He was then tomahawked and killed in his mother's presence, one of the Indians, however, having the humanity to cover her eyes that she might not witness the spectacle. The daughter was separated from her mother about the time the infant was born. Her name was Isabella. She was not recovered by her parents till some time after her mother's release. When brought to the rendezvous, she was dressed in skins and clung to the skirt of a squaw. So changed was she in appearance that even her mother failed to recognize her at first, but finally identified her by a scar on her foot, where she had been bled.—She grew up, married Andrew Hamilton, and has many descendants.

Mrs. Kinkead stated that the Indians treated her personally with kindness, and that at the time of her confinement everything possible was done for her comfort. The maiden name of Mrs. Kinkead was Eleanor Guy. Her maternal grand-father was in the siege of Londonderry.*

William Kinkead was captain of a company sent to protect the frontier in 1777. He also commanded a company in Col. Sampson Mathews' regiment which served in lower Virginia, in 1781, having Jacob Warwick as his Lieutenant. He sold his farm in 1789, and removed to Kentucky, where he died in 1820.

Thomas Gardiner, Jr., lived on a farm lying on Dry Branch, Augusta county, two and a half miles northeast of Buffalo Gap, where John A. Lightner now lives. According to tradition, he and his mother were killed by Indians, but exactly when is not known. His wife, Rebecca, qualified as administratrix of his estate, June 19, 1764; and it is presumed that his death occurred a short time before that date. Tradition states that, on a Sunday evening, he went out to see after a cow and calf, and was killed at the spring, within a hundred yards of his dwelling. No one knows by what means his wife and children escaped, nor where his mother was when killed. He had two sons, one of whom, Samuel, was the ancestor of the Mint Spring Gardiners. The other, Francis, was a soldier of the Revolution, who died July 26, 1842, father of the late James and Samuel Gardiner and others.

* For most of the facts of this narrative, we are indebted to Miss Elizabeth Shelby Kinkead, of Lexington, Kentucky, a daughter of Judge William B. Kinkead, and great-grand-daughter of William Kinkead; and to the Hon. John S. Wise, whose wife is a descendant of Andrew and Isabella Hamilton.

Thomas Gardiner was a near neighbor of Alexander Crawford, who also was killed by Indians, as will be related. Their dwellings were about two miles apart. Gardiner was killed before June 19, 1764, as stated, and possibly Crawford's death occurred at the same time. If the Indians came through Buffalo Gap, they must have passed Crawford's dwelling to reach Gardiner's, and it would seem unaccountable that the one should be taken and the other left. But the proceedings of Indians were often as eccentric as the devastations of a spring frost, which cuts down one stalk of corn and passes over another.

We have no information of any Indian raid into the county in the early summer of 1764, except the fact of the Gardiner massacre, just mentioned. This massacre may have been perpetrated by a single Indian, who penetrated by himself into the settlement. It is not said, however, that even one Indian was seen by a white man at that time, and a white ruffian may have committed the murders for the sake of plunder. An old story says that Gardiner had money buried in an iron pot, which his descendants could never find. Quite recently an empty ancient pot was found on the premises, having been washed out by a freshet, and it is thought to give color to the story.

No doubt, the violent acts of lawless whites were sometimes attributed to Indians. The ancestor of the "Stone Church Bells" and his wife were ruthlessly murdered by a white man, but at what date is not known. It may have been before 1764.—The circumstance is thus related by Thomas Bell of Greenbrier, the oldest survivor (in 1892) of the family:

The old couple, Joseph Bell and wife, were sitting in their dwelling on a certain day—their only son, also named Joseph, having gone to a blacksmith's shop; but two female white servants being present. A white male "indentured" servant also belonged to the family, and wished to marry one of the females referred to, but Mrs. Bell opposed the match on account of the bad character of the man, and thus incurred his ill-will. This man came in from a field on the day referred to, saying that he had finished his work. Mrs. Bell was spinning fine flax, and the man enquired what she proposed to make. She replied that she intended to weave linen grave-clothes for her husband and herself, if she lived long enough. "Do you think you will live long enough?" said the man, and, remarking that he would go out and kill a squirrel, took down the gun. Going to the door, he turned and fired at Mrs. Bell, mortally wounding her and instantly killing her husband. Mrs. Bell died the next day. The man fled and was never

captured. If there had been no witness to the tragedy, it would probably have been attributed to Indians.

In October, 1764, says Withers, [*Border Warfare*, pages 72, 73,] about fifty Delaware and Mingo warriors ascended the Great Sandy and came over on New river, where they separated—one party going towards the Roanoke and Catawba (a small stream in Botetourt county), and the other in the direction of Jackson's river, in Alleghany. They were discovered by three white men, who were trapping on New river,—Swope, Pack and Pitman,—who hastened to give warning, but the Indians were ahead of them, and their effort was in vain. The savages who came to Jackson's river passed down Dunlap's creek, and crossed the former stream above Fort Young. They proceeded down that river to William Carpenter's, where there was a stockade fort in charge of a Mr. Brown. Meeting Carpenter near his house they killed him, and coming to the house captured a young Carpenter and two Browns, small children, and one woman. The other people belonging to the place were at work some distance off, and therefore escaped. Despoiling the house, the savages retreated precipitately by way of the Greenbrier and Kanawha rivers.

The report of the gun when Carpenter was killed, was heard by those who were away at work, and Brown carried the alarm to Fort Young. The weakness of the garrison at this fort caused the men there to send the intelligence to Fort Dinwiddie,* where Captain Audley Paul † commanded. Captain Paul immediately began a pursuit with twenty of his men. On Indian creek they met Pitman, who had been running all the day and night before to warn the garrison at Fort Young. He joined in the pursuit, but it proved unavailing. This party of Indians effected their escape.

As Captain Paul and his men were returning they encountered the other party of Indians, who had been to Catawba, and committed some murders and depredations there. The savages were discovered about midnight, encamped on the north bank of New River, opposite an island at the mouth of Indian creek. Excepting some few who were watching three prisoners, recently taken on Catawba, they were lying

* Fort Dinwiddie was on Jackson's river, five miles west of the Warm Springs. It was called also Warwick's fort and Byrd's fort. Washington visited it in the fall of 1755, coming from Fort Cumberland, on a tour of inspection. There was no road between the two points, but the trail he is said to have pursued is still pointed out.

† Capt. Paul's daughter Ann, who married James Taylor, was the mother of the widely-known Missionary Bishop William Taylor, of the Methodist church, who was born in Rockbridge county, in 1821.

around a fire, wrapped in skins and blankets. Paul's men, not knowing there were captives among the Indians, fired into the midst of them, killing three, and wounding several others, one of whom drowned himself to preserve his scalp. The remaining Indians fled down the river and escaped.

The three white captives were rescued on this occasion, and taken to Fort Dinwiddie. Among them was Mrs. Catherine Gunn, an English lady, whose husband and two children had been killed two days before, on the Catawba. The Indians lost all their guns, blankets and plunder.

Young Carpenter, one of the prisoners captured on Jackson's River, came home some fifteen years afterwards, and became Doctor Carpenter, of Nicholas county. The younger Brown was brought home in 1769, and was afterwards Colonel Samuel Brown of Greenbrier. The elder Brown remained with the Indians, took an Indian wife, and died in Michigan in 1815. It is said that he took a conspicuous part in the war of 1812–14.

We pause here to give the sequel of the above story, as related by the late Colonel John G. Gamble, premising that Colonel Gamble's mother was a sister of Colonel Samuel Brown's wife.

Colonel Gamble says: "The last time I visited Colonel Brown I met there Colonel Brown's aged mother, a Mrs. Dickinson, a second time a widow. She was a very sensible and interesting old lady, and at that time could think and speak only of her long-lost first-born, who had been to see her some time before my visit.

"Colonel Brown's father had formerly lived in what is now Bath county, then a frontier settlement. In one of the inroads made by the Indians, they pounced upon a school house near Mr. Brown's residence, killed the teacher, captured the children, and among them Colonel Brown's elder brother, then a little white-headed chap, and carried him off; and for more than fifty years afterwards he was not heard of. The child fell to the lot of an Indian who lived on Lake Huron, and thither he was taken. Some time afterwards a French trader, who had married and lived among the Indians, bought the boy, adopted him, and taught him to read. The lad, grown up, married a squaw and became a chief. He had remembered and retained his name of 'Brown,' and the circumstances of his capture were such as not to be obliterated from his memory. Fifty years afterwards, upon a meeting of the Indians and whites for the purpose of making a treaty, he met with a man who knew his family, and assured him that his mother was still living. The old chief at once determined to visit her, and, attended by a son and daughter and some of his warriors, came to his

brother's, in Greenbrier, and remained some months with his family. What a meeting between the aged mother and her long-lost son!

"Every effort was made to induce him to remain, but of course unavailing; for no Indian chief was ever prevailed upon to exchange his mode of life for a residence among the whites.

"His son and daughter were described to me as being fine specimens of their race, and the daughter as possessing uncommon beauty. Much persuasion was used to retain her; but the girl was in love, and was to be made the wife of a young chief on her return home. How could they expect her to remain?

"At the death of their father, Brown, the law of primogeniture was in force in Virginia, and the old chief was the legal owner of all the paternal property, which was in fact nearly all that Colonel Brown possessed. The old chief was made acquainted with his rights, and before his departure conveyed to his brother all his title in the property."

It will be observed that Colonel Gamble makes no allusion to the taking off and return of the younger Brown. Moreover, the interval of fifty years between the capture and return of the older brother is inconsistent with the dates given by others. Without attempting to reconcile discrepancies, we resume our narrative.

Withers is silent in regard to an Indian raid upon Kerr's creek, in 1764, or at any time. He refers, as we have seen, to an assault upon the settlement on Catawba, in Botetourt, in October, 1764, but this, if he is correct, was by Delawares and Mingoes. The Rev. Samuel Brown states that the second Kerr's creek massacre was perpetrated by Shawnees, and in regard to this there can be no doubt, as the prisoners carried off, some of whom returned, would know to what tribe the Indians belonged. In his published narrative, Mr. Brown mentions October 10, 1765, as the date of the inroad; but he is now satisfied that it occurred at least a year earlier, probably in the fall of 1764.

The people on Kerr's creek had repaired the losses they sustained in 1763, as far as possible. For some time, says Mr. Brown, there had been vague reports of Indians on the warpath, but little or no uneasiness was excited. At length, however, the savages came, but more cautiously than before. They crossed the North mountain and camped at a spring in a secluded place, where they remained a day or two. Some one discovered their moccasin tracks in a corn-field, and then, from the top of a hill, saw them in their camp. Their number is supposed to have been from forty to fifty.

The alarm being given, the people, to the number of about a hundred, of both sexes and all ages, assembled at the house of Jonathan Cunningham, at the "Big Spring." They were packing their horses in haste, to leave for Timber Ridge, when the savages fell upon them. A Mrs. Dale, who was hidden a short distance off, witnessed the awful tragedy. The terror-stricken whites ran in every direction, trying to hide; and the Indians, each singling out his prey, pursued them round and round through the weeds, with yells. The white men had but few arms, and in the circumstances resistance was vain. The wife of Thomas Gilmore, standing with her three children over the body of her husband, fought with desperation the Indian who rushed up to scalp him. She and her son, John, and two daughters, were made prisoners. The bloody work did not cease until all who could be found were killed or taken prisoners.

Very soon the Indians prepared to leave, and gathered their prisoners in a group. Among the latter were Cunninghams, Hamiltons and Gilmores. An entire family of Daughertys, five Hamiltons, and three Gilmores were slain. In the two incursions, from sixty to eighty white people were killed, and in the second, from twenty-five to thirty were carried into captivity, some of whom never returned.

Late in the evening the Indians, with their captives, reached their first encampment near the scene of the massacre. Among the booty found at the "Big Spring" was a supply of whiskey. This was carried to the encampment, and that night was spent by the savages in a drunken frolic, which was continued until the afternoon of the next day. The prisoners hoped all night that a company would be raised and come to their relief, as the Indians could easily have been routed during their drunken revels. But there was a general panic all over the country, and those who might have gone in pursuit were hiding in the mountains and hollows. Some had fled as far as the Blue Ridge. The captives related that the Indians took other prisoners as they returned to Ohio. These, Mr. Brown thinks, were taken on the Cowpasture river, as it is known, he says, that some were captured there about that time. Withers, however, as already related, attributes the captures on the Cowpasture, in October, 1764, to another band of Indians.

During the march westward the savages dashed out against a tree the brains of a sick and fretful infant and threw the body over the shoulders of a young girl, who was put to death the next day. On another day an infant was sacrificed, by having a sharpened pole thrust through its body, which was elevated in the air, and all the prisoners made to pass under it.

After crossing the Ohio, the Indians, elated with their success, demanded that the captives should sing for their entertainment, and it is said that Mrs. Gilmore struck up, with plaintive voice, the 137th Psalm of Rouse's version, then in use in all the churches—

"On Babel's stream we sat and wept,
When Zion we thought on,
In midst thereof we hanged our harps,
The willow tree thereon.

"For there a song requested they,
Who did us captive take;
Our spoilers called for mirth and said
A song of Zion sing."

The Indians then separated into several parties, dividing the prisoners amongst themselves. Mrs. Gilmore and her son, John, fell to one party and her two daughters to another. The last she ever heard of the latter was their cries as they were torn from her. No intelligence was ever received in regard to their fate. After some time, the mother and son were also parted, she being sold to French traders and the boy retained by the Shawnees. Finally he was redeemed and brought back by Jacob Warwick to Jackson's river, where he remained till his mother's return, when they were united at the old homestead.

A number of other captives were eventually found and brought back by their friends, among them Mary Hamilton, who had a child in her arms when the attack was made at the spring. She hid the child in the weeds and found its bones there when she returned.

Alexander Crawford and his wife were murdered by Indians, in October, 1764, it is believed. All we know certainly in regard to Crawford's latter days is, that he was alive February 18, 1762, when he became one of the securities of Thomas Gardiner, jr., in a guardian's bond; and that he was dead by November court, 1764, when his administrator qualified.

His wife's maiden name was Mary McPheeters. He acquired an extensive tract of land in Augusta, covering a part of the Little North mountain, and extending far out into the plain. It embraced sixteen hundred and forty acres. His dwelling stood on a knoll, at the eastern base of the mountain, and looked out towards the rising sun on a wide tract of level land. It was "beautiful for situation." The spot is about two miles northeast of Buffalo Gap, and a hundred yards south of the present residence of Baxter Crawford, a great-grand-son of Alexander and Mary. The site of the house is now marked by a thicket, surrounding a pile of unhewn stones which composed the chimney.

Here Alexander and Mary Crawford had eleven children, seven sons and four daughters. They had an abundance of all the good things the times and country afforded, and until the Indian wars arose, lived in peace and plenty. They belonged to a God-fearing race, and doubtless walked in the old ways of their pious ancestors. The father and mother, were, however, both slaughtered by savages, on their premises, with no human eye near enough to witness the tragedy.

Much uncertainty has existed as to the date of the occurrence. But at November County Court, 1764, William McPheeters qualified as administrator of Alexander Crawford, and, although some of the latter's descendants insist upon an earlier date, it seems highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that the slaughter was perpetrated in October of the year mentioned.

The rumor had gone abroad that an invasion by Indians was threatened, and all the Crawford family had taken refuge in a house at the Big Spring. This house was called a fort, being better able to resist an attack than most dwellings of the period, and was often resorted to by the people around in time of danger. It is probably the ancient stone house, still standing and used as a dwelling, on the south side of Middle river, two miles south of the present village of Churchville, and about three miles from Alexander Crawford's. It has long been known as the "old Keller house." The windows are few in number and very narrow, hardly more than a foot wide.

On the day of the slaughter, early in the morning, it is said, Alexander Crawford and his wife returned home to procure a supply of vegetables, while two of their sons, William and John, went upon the mountain to salt the horses which had been turned out to graze. From their elevation on the side of the mountain, the two youths saw the smoke and flames of the burning homestead.

We may imagine that the men of the neighborhood were somewhat slow to assemble. No one knew but his house would be attacked next, and every man felt it necessary to protect his own family if possible. When the people rallied and repaired to the Crawford place, the dwelling had been consumed by fire. The charred remains of Alexander Crawford were found in the ashes, showing that he had been killed in the house. His wife's body was found outside, and it was inferred that she had attempted to escape, but was overtaken and tomahawked. The remains of both were gathered up and buried in the Glebe graveyard.

The sale bill of Alexander Crawford's personal estate amounted to £333, 17s, 9d, about $1,114, a larger sum than was common at that day. We mention as some indication of the state of the times,

that among the articles sold by the administrator were a still and a wolf-trap. All the family records and other household effects perished with the dwelling.

In 1764, John Trimble lived on Middle river, two miles from Churchville, five from Buffalo Gap, and seven from Staunton, or thereabout. His white family consisted of himself and wife and his son James, a boy. His step-daughter, Mrs. Kitty Moffett Estill, was also with the family at the time of the occurrence to be related.

One writer puts the date as 1752; another 1758; a third 1770; and fourth, 1778.—The incident occurred, however, in 1764, during the last Indian raid into the county. All accounts agree in the statement that John Trimble was killed at the time of Mrs. Estill's capture, and the records of the county show that his death occurred in the fall of 1764.—The probability is that the Indians who murdered Alexander Crawford and his wife, proceeded down to Middle river a few miles and fell upon the Trimble family.

Besides the date of this occurrence, there is much diversity of statement in regard to many of the circumstances. The memoir of Mrs. Jane Trimble, wife of Captain James Trimble, written by her grandson, the Rev. Joseph M. Trimble, D. D., gives the most detailed account of the affair which we have seen. The author states that a white man named Dickinson, who had fled from Virginia to escape punishment for crime, entered the Valley at the head of thirty Indians, and encouraged them in their cruel work. They raided the dwelling of John Trimble, and killed him as he was going out in the morning to plow. James, then about eight years old, his half-sister, Mrs. Estill, and a negro boy were taken prisoners. Mr. Estill, according to this account, was wounded, but escaped. Where Mrs. Trimble and other members of the family were at the time, or how they escaped, is not stated. The Indians must have passed the old Keller house in coming from Alexander Crawford's to John Trimble's. The Trimble dwelling was stripped by the Indians of its most valuable contents, and then burned. Four horses were taken and loaded with the plunder. The Indians, with their prisoners and horses, retreated to a cave in the North Mountain, where they had arranged to meet two other divisions of their party. They traveled all night and met their comrades in the morning, who had secured prisoners and plunder in other settlements. The united bands prosecuted their retreat with great rapidity for five days and nights.

The statement that Trimble was going out to plow when the Indians assailed him is a local tradition.

The morning after the murder of John Trimble, Captain George Moffett, his step-son, and the brother of Mrs. Estill, was in pursuit of the enemy, with twenty-five men collected during the previous night. The Indians had fifteen hours' start, but Moffett and his party rapidly gained on them. The fact that the pursuers moved more rapidly than the pursued was a well known one in Indian warfare, the latter being generally encumbered and losing time in the effort to conceal their trail. In the morning of the fifth day, the whites in front of their party discovered the Indians on a spur of the Alleghany Mountain, and upon a consultation it was concluded to pause in the pursuit and make an attack after dark.

The Indians had stopped at a spring near the foot of the mountain. Their food was exhausted, and Dickinson had gone in search of game. Moffett's party were within a mile of the savages, and stealthily drawing nearer, when they were startled by the report of a gun. Supposing they had been discovered, the whites dropped their knapsacks and started in a run towards the Indians. They had gone only a few hundred yards when a wounded deer bounded across their path. One of the men struck the animal in its face with his hat, which caused it to turn and run back. Another report of a gun and a whoop, satisfied the whites that one of the Indian party had killed the deer, and that the whoop was a call for help to carry it into camp. An Indian on horseback was immediately seen approaching at a rapid pace. The whites, concealed in tall grass, were not discovered by him till he was in the midst of them ; and they dispatched him in an instant, before his companions in camp were aware of their approach.

Some of the prisoners were tied with tugs, while the women and boys were unconfined. Mrs. Estill was sitting on a log sewing ruffles on a shirt of her husband, at the bidding of the Indian who claimed her as his prize. James Trimble was at the spring getting water. The Indians had barely time to get their guns before the whites were upon them. At first, most of the startled prisoners ran some distance, and, becoming mingled with the Indians, it was impossible for the rescuers to fire ; but discovering their mistake, they turned and ran to their friends. Then the firing began on both sides. The negro boy was shot, and from the blood discovered on the trail of the flying Indians, it was evident that several of them were wounded.

Moffett and his party desisted from the pursuit, and collecting the stolen property and removing to a distance, spent the night. Early the next morning they began their homeward journey. The Indians, however, rallied, and getting ahead of the whites sought to ambush them in a narrow pass. In this they failed, as also in another at-

tempt of the same kind, in a laurel thicket. They then fell to the rear and followed the whites for several days; but being foiled in all their schemes, they turned off to an unprotected settlement, which was assailed in their usual manner. The Augusta men reached home unhurt, except one, who was wounded in the mountain pass, and was carried on a litter. The loss of the Indians was six killed and several badly wounded.

Such is the account given in the memoir of Mrs. Trimble.

In Collins' History of Kentucky (volume II, page 767), we find a sketch of Captain James Trimble, which gives a different version of the affair. The writer of this account states that the prisoners were captured by a party of nine Indians, led by a half-breed named Dickson; that immediately after the capture, James Trimble was adopted as a son by Dickson; that Captain Moffett raised a party of eighteen men, and overtook the Indians near the present White Sulphur Springs; and that at the first fire all the Indians were killed, except Dickson, who escaped.

The late John A. Trimble, of Ohio, a son of Captain James Trimble, in one of his numerous and interesting communications to the *Hillsboro Gazette*, gave a third account of the affair. Describing a trip he made on horseback from Mossy Creek, in Augusta county, to his home in Ohio, probably in 1827, Mr. Trimble said:

"I was soon in the wild pass of the North Mountain, and approaching Buffalo Gap, in the vicinity of the early home of my father, when I overtook a venerable old gentleman on horseback, who gave me his name, William Kincaid,* and inquired my name and residence. He said the name was familiar; he had known a Captain James Trimble who was a native of Augusta. When informed that he was my father, the old gentlemen was startled; he stopped his horse and shook hands most cordially. 'Is it possible!' he exclaimed. 'Why, I was a young man of eighteen when your father was a prisoner, with his sister, young Mrs. Edmondson, afterwards Estill, and I was one of the twelve men who went with Colonel George Moffett in pursuit, and rescued the prisoners away across the Alleghanies. Why, it seems as fresh to my memory as of yesterday, and we are now within a few miles of where your grandfather was killed and his house pillaged by Dickson and his ferocious band of Shawnees. But we had our revenge, and Dickson, their leader, with a boy, were the only ones who escaped from our rifles, for we took them completely by surprise, feast-

* This was a different person from the William Kincaid mentioned elsewhere. The person encountered by Mr. Trimble, continued to live in Augusta and died here in 1827. The other removed to Kentucky, and died there in 1820.

ing and sleeping around their campfire.' " Mr. Kincaid said that "at one time Colonel Moffett seemed discouraged, having lost the trail, when, fortunately, one of the men found the blue-worsted garter of Mrs. Edmondson hanging on a bush, where she had placed it while traveling at night."

Kincaid and James Trimble were both members of Captain George Mathews' company at Point Pleasant, in 1774.

We may add that a family of "Edmistons" lived in the county as early as 1746, but we have no information other than the above that Kitty Moffett was the widow of one of them when she married Benjamin Estill.

We have still another account of the killing of John Trimble and capture of his son and step-daughter, embraced in a letter written by Mr. John A. Trimble, March 28, 1843.

In this letter Mr. Trimble gives the date as 1770, an error of six years, his grandfather having been killed in 1764.* He says his father, James Trimble, and a negro boy named Adam, while plowing corn, were surprised by a party of Indians and made prisoners. [It is probable that *the negro* was plowing *for wheat*, as James Trimble was too young at the time to hold the plow, being only eight years old, and the season (October) was too late for corn.] The alarm was given at the house by the horses running off, and, suspecting the cause, the father, John Trimble, proceeded with his gun to reconnoitre. The Indians, having secured the prisoners and left them in charge of several lads, started to the house. On the way they encountered John Trimble in a strip of woods, and shot and scalped him. His wife escaped from the dwelling and concealed herself near enough to witness the plundering and burning of the premises. Mrs. Estill (so called here by Mr. Trimble) was *enceinte*, and being unable to fly was made prisoner. Nothing is said in reference to Mr. Estill.

While this was going on, the young Indians were amusing themselves by throwing their tomahawks at the tree to which James Trimble was tied, often just missing his head.

* Statements on preceding pages show that the author was sorely perplexed in regard to dates. From as full investigation as he can make, he thinks it *probable* that the second Kerr's Creek massacre occurred in October, 1764. He is satisfied that Alexander Crawford and John Trimble were killed in that month. Crawford owned a large amount of personal property, and his representative would naturally qualify as soon as possible to take care of the estate.—His administrator qualified at November court, 1764, as did Trimble's administrator. At first view it seems unaccountable that war parties of Indians should invade the settlements at the very time that Bouquet was on the march to assail their towns; but probably small parties of raiders came with the hope of inducing Bouquet to turn back for the defence of the frontiers.

The account given by Mr. Trimble in this letter, of the retreat of the Indians, the pursuit by Captain Moffett, and the rescue of the prisoners, is substantially the same as that given by the Rev. Dr. Trimble. He, however, says nothing about "a cave in the North Mountain," or any other parties of Indians, and says the number of men with Moffett was fifteen or twenty. The number of Indians he puts at eight or nine.

Dickson is said to have been a renegade half-blood Indian, who was well-known to the white settlers, among whom he had lived for several years. When hostilities broke out he joined a band of Shawnees, and became a formidable leader. He had often been at John Trimble's house, and after scalping Trimble, exhibited the trophy to the boy James, saying: "Jim, here's the old man's scalp. Do you know it? If you stay with me, I will make a good Indian of you; but if you try to run off, I will have your scalp." He treated Mrs. Estill with respect, walking constantly by her side as she rode on a horse through the passes of the mountains. Mrs. Estill's first child was born a few weeks after her return.

The negro boy Adam was a native African of recent importation, and spoke but little English. Mr. Trimble often heard him, in his old age, relate the incidents of his captivity. During the retreat of the Indians, Adam one day stirred up a "yellow jacket's nest," just as the sparsely-clad savages were filing along, and some of them were assailed and stung by the insects. This so pleased the simple-minded negro that he was about to repeat the act, when the Indian boys administered to him a sound beating.

Just before the arrival of the whites at the Indian camp, Dickson sent James Trimble to the spring for water, which, being somewhat muddy when presented, was thrown in the face of the boy, who was threatened with the tomahawk, and ordered to bring another supply. He returned to the spring, and while waiting for the water to clear was startled by the report of rifles. Surmising that rescuers were at hand, he ran in the direction of the sound and placed himself among his friends.

At the moment of the firing, Dickson was standing by Mrs. Estill, leaning on his gun, and giving directions about ruffling a shirt she was making for him. She sprang to her feet and ran towards the whites, taking the precaution to snatch up a tin vessel and cover her head with it. Dickson pursued her, and hurling his tomahawk, knocked the vessel off without injury to her person. He almost immediately confronted Captain Moffett, at whom he fired, but missed, and then turned and fled, making good his escape. Moffett's gun was empty.

Adam had concealed himself during the firing behind a tree, and being mistaken for an Indian was shot at by one of the white men and wounded slightly in the arm.

Mr. Trimble states that, except Dickson, all the Indians fell at the first fire, either killed or mortally wounded. Dickson followed the whites on their return, and fired upon and wounded one of them, named Russell, who was carried home on a litter. Russell encountered Dickson at the battle of Point Pleasant, and killed him in a hand-to-hand conflict.

It is said that the whole number of prisoners carried off by the Indians and rescued as described was six or eight; but who they were, besides those mentioned, is not stated.

In the meanwhile a general war between the whites and Indians was raging. Colonel Bouquet defeated the latter, August 6, 1763, at Bushy Run, in western Pennsylvania. This battle was the most protracted and decisive conflict of that era between Indians and white men. It lasted two days. Bouquet displayed great military skill, and, unlike Braddock, adapted his tactics to the mode of Indian warfare. Afterwards, while commanding at Fort Pitt, he issued a proclamation forbidding any British subject from settling or hunting west of the Alleghany mountains without written permission. But the war continued, and in the summer of 1764, Bouquet organized, in Pennsylvania, an expedition against the Indian settlements west of the Ohio river.

Learning of this movement, the Shawnee and Delaware Indians removed their women and children far westward, so as to interpose a wilderness between them and the anticipated army of invasion. Even while the army was on the march, war parties of Indians, as late as October, continued their depredations on the frontier.

Besides a small number of regular soldiers, Bouquet had, at first, a considerable body of Pennsylvania militia; but many of the latter deserted, and he then, on his own responsibility, wrote to Col. Andrew Lewis, requesting reinforcements. It is said that he set a high value on Augusta riflemen. Two companies, of a hundred men each, were speedily raised, one commanded by Charles Lewis and the other by Alexander McClanahan. John McClanahan, brother of Alexander, was one of the lieutenants.* These companies joined Bouquet at Fort Pitt, and early in October, the command, increased to 1,500 men, pro-

* As late as 1779, John McClanahan being then dead, his infant son was allowed two thousand acres of bounty land for his father's services in the expedition. The Virginia Assembly refused to make the usual appropriation of money for paying the men, and they were finally paid by Pennsylvania.

ceeded to the Ohio country. To the Augusta companies the places of honor were assigned, one of them going in advance and the other bringing up the rear. "The woodsmen of Virginia," says Parkman, "veteran hunters and Indian-fighters, were thrown far out in front and on either flank, scouring the forest to detect any sign of a lurking ambuscade." With the army went many persons who had lost wives, children and friends, to search the wilderness for the captives.

The Indians were effectually intimidated, and on November 9th, Bouquet concluded a treaty of peace with the Shawnees and Delawares, one of the stipulations being that all white people detained by the Indians should be given up. The Shawnees submitted sullenly to the terms. Captives in the near villages were surrendered at once, and promise was given of the restoration of others in the spring. A party of the Virginians obtained permission to go to remote Shawnee towns, in the hope of recovering captive relatives, and they returned to Fort Pitt during the winter, bringing nine persons, all children and old women. A hundred more captives were delivered at Fort Pitt in the spring of 1765. The whole number of white people recovered is said to have been two hundred and six. Of these, ninety were Virginians, thirty-two men and fifty-eight women and children.*

"The arrival of the lost ones," says Bancroft, "formed the lovliest scene ever witnessed in the wilderness. Mothers recognized their once lost babes; sisters and brothers, scarcely able to recover the accent of their native tongue, learned to know that they were children of the same parents.

"How does humanity abound in affections! Whom the Indians spared they loved. They had not taken the little ones and the captives into their wigwams without receiving them into their hearts, and adopting them into their tribes and families. To part with them now was anguish to the red men. As the English returned to Pittsburg, they followed to hunt for them and bring them provisions. A young Mingo would not be torn from a young woman of Virginia, whom he had taken as his wife. Some of the children who had been carried away young had learned to love their savage friends, and wept at leaving them. Some of the captives would not come of themselves, and were not brought away but in bonds. Some who were not permitted to remain, clung to their dusky lovers at parting; others more faithful still, invented means to escape, and fly back to their places in the wigwams of their chosen warriors."†

*The Indians east of the Mississippi were not in the habit of violating their female captives. It was otherwise with the western Indians.

†When the army, on its homeward march, reached the town of Carlisle, (Pa.) those who had been unable to follow the expedition came hither in

The story of one returned captive is too interesting to be omitted:

A little girl named Betsy Henry, while living with her family in Pennsylvania, was captured by Indians and taken west of the Ohio river, at what date is not known. Afterward her mother and brothers removed to Augusta county and settled on a farm near the present station of Spotswood, Valley Railroad. When the Henrys came to Augusta no one can tell. A William Henry was living in the county in 1750, when he became guardian of one James McCord. This is the earliest mention of the name Henry in the records of the county. James Henry resided here in 1759, and in that year conveyed 200 acres of land in Borden's tract to Robert Telford. There is no deed on record to show when he acquired the land.

Betsy Henry grew up amongst the Indians and, being treated kindly, became strongly attached to them. This was not uncommon. The Indians, although cruel in war, were not without some good traits, and certainly had the art of winning the love of their juvenile captives. This young girl, on arriving at womanhood, became the wife of a young chief of the Delawares who is said to have been a half-breed French and Indian. We have no particular account of him, but judging from such hints as have come down to us, he was probably an Indian of the same characteristics as Logan and Tecumseh.

At length the time arrived for Betsy Henry's return to civilized life. According to one version of the story, it was after the defeat of the Indians by Wayne, in 1794, that she came with her husband and others to Fort Pitt,—where, by treaty, all white prisoners were to be delivered up,—having lived with the Indians fourteen years. The time, however, must have been twenty-five or thirty years earlier than 1794, and probably was after Bouquet's treaty of 1764—possibly several years after, as some of the captives did not return till 1767. Whenever it was, James Henry, Betsy's brother, was at the rendezvous to

numbers, to inquire for the friends they had lost. Among the rest was an old woman, whose daughter had been carried off nine years before. In the crowd of female captives, she discovered one in whose wild and swarthy features she discovered the altered lineaments of her child; but the girl, who had almost forgotten her native tongue, returned no sign of recognition to her eager words, and the old woman bitterly complained that the daughter whom she had so often sung to sleep on her knees, had forgotten her in her old age. Bouquet suggested an expedient which proves him a man of feeling and perception. "Sing the song that you used to sing to her when a child." The old woman obeyed; and a sudden start, a look of bewilderment, and a passionate flood of tears, removed every doubt, and restored the long-lost daughter to her mother's arms.—Parkman's *Conspiracy of Pontiac.*

meet her. She refused to leave her Indian associates. Her brother, however, represented that her mother could not die in peace without seeing her, and she finally consented to come on a visit, he promising to take her back. One tradition is that she brought with her a female child six weeks old ; another, that the child was born soon after her return.

James Henry did not comply with his promise, if he made one, and the unfortunate woman grieved till she died. Her husband had not forgotten her. The attachment between them is said to have been mutual and ardent. As she did not return to him, he came in search of her to escort her back to her wilderness home. But her brothers detained her, and the chief left with the declared intention of resigning the office he held in his tribe and returning to reside among the whites. An Indian could give no stronger proof of attachment to his wife. He was not heard of afterwards, and it was suspected that his wife's brothers pursued and killed him. If they did we should not judge their act by our present standard. The dreadful Indian wars had just ended, during which every white man had learned to regard the Indians as foes to be ruthlessly exterminated like wild beasts. When, therefore, the question seemed to be whether a sister or an Indian should be sacrificed, it is not surprising that the latter alternative was chosen.

The child of Betsy Henry, called Sally Henry, was reared by her uncle James. She became the wife of William Alexander, son of the William Alexander who died in 1829, and grandson of Robert Alexander, the first classical teacher in the Valley. William Alexander and Sally Henry were married by the Rev. John Brown, November 23, 1793, as shown by the public register of marriages, and of course, therefore, the return of Betsy Henry with her infant was much earlier than 1794. Many of the descendants of William and Sally Henry Alexander are among the most respectable people of the Valley and elsewhere.

Mrs. Renix,* who was captured on Jackson's river, in 1761, (or 1757,) was not restored to her home till the year 1767. In pursuance of the terms of Bouquet's treaty, she was brought to Staunton in the year last mentioned. Her daughter died on the Miami ; two of her sons, William and Robert, returned with her ; her son, Joshua, remained with the Indians and became a chief of the Miamis. He took an Indian wife, amassed a considerable fortune, and died near Detroit in 1810, according to one account.

*So written by Withers and others, but properly Renick.

According to Dr. Draper, however, he died in 1784.—It is said that towards the close of the Revolutionary war he visited his relatives in Greenbrier, but refused all their solicitations to remain among them. He left two sons, James and John. James, when a boy, was captured by Gen. Benjamin Logan, taken to Kentucky, and being treated kindly assumed the name of Logan. He was taught to write, and carved his initials, J. L., on many trees in Ohio, after his return there. He was killed in a fight with a party of British Indians, on the banks of the Maumee, in November, 1812.

The County Court of Augusta did not meet in October, 1764. At April court, 1765, a vast number of military claims were ordered to be certified—for provisions furnished to the militia, for horses pressed into service, etc. William Christian, William McKamy and others presented claims "for ranging," and Andrew Cowan "for enlisting men to garrison Fort Nelson." The orders are curt and unsatisfactory, giving no clue as to when and where the services were performed.

Almost every neighborhood in the county has traditions in regard to Indian inroads, but all are vague and uncertain as to dates and circumstances. It is related that at one time the Indians came into the Churchville neighborhood, and carried off a boy named McNeer, who lived on Middle river, at the mouth of Jennings' branch. This boy was taken to Georgia, it is said, and lived and died with the Indians, visiting, however, his relations in Augusta repeatedly. A man named Clendenin, who lived near Shutterlee's mill, was shot in the shoulder by an Indian lurking in the tall weeds on the bank of the river, at some time now unknown. The Anderson farm, near Shutterlee's, is known as the "Burnt Cabin place," from the fact that a cabin which stood there was burnt by Indians.

The story of Selim, "the converted Algerine," falls in here; at least it may be related here as well as elsewhere. It belongs in great part to Augusta county.—For the earlier part of the narrative we are indebted to the Rev. David Rice, a Presbyterian minister who removed from Virginia to Kentucky before the year 1800. Bishop Meade collected the latter part, and preserved the whole in his work called "Old Churches," etc.

About the close of the war between France and England, called in Virginia "Braddock's War" (probably 1759 or 1760), a man named Samuel Givens, an inhabitant of Augusta county, went into the backwoods of the settlement to hunt. He took with him several horses to bring home his meat and skins. As he was one day ranging the woods in search of game, he saw in the top of a fallen tree an

animal, which he supposed to be some kind of wild beast. He was about to shoot it, but discovered in time that it was a human being. Going up, he found a man in a pitiable condition—emaciated, evidently famishing, entirely naked except a few rags tied round his feet, and his body almost covered with scabs. The man could not speak English, and Givens knew no other language. He, however, supplied the forlorn creature with food, and when he had acquired sufficient strength, after several days, mounted him on one of his horses and took him to Captain Dickinson's, near the Windy Cove. There he was entertained for some months, during which the stranger acquired sufficient knowledge of English to communicate with the hospitable people into whose hands he had fallen.

He stated that his name was Selim, a native of Algiers, in Africa, and the son of a wealthy man ; that he had been educated in Constantinople, and while returning to Algiers the ship he was aboard of was captured by a Spanish man-of-war. Spain was then in alliance with France, and the Spanish ship falling in with a French vessel, Selim was transferred to the latter and taken to New Orleans. After some time he was sent up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers to the Shawnee towns, and left a prisoner with the Indians. A white woman captured on the frontiers of Virginia, was held as a prisoner by the Indians at the same time, and from her Selim learned by signs that she came from the east. He was sufficiently acquainted with geography to know that the English had settlements on the eastern shore of the continent, and inferred that the woman came from one of them. He thereupon resolved to escape, and constantly keeping to the rising sun finally reached the border settlement of Augusta county, in the plight mentioned.

On a court day, Captain Dickinson brought Selim with him to Staunton, where he attracted much attention. Among the throng of people was the Rev. John Craig, who immediately riveted the attention of the Algerine. The latter afterwards explained that in a dream a person like Mr. Craig had appeared to him as a teacher or guide, able to impart valuable instruction. He expressed a desire to accompany Mr. Craig to his home, and was kindly taken there. The minister of course sought to impart to the Mohammedan stranger the truths of the Christian religion, and his efforts were aided by Selim's knowledge of the Greek language, being thus able to read the New Testament in the original tongue. He soon professed conversion, and Mr. Craig, being satisfied of his intelligence and sincerity, publicly baptized him in the Old Stone church. He was afterwards seized with a desire to return to his native land, and his new friends could not dis-

suade him from it. Mr. Craig therefore raised a sum of money for him, and giving him a letter to the Hon. Robert Carter, of Westmoreland county, then living in Williamsburg, sent him on his way. Mr. Carter did all that was asked of him, furnishing more money to Selim, and securing for him passage to England.

Some time after this Selim returned to Virginia in a state of insanity. In lucid intervals he stated that he had found his way home, but had been rejected and driven off by his father when he learned that the son had abjured Mohammedanism and become a Christian. He came again to Captain Dickinson's, and from thence wandered to the Warm Springs, where he met a young clergyman named Templeton, who put a Greek Testament in his hands, which he read with great delight. From the Warm Springs he went to Mr. Carter's residence in Westmoreland. He awakened the sympathy of all who knew him. Governor Page, while a member of Congress at Philadelphia, took him to that city, and had his likeness taken by the artist Peale. From Philadelphia he went home with a South Carolina gentleman. He was also once, or oftener, in Prince Edward county, where he learned to sing Watts' hymns. For a time he was confined in the Lunatic Asylum at Williamsburg, but he finally died in a private house, where and at what time are not mentioned.

The November term, 1764, of the County Court of Augusta was a very busy one. It began on the 20th and continued five days. The proceedings cover seventy-six folio pages. At this term, Silas Hart qualified as high sheriff, and Dabney Carr, of Albemarle, as attorney-at-law. The estates of John Trimble and Alexander Crawford, both of whom had been killed by Indians in October preceding, were committed to their respective administrators. William Fleming, Sampson Mathews, George Skillern, Alexander McClanahan and Benjamin Estill were recommended for appointment as justices of the peace.

Among the orders we find the following: "Jacob Peterson having produced a certificate of his having received the Sacrament, and having taken the usual oaths to his Majesty's person and government, subscribed the abjuration oath and test, which is, on his motion, ordered to be certified, in order to his obtaining Letters of Naturalization."

The clerk who wrote the orders sometimes set the rules of grammar and spelling at defiance, as witness the following, which we copy literally:

"On complaint of Patrick Lacey, setting forth that his master, William Snoden, doth not provide cloaths for him, nor will Imploy him as his servant: It is ordered that the said Snoden be summoned to

appear here the next Court, to answer the said complaint; and it is further ordered that the Church-wardens provide him Necessary Cloaths and that they in the meantime hire him out to such persons that may think proper to Imploy him."

Patrick was no doubt a white "indented servant." His complaint came up at March court, 1765, and was dismissed, very likely to the relief of the master, who thus escaped being clothed and hired out by the church-wardens, as the order required *he* should be.

Another order of November term, 1764, is equally curious: "Ordered that the church-wardens of Augusta Parish bind Michael Eagin of the age of nine years in September last, son of Patrick Eagin, to John Patrick, the father of the said Michael having runaway according to law."

THE CRAWFORDS.

Alexander and Patrick Crawford, brothers, were among the earliest settlers in Augusta county. They are presumed to have been natives of the north of Ireland, like most of their cotemporaries in the county, but nothing can be learned about their early history. The descendants of both say there was a third brother who also came to the Valley, but whose name they do not know. It may be that this third brother was the grand-father of William H. Crawford of Georgia, whose father, Joel Crawford, removed from Nelson county, Virginia, to South Carolina, in 1779.

Alexander Crawford, the older of the two, married Mary McPheeters, but whether in Ireland or America is not known. It is related that he was ambitious to be the founder of "a clan," such as we read of in Scottish history, and impressed it upon his children that they must respect the right of primogeniture then existing by law. His oldest son, William, did not approve of the scheme, and thus his father's wishes were defeated. The latter was a skilled worker in iron.

The children of Alexander and Mary Crawford were—

I. William Crawford, who is named first in every list. In an old grave-yard, on a high hill overlooking Middle river, on the farm of the late Ephraim Geeding, is an ancient sand-stone, flat on the ground and broken in two. The inscription upon it, which is nearly illegible, is as follows:

"Wm. Crawford, departed this life October 15, 1792, aged 48 years."

He was therefore twenty years old when his parents were massacred. His will was proved in court at December term, 1792. In it he mentions his wife, Rachel, and his children, Alexander, James, John, William, George, Polly, Nancy, Jenny and Rachel. He also alludes

to James Elliott as a neighboring land-owner, and from this person, probably, the highest point of the Great North Mountain was named.

II. Edward Crawford, second son of Alexander and Mary, graduated at Princeton College in 1775, and was licensed as a preacher in 1777. He was a member of Lexington Presbytery at its organization, September 26, 1786, and was appointed to preach for a month in Tygart's Valley and Harrison county. At the meetings of Presbytery, in April and September, 1792, at Lexington and Harrisonburg, respectively, he was the Moderator. Subsequently, he became a member of Abingdon Presbytery, living in Southwest Virginia or East Tennessee.

III. John Crawford, third son of Alexander and Mary, was married three times successively. His first wife was Peggy, eldest daughter of his uncle, Patrick Crawford, by whom he had one daughter, who married Daniel Falls and went to Ohio. His second wife was Mary Craig, by whom he had a son, Samuel, and five daughters. Samuel went to Illinois, and is said to have had sixteen children. Nothing is known of the five daughters, except that one of them, Polly, was the wife of the Rev. Samuel Gillespie of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The third wife of John Crawford was Sally Newman of Fredericksburg, and she had five children who lived to maturity: James, William and John, all of whom emigrated to Missouri, about 1838; a daughter, Nancy, wife of LeRoy Newman, her first cousin; and another, Fanny, wife of Henry Rippetoe, who still survives, (1888.)

John Crawford was a man of great energy and activity. It is said that he was engaged in all the expeditions of his day against the Indians, including Point Pleasant. He was a soldier during the whole Revolutionary war, and when not in the field was employed in making guns and other weapons, having acquired his father's skill as an ironworker. The day after the battle of the Cowpens, in which he participated, he was promoted from the ranks to a first lieutenancy on account of his gallantry in that celebrated battle. He was also at Guilford, and with General Greene in all his southern campaign. Yet he never would accept pension or bounty lands.

Like his father, however, John Crawford was desirous of acquiring a large landed estate, and there was a brisk competition between him and his neighbor, Francis Gardiner (pronounced by the old people "Francie Garner") as to the ownership of the Little North Mountain range. As related, each discovered about the same time that a certain tract of a hundred acres had not been patented, and both sought to acquire it. Gardiner got ahead of Crawford by starting to Richmond first, but the latter mounted a blooded mare and never rested till he reached the capital, passing his rival on the way. Crawford emerged from the land office with his title complete, and met Gardiner at the door going in. The mare, which was no doubt worth much more than the land, died from the effects of the trip.

It is a pity to spoil a good story by suggesting a doubt in reference to it, but it must be mentioned that such a trip to Richmond could hardly have been necessary in order to obtain title to vacant land, as the county surveyor was authorized to make the entry. Nevertheless, the main portions of the story are well authenticated.

The rivalry between the two neighbors waxed hot, and meeting one day while prospecting on the mountain, they became engaged in a fight, of which one or both, no doubt, duly repented.

John Crawford died at his home on Buffalo branch, in January, 1832, and was buried in Hebron church-yard. His tombstone gives his age as ninety-one years, and, if correctly, he was the oldest son of Alexander and Mary, instead of the third.

IV. James Crawford, fourth son of Alexander and Mary, became a Presbyterian minister, and was licensed to preach in 1779. He removed to Kentucky, and was for many years pastor of Walnut Hill church, near Lexington. In 1792 he was a member of the convention which framed the first constitution of Kentucky.

V. Alexander Crawford, fifth child of Alexander and Mary, was at the battle of Point Pleasant. His first wife was a Miss Hopkins, and his second a Mrs. McClure. The children of the first wife were Polly, Betsy, Kitty and Sally ; and of the second, James E., William, George, Samuel and Robert. He lived on Walker's creek, Rockbridge, and was for many years an elder in New Providence church. His death occurred June 19, 1830. Three of his sons,—William, George and Samuel,—died young. Robert lived and died on his father's homestead in Rockbridge. A grandson of his, Rev. Alexander Crawford, is now (1888) pastor of a church at Campbellsville, Kentucky. James E. Crawford spent the latter years of his life in the Great Calf Pasture, Augusta. His children are Baxter Crawford and others.

Other children of Alexander and Mary Crawford were, 6. Rebecca, wife of John Sawyers ; 7. Bettie ; 8. Samuel ; 9. Robert ; 10. Martha, who married Alexander Craig of the Little Calf Pasture; and 11. Mary.

Patrick Crawford lived on the farm lying on Middle river, east of the macadamized turnpike, now owned by his descendant, John H. Crawford. His wife was Sally Wilson. They had nine children,—four sons and five daughters. In 1756, Patrick Crawford was a member of Captain James Allen's company of militia, and at a court-martial held September 2, 1757, he was fined for not appearing at a general muster. His will was proved in the County Court, December 18, 1787, and his personal estate, including slaves, amounted to £2,462, 3s, 7d, about $8,216.

In regard to several of his daughters, much confusion and uncertainty exists. Elizabeth, the oldest child, and wife of Alexander Robinson, is said to have been born October 18, 1751, although the Rev. John Craig baptized Martha, daughter of Patrick Crawford, in November, 1748. The probability is that this child, Martha, died in infancy and that another born later was called by the same name. The next daughter, Margaret, or Peggy, was the first wife of her cousin, John Crawford, of North Mountain. One daughter is said to have married a McChesney,—her father refers in his will to his grandson, George McChesney. Another daughter, Sarah, married Robert Crawford. Martha, born May 10, 1761, was the second wife of Colonel Andrew

Anderson; Mary, or Polly, the youngest daughter, was the wife of James Crawford, who will be mentioned hereafter.

The sons of Patrick and Sally Crawford were:

I. George Crawford, to whom his father left the plantation on which he resided. He was born October 1, 1754, and married Nancy Winter. Mrs. Crawford's parents were William and Ann Boone Winter, the latter an aunt of Daniel Boone. Elizabeth Winter, a sister of Mrs. Crawford, married Abraham Lincoln, the grandfather of President Lincoln; and Hannah Winter, another sister, married Henry Miller, the founder of Miller's Iron Works, on Mossy Creek, Augusta county. It may be mentioned that the grandfather of President Lincoln, then living in the part of Augusta county which is now Rockingham, attended a court-martial at Staunton, March 13, 1776, as captain of a militia company. His name was written "Abraham Linkhorn."

All the children of George and Nancy Crawford were daughters, viz: 1. Nancy, wife of John Miller; 2. Hannah, wife of Harry Miller; 3. Sally, second wife of James Bell, died childless; 4. Jane, first wife of Franklin McCue; 5. Martha, wife of Peter Hanger; 6. Polly, wife of James Bourland; 7. Rebecca, died unmarried; and 8. Margaret, wife of James Walker, died childless.

II. John Crawford, second son of Patrick and Sally and known as Major John Crawford, was born March 29, 1764. His wife was Rebecca Allen, daughter of Captain James Allen, and his children were: 1. Elizabeth, wife of Captain William Ingles; 2. Sally, wife of John Hyde; 3. Margaret, first wife of Cyrus Hyde; 4. James, known as Major James Crawford, married Cynthia McClung, of Greenbrier, whose son, John H., owns the Patrick Crawford farm; 5. John, married Harriet McClung, of Greenbrier; 6. George W., died unmarried; 7. Ann, or Nancy, second wife of Franklin McCue; 8. Mary, wife of Dr. Edward G. Moorman; and 9. Rebecca, wife of Stuart McClung, of Greenbrier.

III. William Crawford, son of Patrick and Sally, was born August 6, 1767. His wife was Nancy Smith. He lived in Rockingham, and was the father of the late Benjamin Crawford, of Staunton, William Crawford, of Fort Defiance, and others.

IV. James Crawford, twin brother of William, died unmarried.

The James Crawford who married Mary, daughter of Patrick Crawford, died in 1798, leaving to survive him his widow and six children. A seventh child was born after her father's death. His sons were George, William, James and John; and his daughters, Sarah, Elizabeth and Polly. George died unmarried and under age; William also died unmarried, as did James, who was known as "Jocky Jim Crawford;" John married Margaret Bell, daughter of Major William Bell, and died in 1819, without issue; Sarah Crawford married Charles McClung, Elizabeth married Colonel Samuel McClung, and Polly, (the posthumous child), was the first wife of John Allen.

We have found it impossible to obtain any satisfactory account of the parentage of the late Colonel James Crawford or of his relationship with the Patrick Crawford family. His father, said to have been

named John, died while a young man, leaving two children,—James and Samuel. These boys were reared by a paternal uncle called "Robin," who removed to Kentucky. James Crawford, recently mentioned, who died in 1798, is said to have been a brother of John and Robin. Colonel Crawford was a lawyer in Staunton for many years. After retiring from the bar to his farm, he was an efficient justice of the peace, president of the county court, etc., etc. His first wife was a sister of Erasmus Stribling, and his second, the widow of his cousin, John Crawford. Captain Samuel Crawford, brother of James, was the Lieutenant Crawford of the war of 1812. His wife was a daughter of the Rev. William Wilson.

THE FLOYDS.

The first Floyds in America were two brothers who came from Wales to Accomac county, Virginia. William Floyd, a son of one of these brothers, married Abilcah Davis, of Amherst county, who was of Indian descent. John Floyd, a son of this couple, was born about 1750. At about eighteen years of age he married a Miss Burwell, or Buford, who was fourteen years old, and died in twelve months. Soon after his wife's death young Floyd went to the new county of Botetourt and engaged in teaching school. When not thus engaged he wrote in the office of Col. William Preston, the County Surveyor, and acted as deputy for Col. William Christian, the High Sheriff. He lived with Col Preston at Smithfield till 1773, then in Fincastle county. Col. Preston was surveyor of Fincastle, which embraced all of Kentucky, and, in 1775, appointed Floyd one of his deputies and sent him to survey lands on the Ohio river. Returning to Smithfield, Floyd formed a matrimonial engagement with Jane Buchanan, daughter of Col. John Buchanan, grand-daughter of Col. James Patton, and second cousin of Col. Preston. After the Declaration of Independence, several gentlemen, including Dr. Thomas Walker, Edmund Pendleton, and Colonel Preston, purchased a schooner, had it fitted out as a privateer called the Phœnix, and gave the command to Floyd. The schooner started on a cruise to the West Indies, and soon captured a merchantman with a rich cargo. Thinking his fortune made, Floyd retraced his course, and when about in sight of the capes of Virginia, was overhauled and captured by a British man-of-war. He was taken to England in irons and confined in prison nearly a year. The jailor's daughter obtained the keys and let him out. Begging his way to Dover he found a clergyman, who as his habit was in such cases, concealed him and procured a passage for him to France. The French people gave him bread and grapes, and Dr. Franklin, at Paris, furnished him means to return to America.

Floyd arrived at Smithfield to the surprise and joy of his friends, just after Miss Buchanan had agreed to marry Col. Robert Sayers; but she broke off that engagement and married Floyd in November,

1778. About 1779, Floyd and his wife went to Kentucky and settled there.

On the 12th of April, 1783, while John Floyd, his brother Charles, and Alexander Breckinridge were returning from Salt River to Floyd's Station, they were attacked by a party of Indians, and Floyd was shot and mortally wounded. His brother leaped on his horse behind him, and supported him in his arms till they reached a house. He died the next day, leaving two sons and a daughter. Just twelve days after his death, a third son was born, whom his mother called John, after his father.

The second John Floyd was born near Louisville, Kentucky, April 24, 1783, as stated. He came to Virginia when he was twenty-one years of age, studied medicine, married Letitia Preston, daughter of Col. William Preston, (to whose narrative we are indebted for these facts,) served in the Legislature and Congress, was Governor from 1829 to 1834, and died in 1837. John Buchanan Floyd, also Governor, etc., was a son of the first Governor Floyd. Their home was in Washington county.

The widow of the first John Floyd married Alexander Breckinridge, and became the mother of James D. Breckinridge and other sons.

The McKees.

Ten or eleven brothers named McKee came from Ireland to America in 1738, and settled near Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Three of these,—Robert, William and John,—came to Augusta county, but at what date is uncertain. Their descendants state that it was about 1760, but the records of the county show that John McKee purchased a tract of land in the forks of James river, on August 16, 1752.

I. Robert McKee died June 11, 1774, aged eighty-two years, and his wife, Agnes, January 29, 1780, aged eighty-four. They had two sons, William and John.

1. William McKee, son of Robert and Agnes, was born in 1732, and, probably while living in Pennsylvania, was, with his father, at Braddock's defeat. He married his first cousin, Miriam, daughter of John McKee, Sr. His residence was a few miles west of Lexington, and the farm is now (1892) owned by descendants of the Rev. Dr. Baxter. It is said that he was at the battle of Point Pleasant, and if so, probably belonged to Colonel Fleming's Botetourt regiment. He represented Rockbridge repeatedly in the Legislature, and in 1788 was the colleague of General Andrew Moore in the State Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution. He was also one of the first trustees of Liberty Hall Academy. In 1796 he removed to Kentucky, and died there in 1816. He was known in Virginia as Colonel McKee.

Samuel McKee, the fifth son of Colonel William McKee, was born in 1774. He was a member of Congress from Kentucky from 1809 to 1817, a State judge, and also Judge of the United States district court. His sons were Colonel William R. McKee, who was killed at the battle of Buena Vista in February, 1847; Judge George R. McKee, and Dr. Alexander R. McKee. Lieutenant Hugh W. McKee, of the United States Navy, a son of Colonel William R., was killed May 11, 1871, in a fight between the men of several war steamers and the Coreans, of Southeastern Asia.

James McKee, the thirteenth son of Colonel William McKee, was the father of the Rev. Dr. J. L. McKee, Vice-President of Centre College, Kentucky.

2. John McKee, the other son of Robert and Agnes, married Esther Houston, aunt of General Sam Houston. A son of his, also named John, was a member of Congress from Tennessee, and one of the first United States Senators from Alabama.

II. William McKee, the pioneer, died in Virginia. His family moved to Kentucky about 1788–'90, and most of his descendants live in that State.

III. John McKee, the youngest of the three brothers who came to the Valley, lived on Kerr's creek, now Rockbridge. His wife was Jane Logan, and was killed by Indians, as heretofore related. He married a second time, as appears from a deed executed March 14, 1774, by "John McKee and Rosanna, his wife, of Kerr's creek, Augusta county," conveying two hundred and eighty-one acres of land, part in Augusta and part in Botetourt, Rockbridge not having been formed at that time. He died March 2, 1792, aged eighty-four. Several of his eight children went to Kentucky, others remaining in Virginia. His descendants are numerous.

The Rev. Samuel Brown, in his account of the murder of Jane Logan McKee, says: "She besought her husband to leave her to her fate, and make his own escape, if possible. This he refused to do; when she appealed to him for the sake of their children to leave her. If he stayed, being unarmed, they would both be killed; but if he escaped, their young children would still have a protector. Can we conceive of a more trying condition for a husband?"

Major George W. McKee, U. S. A., in his account of the McKee family, printed in 1890, vindicates John McKee from the charge of abandoning his wife as related, while he acquits Mr. Brown of any intention to misrepresent. He publishes other traditions in regard to the matter, which give a different version of the story. The family account of the death of Mrs. McKee is that she was "milking cows some little distance from the house and, when she discovered the Indians, gave the alarm in time to have her house closed, then fled in an opposite direction and jumped into a sinkhole. The Indians, who were in pursuit, overtook and tomahawked and scalped her. She lived, however, about two hours and was found and carried into her house before she expired."

Another version of the story, given by an aged citizen of Kerr's Creek, is as follows :

"When John McKee first discovered the Indians approaching, he and his wife, followed by their dog, left their house and endeavored to reach a thickly wooded hill near by. They had not gone far before Jane McKee, who was in a delicate condition and soon to become a mother, became exhausted and begged her husband to leave her to her fate and make his own escape. This he refused to do. Seeing, however, near them a sink-hole surrounded by an almost impenetrable thicket of privet and briar bushes, in a hollow in the field, out of view of the Indians, he placed his wife in this and started to give the alarm to the other settlers down the creek. The Indians were about to abandon the pursuit, when one of them, attracted by the barking of the dog, which had remained with her, discovered Jane McKee's hiding place. She was scalped and left for dead."

Henry Bouquet was a native of Switzerland. He entered the military service of Great Britain, as colonel, in 1756, was made a Brigadier General in 1765, and died at Pensacola, Florida, in 1766.

CHAPTER VIII.

TEN YEARS OF PEACE.

From 1764, for about ten years, no war or rumor of war disturbed the inhabitants of Augusta. They appear to have pursued the even tenor of their way in comparative security. On court days Staunton was doubtless crowded with people. Litigation was brisk ; the number of causes tried in the county court exceeded anything known in modern times. Hunting or trapping wolves was one of the most important industries. Every year the court granted certificates for hundreds of wolf heads, and for more or less winter-rotted hemp, for which also the law offered a bounty.

The last hostile inroad by Indians into the Valley occurred, it is said, in 1766.* We mention it because it was the last, although it did not occur in Augusta. A party of eight Indians and a white man crossed Powell's Fort mountain to the south fork of the Shenandoah river, now Page county. They killed the Rev. John Roads, a Mennonist minister, his wife and three sons. A daughter, named Elizabeth, caught up an infant sister and escaped by hiding first in a barn and then in a field of hemp. Two boys and two girls were taken off as prisoners, but one of the boys and both girls were killed while crossing Powell's Fort mountain. The other boy returned home after three years. The place where one of the lads was killed while endeavoring to escape is still called Bloody Ford.

At a court martial held by the militia officers of the county April 11, 1766, Lieutenant Michael Bowyer was fined for appearing at the general muster on the 10th without a sword.

From the proceedings of the vestry of Augusta parish, and also from *Hening's Statutes at Large*, it appears that in 1752 an act was passed by the Assembly at Williamsburg on the petition of Mr. Jones, the rector, increasing his salary from £50 to £100. This act was repealed by proclamation of the king in 1762, and the rector's salary stood as before, at £50 a year. But until 1765 payment had been

* We give the date as stated by Kercheval, but feel quite sure that it is not correct. Bouquet concluded a treaty with the Indians in 1764, and it is not probable that the massacre mentioned was perpetrated nearly two years afterwards during a time of peace. Most likely it occurred in August, 1764.

made at the rate of £100, and the vestry then refusing to pay more than the £50, Mr. Jones threatened to bring suit. At the meeting of October 21, 1765, it was ordered that Sampson Mathews "get of Mr. Gabriel Jones a fair state of the case," to be laid "before Mr. Attorney and Mr. [Benjamin] Waller and get their opinion thereon." The "Mr. Attorney" referred to was Peyton Randolph, Attorney-General of the colony. Mr. Waller was a distinguished lawyer of Williamsburg. The opinion of Messrs. Randolph and Waller was laid before the vestry by Mr. Mathews, November 22, 1766, and it was ordered that each be paid £2 therefor. They advised that Mr. Jones' salary was only £50, and there the matter rested.

The trustees to purchase land for a poor-house, reported in November, 1766, that they had purchased a hundred acres on the waters of Christian's creek, from Sampson and George Mathews, for £40. A year later Daniel Perse and his wife were appointed keepers of the poor-house, on a salary of £35.

In November, 1767, a minute was entered in the vestry book, that all the members then present had subscribed a declaration "to be conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England." At a subsequent meeting, several members entered their protest against the signing of the proceedings by Israel Christian and (Mr.) John Buchanan, they having refused to sign the declaration.

On laying the parish levy, November 21, 1769, the Rev. Mr. Jones was allowed, by agreement, a salary of £150. At the same meeting William Bowyer was elected a vestryman in place of Colonel John Buchanan, deceased, Thomas Madison was chosen in place of Captain Israel Christian, and Captain Peter Hogg in place of Major Robert Breckinridge, "the said Breckinridge and Christian having refused subscribing to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England."

On the 22d of November, 1769, it was entered of record by the vestry, that the Rev. John Jones, being incapacitated by age and infirmity, consented "to accept of fifty pounds and perquisites in full of his salary for ensuing year, and to allow the residue levied for him by agreement to hire a curate to officiate in his stead."

No other meeting of vestry was held till November 22, 1771. This fact is not explained in the vestry book, but we find from an act of Assembly, published in Hening (Vol. VIII, page 438), why it was. This act, passed at the session which began in November, 1769, declares that a majority of the vestry of Augusta parish, being dissenters from the Church of England, the vestry is dissolved, and that an election of vestrymen be held on the 20th of September, 1770,

the freeholders elected being required, before serving, to take and subscribe in court the oaths perscribed by law, to take and subscribe the oath of abjuration, to repeat and subscribe the test, and also to subscribe the declaration to be conformable, etc. Oaths and declarations were never so piled up, till immediately after the late war the Federal Government waked up to the immense efficiency of such things. But surely one would think there was ample time, after the passage of the act referred to, and before the 20th of September, for the sheriff of Augusta to give the required notice and hold the election ordered. The sheriff, however, did not think so, and probably the people were not unwilling to try the experiment of getting along without any vestry and parish levies. So it was for two years there was no meeting, because there were no vestrymen authorized to meet, and all parish officers and creditors, including Mr. Jones, the rector, had to do without their pay. This state of affairs was reported to the Assembly, and in July, 1771, another act was passed to correct the matter. Some apology for the failure of the election in 1769 was necessary, and therefore the act recites that, "owing to the remote situation" of Augusta county, the sheriff did not have notice of the act of 1769 in time to hold the election. He was, however, ordered to proceed, on the 1st of October, 1771, to have twelve freeholders duly elected as vestrymen, who were peremptorily required to swear and subscribe as directed by the former act. This election was duly held, and Augusta parish being again equipped with a full complement of public officers, taxes were levied, and the rector, sexton, etc., received their salaries as before.

The first division of the territory of Augusta county was made in 1769, when an act was passed creating the county of Botetourt. The new county embraced a part of the present county of Rockbridge—the North river, near Lexington, being the boundary line between Augusta and Botetourt—and also part of Alleghany and Bath, and all of Greenbrier, Monroe, etc.

The first County Court of Botetourt was held February 14, 1770, the justices commissioned being Andrew Lewis, Robert Breckinridge, William Preston, Israel Christian, James Trimble, John Bowyer, Benjamin Hawkins, William Fleming, John Maxwell and George Skillern. The five justices first named were on the bench and constituted the court. John May having been appointed clerk by the proper authority at Williamsburg, was duly qualified. In like manner, Richard Woods was appointed and qualified as sheriff. James McDowell and James McGavock qualified as under sheriffs. The following attorneys were admitted to practice in the court: Edmund

Winston, John Aylett, Luke Bowyer and Thomas Madison. William Preston qualified as county surveyor, coroner, escheator and colonel of militia, Robert Breckinridge as lieutenant-colonel, and Andrew Lewis as a coroner. On the third day of the term, additional justices were recommended to the Governor for appointment, viz: William Ingles, John Howard, Philip Love, James Robertson, William Christian, William Herbert, John Montgomery, Stephen Trigg, Robert Dodge, Walter Crockett, James McGavock, Francis Smith, Andrew Woods, William Mathews, John Bowman, William McKee and Anthony Bledsoe.

William Preston, Israel Christian and Robert Breckinridge removed to the "upper country" some time after 1761. In that year they resided at Staunton, and were members of the first board of trustees appointed for that town.

The county of Botetourt was named in honor of Norborne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt, who was Governor of Virginia in 1768. Israel Christian made a present of forty acres of land to the justices for the use of the county, and the town of Fincastle was built thereon. This town was established by law in 1772, and called after Lord Botetourt's country seat in England.*

The new vestry of Augusta parish met November 22, 1771, and ordered that the collector for 1769 pay to Mr. Jones one hundred pounds "which was then levied for a curate, as none such has been employed."

In March, 1772, it was "ordered that Mr. William Bowyer employ a curate for this parish to supply the curacy of the same as directed by the present rector." From subsequent proceedings, it appears that the Rev. Adam Smith was the curate employed for a few months. In 1783 he was the rector of Botetourt parish.

In November, 1772, Thomas Mathews was allowed £2 as sexton for one year. A reader "at the Dutch meeting near Picket mountain" was allowed £5, and the "clerk of the church, if one he got" £6.

*In 1772, Botetourt was reduced by the formation of Fincastle county, which embraced all southwest Virginia and also Kentucky. Fincastle, however, existed for only a few years. In 1776, its territory was divided into the three counties of Montgomery, Washington and Kentucky. During its short existence, its county seat was at Fort Chiswell, now in Wythe county. This fort was built in 1758 by the colonial government, and named for Colonel John Chiswell, who owned and worked the New River lead mines. Chiswell died in the jail of Cumberland county, while awaiting trial for murder, having killed his antagonist in a personal encounter. The property subsequently fell into the hands of Moses Austin, father of Stephen F. Austin, famous in Texan history.—[Hale's *Trans-Alleghany Pioneers.*

In August, 1773, the Rev. Adam Smith, late curate, was allowed £41, 13s. 4d. for officiating five months. William Bowyer, who had previously objected to paying Mr. Jones anything, on the ground that he was incapacitated, now objected to the deduction from Mr. Smith's pay as ungenerous. Michael Bowyer suggested that Mr. Smith might make up the lost time.*

At the meeting, November 9, 1773, the Rev. John Jones agreed to receive the Rev. Alexander Balmaine as curate and to pay him at the rate of £100 a year, directing his attorney, Robert McClanahan, to pay the same out of his salary. The vestry ratified this arrangement November 18th, but ordered that the collector make payment of the £100 directly to Mr. Balmaine.

Mr. Jones appeared no more at meetings of the vestry. He had evidently become imbecile, and his business affairs were transacted by his attorney-in-fact, Robert McClanahan. But we imagine that his young and talented curate created quite a sensation in the parish on his appearance here.

Mr. Balmaine, says Bishop Meade, was born near Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1740, and educated at St. Andrew's with a view to the Presbyterian ministry. He and his brother, a lawyer, at an early day espoused the cause of the American colonies and, in consequence, found it necessary to leave Scotland. They went to London, and there became acquainted with Arthur Lee, agent of Virginia, who recommended Mr. Balmaine as a private tutor to Richard Henry Lee. While waiting in London he took orders in the Church of England, and after arriving in Virginia, became curate to Mr. Jones. During his service in this capacity, he paid several visits to the Episcopalians at Pittsburg, which was regarded as within his parish. At the beginning of the Revolutionary war, he entered the army as chaplain, and at the close became rector of Frederick parish, residing at Winchester for thirty years, till his death.

* Mr. Smith became rector of Botetourt parish in 1773. He came from Ireland to America on account of some family misfortunes, leaving his wife and children behind, but his youngest child, a boy, afterwards joined him. On December 26, 1781, he applied to Governor Harrison for leave to go to Ireland for his two daughters, his wife being dead. Col. Fleming wrote to the Governor in Mr. Smith's behalf, testifying to his loyalty, etc. He wrote his name Smyth. It is presumed that Gen. Alexander Smyth is the son alluded to. He was born in Ruthlin, Ireland, in 1765, and came to America in 1775, started as a lawyer at Abingdon in 1789, but settled permanently in Wythe county in 1792. In 1808, President Jefferson appointed him colonel of a regiment in the U. S. army, and in 1812 he was appointed Inspector General. Failing in an invasion of Canada, his commission was revoked. He was a member of Congress many years, from 1817 to 1830. Smyth county was called for him.

At the meeting of vestry, November 18, 1773, it was determined to build a chapel in the neighborhood of Cook's creek, now Rockingham. In November, 1774, we find those sturdy Scotch-Irishmen, Alexander St. Clair and John Hays, elected members of the vestry, and, more surprising still, John Lyle and John Grattan were elected church-wardens.

From an account filed in the suit of Patrick Coutts' administrator against William Bowyer, we learn what products of Augusta county were articles of export from 1766 to 1775. Coutts was a merchant in Richmond, and Bowyer a merchant in Staunton. The principal articles sent by Bowyer to Richmond were hemp, butter, beeswax, ginseng, cheese and deer skins. In 1770, 755 deer skins and 4 elk skins were forwarded; and in 1774, 332 of the latter, worth in Richmond £104, 18s, or $348.66⅔. Only thirteen barrels of flour were sent during the period covered by the account,—8 in 1769, 3 in 1772, and 2 in 1774. The price of flour in 1769, was $5 a barrel. Coutts' clerk, writing in 1775, apologizes for allowing an Augusta wagon to return empty, for the reason that there was not a sack of salt in Richmond. He betrays a Tory proclivity by blaming the various "Committees" for the scarcity.

On the 18th of December, 1773, a number of the inhabitants of Boston, disguised as Indians, boarded the English tea ships in the harbor, broke open the chests, and emptied the contents into the sea. A boy from Virginia participated in that famous adventure. Christian Bumgardner, who lived in what is now Shenandoah county, was then in Boston with his wagon and team, accompanied by his son Jacob. The youth was drawn into the scheme, and helped to throw the tea overboard. During the war of the Revolution, Mr. Bumgardner removed to Augusta, and settled on the farm near Bethel church, where some of his descendants now reside. Jacob Bumgardner was a Revolutionary soldier, and lived to a venerable age. He was the father of Messrs. Lewis and James Bumgardner.

The Rev. John Craig died on the 21st of April, 1774. He had retired from Tinkling Spring ten years before, and that congregation had no pastor for about twelve years. They extended an invitation to the Rev. James Waddell, then living in Lancaster county, but he declined it. Mr. Craig was succeeded at Augusta church, but not till 1780, by the Rev. William Wilson, a native of Pennsylvania, but reared in that part of Augusta county now Rockbridge. He officiated at the stone church till 1814, when, owing to his infirmities, he retired, but his life was protracted till 1835. Mr. Wilson was considered an admirable classical scholar and an attractive preacher. Upon recover-

ing from an illness at one time, he had wholly forgotten his native language, but his knowledge of Latin and Greek remained. Gradually he recovered his English.

But the happy days of peace did not last. In the early part of 1774 the Indians assumed an attitude of hostility towards the whites. The whole race was alarmed at the attempts of white men to occupy Kentucky. They were, moreover, not without provocation, on account of the ruthless conduct of encroaching settlers and hunters. Single murders, on both sides, were committed on the Ohio frontier; and finally, in the month of April, the family of Logan, a noted Indian chief, was slaughtered in cold blood, not far below Wheeling, by a party of whites. A general war immediately began, and Logan led one of the first of the marauding parties against the settlers on the Monongahela. Logan was so called after James Logan, the secretary of Pennsylvania. His Indian name is unpronounceable. He was the son of a celebrated Cayuga chief, who dwelt on the Susquehanna. Until the unprovoked slaughter of his family he was friendly with the whites. Then he became a fiend incarnate, carrying fire and death through the frontier settlements. He is described as an Indian of extraordinary capacity.

Colonel Angus McDonald, at the head of a small force, advanced from Wheeling into the Indian country, but returned without accomplishing any important result. The Indians continued hostile, and proceeded to form extensive alliances amongst themselves.

The government at Williamsburg then took steps to protect the western frontier. Lord Dunmore, the Governor, ordered Andrew Lewis, then a brigadier-general, and residing in Botetourt, to raise a force of eleven or twelve hundred men and march to the Ohio; while he at the head of a similar force raised in the lower valley, should move to Fort Pitt, and thence to meet Lewis at Point Pleasant.

Eight companies raised in Augusta county formed a regiment of four hundred men, commanded by Colonel Charles Lewis. His captains were George Mathews, Alexander McClanahan, John Dickinson, John Lewis (son of Thomas Lewis), Benjamin Harrison (of the Rockingham family), William Paul, Joseph Haynes, and Samuel Wilson. William McCutchen was Lieutenant and Joseph Long ensign of Alexander McClanahan's company.

Col. William Fleming of Botetourt commanded a regiment of about the same number of men. His captains were, Matthew Arbuckle, John Murray, John Lewis (son of Andrew), James Robertson, Robert McClanahan, James Ward and John Stuart.

The force under Col. William Christian consisted of three independent companies commanded by Captains Evan Shelby, William Russell, and ——— Hubert, from the Holston and New River settlements, then Fincastle county ; a company of scouts under Capt. John Draper, of Draper's Valley ; and an independent company under Capt. Thomas Buford, of Bedford county.

Col. John Field led an independent company raised by him in Culpeper county.

In the files of an old Irish newspaper, preserved at Belfast, Dr. Hale found a letter giving an account of the battle of Point Pleasant. The letter, which was written by Isaac Shelby, is published in Roosevelt's "Winning of the West." The writer mentions a Captain McDowell as commanding a company, who is not elsewhere spoken of in connection with the battle. He is supposed to have been Samuel McDowell of Augusta, afterwards of Kentucky, and his company was probably composed of scouts.*

Sampson Mathews was commissary of Col. Lewis' regiment, but as the subsistence of the troops consisted mainly of cattle driven afoot, he was styled "master driver of cattle."

Notwithstanding the large number of companies, the aggregate strength of General Lewis' command was only about eleven hundred.

Alexander and Robert McClanahan were brothers. The latter was a physician. He, with John Stuart, Thomas Renick and William Hamilton, made the first permanent settlement in the Greenbrier country, about where Frankfort now is, in the year 1769. This country became, in that year, a part of Botetourt county. It must have been settled very rapidly to furnish at least three companies of men in the fall of 1774,—McClanahan's, Stuart's and Arbuckle's.

The Augusta companies rendezvoused in Staunton the latter part of August. Sampson Mathews' ordinary seems to have been headquarters. Here, no doubt, grog was freely dispensed for several days, but tradition states only one fact in connection with the gathering. It is said that the heights of the men of Captain George Mathews' com-

*In the Journal of the Virginia Convention of 1776, page 95, under date of January 13, 1776, we find that the treasurer of the Colony was ordered to pay to Capt. Samuel McDowell the sum of £800 "to be by him applied to the payment of the wages of the company that served under him in the late expedition against the Indians, and also a ranging company, on his giving bond with sufficient security, for the due and faithful application of it to the purpose aforesaid."

Again, in the House of Delegates, May 31, 1777, James Smith, a sergeant in Capt. McDowell's company in the expedition against the Shawnees, was allowed the pay of a sergeant, over and above the soldier's pay he had received, viz: one shilling a day for 134 days, amounting to £6. 14s.

pany were marked on the bar-room walls, nearly all the men being over six feet two inches in their stockings, and not one under six feet.

From a letter written by Col. William Christian we learn that the Augusta men took with them 400 pack horses, carrying 54,000 pounds of flour, and 108 beeves.

Of the departure from Staunton and march to Camp Union, called also Fort Savannah, (Lewisburg), we have no account. At the latter place General Lewis assembled his command about the 4th of September.

On September 11th, the command began the march to the Ohio. Captain Matthew Arbuckle, of Greenbrier, acted as guide. There was no track of any kind, and few white men had ever gone down the Kanawha valley. Of course wagons could not be employed, and provisions were transported on pack-horses. Many cattle also were driven along to supply food for the army. In nineteen days the command advanced from Camp Union to Point Pleasant, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles, averaging eight and a half miles a day.

Here we must repeat a story of the supernatural, as related by Governor Gilmer, without, however, vouching for its truth.

"About mid-day on the 10th of October, 1774," says Governor Gilmer, "in the town of Staunton, a little girl, the daughter of John and Agatha Frogge, and grand-daughter of Thomas and Jane Lewis, was sleeping near her mother, when suddenly she waked, screaming that the Indians were killing her father. She was quieted by her mother, and again went to sleep. She again waked, screaming that the Indians were killing her father. She was again quieted and went to sleep, and was waked up by the same horrid vision, and continued screaming beyond being hushed. The child's mother was very much alarmed at the first dream. But when the same horrid sight was seen the third time, her Irish imagination, quickened by inherited superstition, presented to her the spectacle of her husband scalped by the Indians. Her cries drew together her neighbors, who, upon being informed of what had happened, joined their lamentations to her's, until all Staunton was in a state of commotion.

"It so happened that the great battle of the Point between the western Indians and the Virginians was fought on the very day when all Staunton was thus agitated. And what was still more wonderful, John Frogge, the father of the child who saw in her dream the Indians killing her father, was actually killed by the Indians on that day." It is said that Captain Frogge was a sutler, but took a gun and fought with the rest. He was gaudily dressed in bright colors, and his hat was adorned with ribbons and feathers.

Of this extraordinary occurrence there is no tradition in Staunton. We may add that Mrs. Frogge's second husband was Captain John Stuart, afterwards Colonel Stuart.

Early Monday morning, October 10, the Virginians were suddenly attacked by a large body of Indians led by Cornstalk and Logan. The battle raged all day, and was one of the most noted conflicts that ever occurred between Indians and white men. Seventy-five of the whites, including Colonels Lewis and Field, and Captain Robert McClanahan,* were killed, and one hundred and forty were wounded. The loss of the Indians is unknown, but they were signally defeated.

Sundry articles captured from the Indians were sold at auction after the battle, and brought £74, 4s. 6d.

Colonel James Smith says in his narrative :—"The loss of the Virginians in this action was seventy killed, and the same number wounded. The Indians lost twenty killed on the field, and eight who died afterwards of their wounds.—This was the greatest loss of men that I ever knew the Indians to sustain in any one battle. They will commonly retreat if their men are falling fast ; they will not stand cutting like Highlanders or other British troops ; but this proceeds from a compliance with their rules of war rather than cowardice. If they are surrounded they will fight while there is a man of them alive, rather than surrender."

After burying the dead and providing for the wounded, General Lewis proceeded to join Governor Dunmore, in order to penetrate the Indian country in pursuance of the original scheme, but an express met him with orders from the Governor to return to the mouth of the Big Kanawha. The integrity of the Governor was suspected. The Revolutionary troubles having begun, it was believed that Dunmore was seeking to win the Indians to the side of Great Britain against the Colonies. The men of Lewis' command refused to obey the Governor's order, and continued to advance till he met them and made such representations as to the prospect of peace as induced them to retire.

Dunmore went into Ohio, and halted his command eight miles from the Indian town of Chillicothe, calling the place Camp Charlotte. Eight chiefs, with Cornstalk at their head, came to Dunmore's camp, and in the course of a few days a treaty of peace was concluded. Interpreters were sent to Logan to request his attendance, but he refused to come, saying "he was a warrior, not a counsellor." His speech, which, it is said, the interpreters delivered on their return, is regarded as a fine specimen of untutored eloquence :

* Captain McClanahan left two sons, Robert and John, who went to Kentucky. Robert, however, was back in Augusta in 1808.

"I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him no meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not? During the course of the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate of peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I have even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

Mr. Jefferson, it is said, found this speech at Governor Dunmore's in Williamsburg, and afterwards published it in his *Notes on Virginia*. The genuineness of the speech has been questioned, but it is generally believed to be authentic. The charge against Cresap, however, who was captain in the division of the army under Dunmore, appears to have been unfounded. Logan did not name him in the speech, or message, which he sent to Dunmore.

Of Cornstalk it is said: "If in the battle of Point Pleasant he displayed bravery and generalship, in the negotiation at Camp Charlotte he exhibited the skill of a statesman, joined to powers of oratory rarely, if ever, surpassed."

Logan, refusing to be included in the treaty, wandered among the Northwestern tribes for several years, and became addicted to gaming and the use of ardent spirits. He was finally murdered on a journey from Detroit to the northwestern part of Ohio, by his own nephew, it was generally supposed.

The news of the battle of Point Pleasant could not well have reached Staunton until about the 24th of October. The anxiety of the people at home, while waiting the result of the expedition, may be imagined.

There is no record or tradition in regard to it, but the County Court records indicate the state of feeling. The October term of the court began on the 18th, but no business was transacted, except the qualification of several new justices of the peace. The court met again on the 19th, but only to adjourn to the next term. The whole com-

munity was too anxiously awaiting intelligence from the west to attend to ordinary affairs.

When November court came round the surviving heroes of Point Pleasant had returned to their homes. Alexander McClanahan sat as a magistrate on the County Court bench, August 22, and then hurried with his company to Camp Union; he was on the bench again on November 16, soon after his return.

By January court, 1775, the men who were in the expedition had gotten up their accounts against the government for pecuniary compensation. Many were for "diets of militia;" some for "sundries for the militia;" others for "driving pack horses." William Sharp and others presented claims for services as spies. John Hays demanded pay for himself and others as "pack-horse masters." William Hamilton had a bill for riding express, and William McCune another as "cow herd."

In the Virginia Convention of 1776, the petition of Michael Coalter, a soldier in Capt. McDowell's company, for additional pay for services as a carpenter, was presented and allowed; and on another day, the petition of John Lyle, a lieutenant in "the expedition against the Shawneese," was presented. John Lyle was probably the person afterwards known as the Rev. John Lyle of Hampshire county, who, according to Foote, was at the battle of Point Pleasant. His extra service consisted in aiding Sampson Mathews, "a master drover of cattle."

Colonel Charles Lewis executed his will August 10, 1774, on the eve of his departure for Point Pleasant, and the instrument was admitted to record January 17, 1775. The testator seems to have been a man of considerable wealth. Four children survived him,—John, Andrew, Elizabeth and Margaret, and one was born after his death. His wife was Sarah Murray, a half sister of Colonel Cameron, of Bath county.

We anticipate the course of events to relate briefly the fate of Cornstalk. A fort had been established at Point Pleasant, and in 1777 was garrisoned by a small force. The Indians having recently shown an unfriendly disposition, a larger force was ordered there, with a view to an advance into the Indian country, to overawe the savages. Colonel Skillern, of Botetourt, commanded several companies raised in Augusta and Botetourt, and with him arrived a company of Greenbrier men. Captains Stuart and Arbuckle, of Greenbrier, were also present. Cornstalk, and another chief called Redhawk, came to the fort professedly to give warning that the Shawnees intended to take part with the British against Virginia, and were detained as hostages.

Elinipsico, the son of Cornstalk, afterwards arrived to inquire about his father. This being the state of things at the fort, two young men, named Gilmore and Hamilton, from Kerr's creek, belonging to a company commanded by Captain James Hall, went across the Kanawha to hunt. On their return, as they approached the river, some Indians hid in the weeds fired upon them. Gilmore was killed and scalped, but Hamilton was rescued by some of his comrades. They brought the bloody body of Gilmore across the river, and no doubt instantly thought of the terrible inroads upon Kerr's creek, led by Cornstalk, it was believed, years before. The cry arose, "Let us kill the Indians in the fort!" Hall's men, with the captain at their head, rushed in, and, notwithstanding the intervention of Stuart and Arbuckle, accomplished their purpose.

While the strife between the colonies and mother country was brewing in 1774 the port of Boston was closed by the British, and the people of that city, mainly dependent upon commerce for subsistence, were reduced to a state of destitution and suffering. The sympathy of the country was aroused, and contributions for their relief were made in various places. The remote county of Augusta sent her quota the very autumn her sons fought the Indians at Point Pleasant. Says the historian, Bancroft: "When the sheaves had been harvested and the corn threshed and ground in a country as yet poorly provided with barns or mills, the backwoodsmen of Augusta county, without any pass through the mountains that could be called a road, noiselessly and modestly delivered at Frederick one hundred and thirty-seven barrels of flour as their remittance to the poor of Boston." (VII, page 74.) What a task the transportation was, may be inferred from the fact that nearly fifty years afterwards Bockett's stages took three days to make the trip from Staunton to Winchester.

We come now to a curious episode in the history of the county. Lord Dunmore, the last royal Governor of Virginia, and his Lieutenant, Connoly, figure therein somewhat as comic actors, it seems to us, although at the time the business was considered serious enough.

Virginia claimed, by virtue of her charter, all the territory between certain parallels of latitude, which included a part of western Pennsylvania about Pittsburg. Fort Pitt was abandoned as a military post in 1773, but the country was rapidly occupied by English settlers.

In January, 1774, Dr. John Connoly, a citizen of Virginia, but previously of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, appeared at Pittsburg and posted a notice of his appointment by Governor Dunmore as

"Captain-Commandant of militia of Pittsburg and its dependencies," etc., etc.

Governor Penn, of Pennsylvania, wrote to Dunmore, demanding an explanation. At the same time he wrote to the Pennsylvania authorities at Pittsburg urging them to maintain the rights of that province, and ordering the arrest of Connoly. The "Captain-Commandant" was accordingly arrested and committed to jail, but he prevailed with the sheriff to give him leave of absence for a few days, and instead of returning to prison came to Virginia.

On March 15, 1774, Connoly presented himself before the court at Staunton, and qualified as a justice of the peace for Augusta county, and commandant at Pittsburg.

Dunmore replied to Penn on March 3d, insisting upon the rights of Virginia, and demanding reparation for the insult to Connoly. The least that would be accepted was the dismissal of Arthur St. Clair, the clerk who "had the audacity to commit a magistrate acting in discharge of his duty." Governor Penn replied, and so the controversy continued.

Connoly returned to Pittsburg, and gathered around him a body of armed men, a portion of the people claiming to be Virginians. He opened correspondence with the Pennsylvania magistrates, which proving unsatisfactory, he arrested three of them,—Smith, Mackey and McFarland,—and sent them to Staunton for trial. Upon arriving here they gave security and were discharged to find their way home.

The President of the Pennsylvania court informed Governor Penn of the arrest of his associates. He stated that Connoly, having at Staunton qualified as a justice of the peace for Augusta county, "in which it is pretended that the country about Pittsburg is included," was constantly surrounded by an armed body of about one hundred and eighty militia, and obstructed every process emanating from the court.

Connoly reoccupied Fort Pitt, changing the name to Fort Dunmore.

The following order appears among the proceedings of the County Court of Augusta, under date of January 19, 1775: "His majesty's writ of adjournment being produced and read, it is ordered that this court be adjourned to the first Tuesday in next month, and then to be held at Fort Dunmore, in this county, agreeable to the said writ of adjournment."

The court was held at Fort Dunmore, under Captain Connoly's auspices, and several persons were arraigned before it for obstructing the authority of Virginia, as we learn from a Pennsylvania historian.

—[*Creigh's History of Washington County, Pennsylvania.*] The record of proceedings is not on file at Staunton. The court could not sit in Staunton at the usual time in March, being on an excursion to Pennsylvania; but we next find in the order book the following: "His majesty's writ of adjournment from Fort Dunmore to the courthouse in the town of Staunton, being read, the court was accordingly held the 25th day of March, 1775."

A deed from six Indian chiefs, representatives of the united tribes of Mohawks, Oneidas, etc., to George Croghan, for two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio river, executed November 4, 1768, was proved before the court of Augusta county at Pittsburg, September 25, 1775—the land lying in the county. It was further proved before the court at Staunton, August 19, 1777, and ordered to be recorded.—[See Deed Book No. 22, page 1.] The consideration for which the Indians sold these lands embraced blankets, stockings, calico, vermilion, ribbons, knives, gunpowder, lead, gun-flints, needles, and *jews-harps*. The deed was also recorded in Philadelphia.

At length the Pennsylvanians kidnapped Captain Connoly and took him to Philadelphia, and thereupon the Virginians seized three of the rival justices and sent them to Wheeling as hostages.

By this time the war of the Revolution was approaching. The people of the disputed territory were alike patriotic, but the distinction between Virginians and Pennsylvanians was still maintained. Each party held meetings separate from the other, and denounced the encroachments of the British government.

Captain Connoly, being discharged from custody, joined Lord Dunmore on board a British ship in Chesapeake Bay. He was at Portsmouth, Virginia, August 9, 1775, on which day he wrote to Colonel John Gibson to dissuade him from joining the patriot side. He then undertook a journey from the Chesapeake to Pittsburg, in company with a Doctor Smith, and in November, 1775, was arrested in Fredericktown, Maryland, for being engaged in treasonable projects. He was detained in jail, at Philadelphia, till April 2, 1777.

Finally, in 1779, each of the States appointed commissioners, and through their agency the dispute was quieted in 1780. The boundary was not definitely fixed, however, till 1785, when Mason and Dixon's line was established.

It is generally believed that Dunmore fomented the controversy about the boundary line, in order to embroil the people of the two provinces between themselves, and that Connoly was his willing agent. Connoly joined Dunmore at Fort Pitt, in the fall of 1774, and accompanied him in his march into the Indian country. In the summer of

1775, it is said, he was appointed colonel, with authority to raise a regiment of white men on the frontiers hostile to the cause of the colonies, and to enlist the Indians on the side of Great Britain. His arrest at Fredericktown defeated the attempt. After his release he joined the British army, and was with Cornwallis when he surrendered at Yorktown. By grant from Dunmore, he acquired a large landed interest on the Ohio river, where Louisville, Kentucky, now stands, John Campbell and Joseph Simon having an interest in the grant, and his share of the property was confiscated by act of the Legislature of Virginia, the territory then being a part of the State. The last we have heard of him was in 1788, when he came from Canada to Louisville, for the purpose professedly of making a business arrangement with Mr. Campbell, but the popular prejudice against him was such that he could not remain, and leaving the United States nothing further is known of him.—[See *Border Warfare*, page 134, and various acts in Hening, passed in 1780, 1783 and 1784, "for establishing the town of Louisville, in the county of Jefferson," etc., etc.] For some further account of Connoly see McMaster's History of the people of the United States, Vol. 1, page 522.

In November, 1770, as Washington was returning from his voyage down the Ohio, he noted in a pocket almanac that in Pittsburg he invited Dr. Connoly and others to dinner. He says Connoly was a very intelligent man, who had been up the Shawna River (now the Cumberland) nearly four hundred miles, and gave a glowing account of the river valley. Connoly also mentioned the Falls of the Ohio, the site of his lands afterwards located and confiscated. He thus pointed the way to that land of promise to many Revolutionary soldiers. By act of the Legislature of Virginia, the proceeds of sale of Connoly's land went as an endowment to Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky.

In order not to break the connection, we have anticipated the course of events, and will return in the next chapter to the early part of the year 1775.

The Acadian French—Alexander McNutt.

Nova Scotia was settled by the French, and called by them Acadia, before the Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock. The soil generally was fertile, and in course of time farms and villages sprang up over the country. Early in the eighteenth century, in the

time of war between the English and French, the former conquered the peninsula, and their title to it was confirmed by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. For more than forty years the descendants of the original settlers remained in quiet possession of their homesteads. They were a simple-minded people, French in all their sentiments and habits, very superstitious, and entirely under the control of their priests. The English rule was the mildest that can be imagined. The people were not subjected to taxation, and were protected in all their civil and religious rights and liberties. In 1755, however, war arose again between England and France. The Acadians sympathized with the latter, and refused to swear allegiance to the British government, unless formally allowed to remain neutral during the war. Hence they were styled "French Neutrals."—Their priests taught them that submission to a heretic nation was disloyalty to God, and imperiled their eternal salvation. According to the belief of the English, they were not only "spies in the camp," but active enemies. They had not been required to bear arms on the English side; but, instigated by the priests and Canadian French, it is said that many of them engaged in the strife on the side of the French. Disguised as Indians, they participated in the slaughter of English settlers, and in every way sought to throw off the British yoke.

The English military authorities again required them to take the oath of allegiance, and again they refused. The unfortunate people were in a painful dilemma, the priests and the neighboring French urging them in one direction, and the English in another. Many of them took refuge in Canada, where, from French accounts, they suffered intolerable hardships. At length the alternative was presented to the English authorities, either of abandoning the country themselves, or of transporting the Acadian inhabitants. The latter course was pursued, after long delay and fair notice. The villages and farms were laid waste, and more than six thousand men, women and children were driven on board ships and scattered among the English from New Hampshire to Georgia. The English officers charged with this duty executed their orders with as much kindness as possible. Their cotemporary letters and journals show that the duty was very distasteful to them. They took care not to separate families, and it is believed that very few instances of separation occurred. Some of the people found their way back to Nova Scotia, and were allowed to remain. Many of them reached the French settlement in Louisiana, and their descendants now constitute a distinct community on the Gulf of Mexico.

While the course of the English authorities cannot be fully justified, it does not deserve the severe denunciations generally heaped upon it. The fictitious story of the separation of two youthful Acadian lovers has been related pathetically by Longfellow in his poem of *Evangeline*.

Late in 1755, eleven hundred of these "French Neutrals" were landed at Hampton, in Virginia, without means of support, or previous notice of their coming. Governor Dinwiddie and his Council maintained them at the public expense for months, but the opposition

on the part of the people to their remaining in the colony was universal. No public land remained in lower Virginia upon which to settle them, and west of the Blue Ridge the French and Indians were waging a ruthless war upon the frontier settlers, rendering it unsafe to send them to that region. The Governor described them in one of his numerous letters as "bigoted Papists, lazy, and of a contentious behavior." Finally, when the General Assembly met, it was determined by that body to ship the unfortunate people to England, and this was done at a cost to the colony of £5,000.

Mention has been made several times of Alexander McNutt as a resident of Augusta county. He is supposed to have been in confidential relations with Governor Dinwiddie, to whom (and not to Governor Fauquier) he delivered his account of the Sandy Creek Expedition of 1756. After his affray in Staunton with Andrew Lewis, he went to England, and, being recommended by the Governor of Virginia, was admitted to an audience by the King. Ever afterwards he wore the prescribed court dress. The French having been driven out of Nova Scotia as related, McNutt received from the Government grants of extensive tracts of land in that province upon condition of introducing other settlers. He accordingly brought over many people from the north of Ireland, including persons of his own name, and a sister, who married a Mr. Weir. Admiral Cochrane, of the British navy, is believed to be a descendant of Mrs. Weir, and other of her descendants are now living in Nova Scotia.

A letter from Halifax, Nova Scotia, published in the *Boston Gazette* of October 26, 1761, says: "Last Friday arrived here the ship Hopewell, of Londonderry, by which came upwards of two hundred persons for the settlement of this Province, with Colonel Alexander McNutt, who, we are informed, has contracted for five thousand bushels of wheat, five thousand bushels of potatoes, etc., etc., for the use of the Irish settlers." In November, 1762, McNutt arrived with one hundred and seventy settlers, and at different times with many more. The last mention of him in the archives of the Province is in 1769, when the Attorney-General complained that he had parceled out certain lands without authority.

While living in Nova Scotia, in 1761, McNutt executed a power of attorney, authorizing his brother, John, to sell and convey his real estate. In pursuance of this instrument, John McNutt, on August 16, 1785, conveyed to Thomas Smith, in consideration of £110, lot No. 10 in Staunton, which was purchased by Alexander in 1750 for £3, as stated on page 72. Buildings afterwards erected on the lot were long known as the "Bell Tavern." Captain Thomas Smith was the father-in-law of Michael Garber, who came into possession of the property and owned it for many years.

Alexander McNutt seems to have returned to Nova Scotia after the Revolution, as in the deed of 1785 he is described as "late of Augusta county, now of Halifax, Nova Scotia." But he did not remain there long. He appears to have been a visionary man, and, in his latter years at least, somewhat of a religious enthusiast. While living in Nova Scotia, he attempted to found there a settlement to be called

"New Jerusalem." It is presumed that his lands in that Province were confiscated when he came away and joined the American "rebels"; but in 1796 he undertook to convey by deed 100,000 acres in Nova Scotia to the Synod of Virginia, in trust for the benefit of Liberty Hall Academy, in Rockbridge, among other purposes "for the support of public lectures in said seminary annually, on man's state by nature and his recovery by free and unmerited grace through Christ Jesus, and against opposite errors." Possibly finding that this deed would not do, he executed another the next year directly to the trustees of Liberty Hall, for the same uses. The second deed was witnessed by Andrew Alexander, Conrad Speece and Archibald Alexander. It is unnecessary to say that Liberty Hall did not get the land.

McNutt never married, and left no posterity. His old-fashioned dress sword was preserved by his collateral descendant, Alexander McNutt Glasgow, of Rockbridge; but at the time of "Hunter's Raid," in 1864, the silver-mounted scabbard was carried off, leaving only the naked blade.

John McNutt, a brother of Alexander, settled on North River, Rockbridge. His wife was Catherine Anderson, a great-aunt of Judge Francis T. Anderson. One of his sons, Alexander, was the father of Governor Alexander G. McNutt, of Mississippi, and grandfather of General Frank Paxton and General Albert G. Jenkins.

A daughter of John McNutt married, first, Ensign McCorkle, who was mortally wounded at the battle of the Cowpens, the grandfather of the Rev. Alexander B. McCorkle, and great-grandfather of Thomas McCorkle, Esq. Her second husband was Arthur Glasgow, grandfather of William A. Glasgow, Esq., and Col. J. K. Edmondson. To the former we are indebted for most of the facts here given.

The Moores.

David Moore, with his mother and ten brothers and a sister, came from the north of Ireland to America, and settled in Borden's Grant. The maiden name of the mother was Baxter. When a young girl, she was in Londonderry, during the famous siege of 1689. David Moore's wife was Mary Evans, and his sons were William and Andrew.

William Moore was born about the year 1748, at Cannicello, now in Rockbridge county, and received a plain education at schools in the neighborhood. From his boyhood he was remarkable for his temperate habits, intrepidity, and great physical strength. At times, when the country was in a state of alarm on account of the Indians, he would take solitary excursions and remain out all night by himself. In 1774, he participated in the battle of Point Pleasant. During the action, John Steele was wounded and about to be scalped, when Moore

interposed, shooting one Indian and knocking down another with his rifle. He then shouldered Steele, who was a very large and heavy man, and after laying him down in a safe place nearly two miles off, returned to the fight. Steele was accustomed to say, "There was no other man in the army who could have done it, if he would; and no other who would have done it, if he could." Moore is believed to have been in the military service during the whole war of the Revolution, and at the surrender of Cornwallis, he held the rank of captain.

After the war, Captain Moore settled in Lexington as a merchant. It is said that he brought to that town the first sack of coffee ever seen there. Like most enterprising men, however, he was "in advance of his age." His customers were not acquainted with coffee, and it remained unsold till some Pennsylvanians arrived and purchased it. The people of Lexington and vicinity were quicker to learn the use of tea. As explained by an old lady living there, her husband "drank the broth," and she "ate the greens."

After merchandising in Lexington, Captain Moore had an iron furnace on South River, Rockbridge, and then lived near Fairfield. For many years he was a justice of the peace, and was high sheriff for two terms. He died in Lexington in 1841, aged ninety-three.

The wife of Captain Moore was Nancy McClung, and his children were Samuel, David, John, Eliab, Jane, Isabella, Elizabeth and Nancy.

Andrew Moore was born, in 1752, at Cannicello. In early life he made a voyage to the West Indies, and was cast away on a desert island, where for three weeks he and his companions lived on a species of lizard. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1774. In 1776 he entered the army as lieutenant of a company of which John Hays was captain. Nineteen men enlisted under him at a log rolling as soon as he received his commission. Nearly his whole military life was spent in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. He with his company, as a part of Morgan's corps, participated at the battle at Saratoga, which resulted in Burgoyne's surrender. After a service of three years, and attaining the rank of captain, he resigned and returned home. He was a member of the Legislature from Rockbridge when it met in Staunton, in 1781, and continued to serve in that body till 1789. In 1788, he was a member of the State Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. Upon retiring from the Legislature he was elected a member of Congress by the Rockbridge District, and held the position during the entire administration of Washington. He was a member of the Legislature again from 1798 to 1800, and was again elected to the lower house of Congress in 1803. He was then elected United States Senator, and served till 1809. In 1810, he was appointed by President Jefferson United States Marshal for the State of Virginia, which office he held till his death, in 1821. At an early date he was made brigadier-general of militia, and in 1809 major-general. He was the father of the late Samuel McD. and David E. Moore, of Lexington.—[*Grigsby's Sketches.*]

When the Western District of Virginia was projected in 1801, Mr. Jefferson consulted Judge Stuart of Staunton as to the appointment of a Marshal. He wrote, April 25, 1801, that Andrew and John Alexander and John Caruthers, all of Rockbridge, had been recommended to him by different persons. Mr. Caruthers was appointed, but declined. On the 5th of August, 1801, Mr. Jefferson wrote to Judge Stuart, informing him of Mr. Caruthers' refusal of the office, and saying: "I have now proposed it to Colonel Andrew Moore, with but little hope, however, of his acceptance." The Western District was, however, not established at that time, and Colonel Moore was appointed Marshal for the whole State in 1810.

JOHN MCCLANAHAN was probably the second son of Robert McClanahan, the emigrant, younger than his brother Alexander, and older than Robert who was killed at Point Pleasant. He was extensively engaged in business, having as partners Thomas and Andrew Lewis. His wife was Margaret Ann, daughter of Thomas Lewis. His will, dated June 25, 1774, was offered for probate November 16, 1774, and he probably died June 30th, five days after the execution of the will. He left a son named Thomas Lewis, who, however, died November 14, 1774. A posthumous child, born December 8, 1774, was called John, and succeeded to his father's estate.

John McClanahan, jr., moved to Kentucky, in 1807, and coming back to Virginia on business, died in 1815, probably at Lewisburg. He inherited from his father the land on which Lewisburg was built. His wife was Mildred Maupin, of Williamsburg. They had seven children, of whom only two lived to maturity and married. Their son, John Gabriel McClanahan, married Eliza McClung, of Greenbrier, and died in 1838, leaving descendants. Virginia, the daughter of John McClanahan, jr., married Captain John Gantt, of the U. S. army, and their only son, N. B. Gantt, lives in Louisville, Kentucky. (1890.)

Mr. Gantt writes that his grand-mother, (Mildred Maupin McC.) related that she had often heard her mother-in-law (Margaret Lewis McC.) say, that at the time her husband (the first John McClanahan) died, "the fort was besieged by Indians, and as she sat by his bed she heard their whoops. In her prayer book is this entry: 'June 30, 1774, that fatal day,'" probably the day of her husband's death.

The Indians became hostile early in 1774, and probably invested some fort, so called, (possibly "Fort Lewis" in Bath, ten miles from the Warm Springs,) in June, 1774, while John McClanahan, Sr., lay there on his death-bed. Gen. Andrew Lewis assembled his command at Camp Union, September 4th and began his march to the Ohio, September 11th. The battle of Point Pleasant occurred October 10, 1774.

Alexander St. Clair, whose wife was a sister of John McClanahan, Sr., was one of the executors of his brother-in-law and guardian of the son John. After the marriage of John McClanahan's widow to Col. William Bowyer, the friendly suit of Bowyer and wife vs. McClanahan's executors was brought that Mrs. Bowyer might obtain her legal rights in her deceased husband's estate. The accounts of St. Clair as guardian were also settled in the same suit. From a paper filed in the cause, showing the guardian's expenditures for the ward, young John, we obtain some information as to the style in which a wealthy youth lived in or about 1792–3. It seems that the ward was a student at William & Mary College, and among the expenditures, besides the cost of Latin and Greek books, were the following: Tuition in dancing, in fiddling, in psalmody and book-keeping;—cash "to see the tumbler," to "go to see the play," and for knee and shoe buckles—an astonishing number. Mr. Edmondson was paid £1, 8s. for teaching the young man to play on the fiddle, Mr. Cheapen £5, 4s. for teaching him psalmody, Mr. Vaughan £2, 13s. 5d. for teaching him to dance. Lawrence Tremper furnished him a pair of leather breeches for £1, 6s., and Smith Thompson was paid 15 shillings for shaving him and dressing his hair in the summer of 1796.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION, ETC., FROM 1775 TO 1779.

The first patriotic meeting of the people of Augusta county, of which we have any account, was held in Staunton, February 22, 1775. The proceedings were reported as follows:

"After due notice given to the freeholders of the county of Augusta to meet in Staunton, for the purpose of electing delegates to represent them in Colony Convention at the town of Richmond, on the 20th of March, 1775, the freeholders of said county thought proper to refer the choice of their delegates to the judgment of the committee, who, thus authorized by the general voice of the people, met at the courthouse on the 22d of February, and unanimously chose Mr. Thomas Lewis and Captain Samuel McDowell to represent them in the ensuing Convention.

"Instructions were then ordered to be drawn up by the Rev. Alexander Balmaine, Mr. Sampson Mathews, Captain Alexander McClanahan, Mr. Michael Bowyer, Mr. William Lewis, and Captain George Mathews, or any three of them, and delivered to the delegates thus chosen, which are as follows: 'To Mr. Thomas Lewis and Captain Samuel McDowell.—The committee of Augusta county, pursuant to the trust reposed in them by the freeholders of the same, have chosen you to represent them in Colony Convention, proposed to be held in Richmond on the 20th of March instant. They desire that you may consider the people of Augusta county as impressed with just sentiments of loyalty and allegiance to his Majesty King George, whose title to the imperial crown of Great Britain rests on no other foundation than the liberty, and whose glory is inseparable from the happiness, of all his subjects. We have also respect for the parent State, which respect is founded on religion, on law, and on the genuine principles of the constitution. On these principles do we earnestly desire to see harmony and a good understanding restored between Great Britain and America.

"'Many of us and our forefathers left our native land and explored this once-savage wilderness to enjoy the free exercise of the rights of conscience and of human nature. These rights we are fully

resolved, with our lives and fortunes, inviolably to preserve ; nor will we surrender such inestimable blessings, the purchase of toil and danger, to any Ministry, to any Parliament, or any body of men upon earth, by whom we are not represented, and in whose decisions, therefore, we have no voice.

" 'We desire you to tender, in the most respectful terms, our grateful acknowledgments to the late worthy delegates of this colony for their wise, spirited, and patriotic exertions in the General Congress, and to assure them that we will uniformly and religiously adhere to their resolutions providently and graciously formed for their country's good.

" 'Fully convinced that the safety and happiness of America depend, next to the blessing of Almighty God, on the unanimity and wisdom of her people, we doubt not you will, on your parts, comply with the recommendations of the late Continental Congress, by appointing delegates from this colony to meet in Philadelphia on the 10th of May, next, unless American grievances be redressed before that. And so we are determined to maintain unimpaired that liberty which is the gift of Heaven to the subjects of Britain's empire, and will most cordially join our countrymen in such measures as may be deemed wise and necessary to secure and perpetuate the ancient, just, and legal rights of this colony and all British America.

" 'Placing our ultimate trust in the Supreme Disposer of every event, without whose gracious interposition the wisest schemes may fail of success, we desire you to move the Convention that some day, which may appear to them most convenient, be set apart for imploring the blessing of Almighty God on such plans as human wisdom and integrity may think necessary to adopt for preserving America happy, virtuous, and free.' "

In obedience to these instructions, the following letter was addressed by Messrs. Lewis and McDowell to the members of Congress :

" *To the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq., President, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Randolph, Esqrs., Delegates from this colony to the General Congress :*

"Gentlemen,—We have it in command from the freeholders of Augusta county, by their committee, held on the 22d February, to present you with the grateful acknowledgment of thanks for the prudent, virtuous, and noble exertions of the faculties with which heaven has endowed you in the cause of liberty, and of everything that man

ought to hold sacred at the late General Congress—a conduct so nobly interesting that it must command the applause, not only from this, but succeeding ages. May that sacred flame, that has illuminated your minds and influenced your conduct in projecting and concurring in so many salutary determinations for the preservation of American liberty, ever continue to direct your conduct to the latest period of your lives! May the bright example be fairly transcribed on the hearts and reduced into practice by every Virginian, by every American! May our hearts be open to receive and our arms strong to defend that liberty and freedom, the gift of heaven, now being banished from its latest retreat in Europe! Here let it be hospitably entertained in every breast; here let it take deep root and flourish in everlasting bloom, that under its benign influence the virtuously free may enjoy secure repose and stand forth the scourge and terror of tyranny and tyrants of every order and denomination, till time shall be no more.

"Be pleased, gentlemen, to accept of their grateful sense of your important services, and of their ardent prayers for the best interests of this once happy country. And vouchsafe, gentlemen, to accept of the same from your most humble servants."

The reply of the members of Congress was as follows:

"*To Thomas Lewis and Samuel McDowell, Esqrs.:*

"Gentleman,—Be pleased to transmit to the respectable freeholders of Augusta county our sincere thanks for their affectionate address approving our conduct in the late Continental Congress. It gives us the greatest pleasure to find that our honest endeavors to serve our country on this arduous and important occasion have met their approbation—a reward fully adequate to our warmest wishes—and the assurances from the brave and spirited people of Augusta, that their hearts and hands shall be devoted to the support of the measures adopted, or hereafter to be taken, by the Congress for the preservation of American liberty, give us the highest satisfaction, and must afford pleasure to every friend of the just rights of mankind. We cannot conclude without acknowledgments to you, gentlemen, for the polite manner in which you have communicated to us the sentiments of your worthy constituents, and are their and your obedient humble servants."—[Signed by all the members of Congress from Virginia.]

The former colonial system having disappeared, all the functions of government were assumed and exercised by the Convention, in which Messrs. Lewis and McDowell sat as delegates from Augusta.

The executive authority was entrusted to a committee of safety, consisting of eleven members—Pendleton, Mason and others—appointed by the Convention. To provide local governments until public affairs could be settled, the Convention passed an ordinance in July, 1775, requiring the qualified voters of each county to elect a county committee, to act as a sort of executive authority in the county for carrying into effect the measures of the Continental Congress and the Colonial Convention.—[*Hening*, Volume VIII, page 57.]

Silas Hart, an old justice of the peace, whose residence was within the present county of Rockingham, was chairman of the Augusta county committee. On October 3d this committee met at Staunton, and, pursuant to summons, Alexander Miller appeared before them to answer charges. Miller was an Irish Presbyterian preacher, who had been deposed from the ministry, and was accused of having denounced as rebellion etc., the popular opposition to the measures of the British Government. He was solemnly tried and pronounced guilty. His punishment anticipated the recent policy in Ireland called "boycotting." The committee subjected the offender to no restraint, and advised no violence toward him. They only recommended that "the good people of this county and colony have no further dealings or intercourse with said Miller until he convinces his countrymen of having repented for his past folly."—[*American Archives*, Vol. III, page 939.]

The annals of the county during most of the war of the Revolution are quite meager. This Valley was remote from the scenes of combat, and only once was there an alarm of invasion. The domestic life of the people and the business of the county court were generally undisturbed during the war. Public business was transacted and writs were issued in the name of the Commonwealth of Virginia, instead of the king of Great Britain, and there was little other change. The abolition of the religious establishment in the course of time marked the most important departure from the old order of things. So far from danger was this region considered, that the Continental Congress, by resolution of September 8, 1776, advised the Executive Council of Pennsylvania to send disaffected Quakers arrested in Philadelphia, to Staunton for safe-keeping. A number of Quakers, a druggist, and a dancing-master were soon afterwards brought to Winchester and detained there eight or nine months; but we have no account of any persons of the same class having been in Staunton. Several hundred Hessians, captured at Trenton, were, however, detained here for a considerable time, and there is a tradition that some of these were employed by Peter Hanger to build the older part

of the dwelling formerly standing on Spring Farm, adjacent to the city water-works.*

How invaluable would be a diary written, even crudely, by a resident of the county during the war, telling about the raising of troops, the departure of individuals and companies for the army, the rumors which agitated the community, and the simple events of common life! But nothing of the kind exists. We have, however, some extracts from the diary of a young Presbyterian minister who made two visits to the county in 1775. There is not much in them, and no reference whatever to public events; bnt the mere mention of a few people living in the county at that time is somewhat interesting. The minister referred to was the Rev. John McMillan, of western Pennsylvania, afterwards the Rev. Dr. McMillan, the founder of Jefferson College; and a portion of his diary is found in a book called "Old Redstone" (Presbytery), by the Rev. Dr. Joseph Smith.

Young McMillan came from Pennsylvania, on his second visit, in November, 1775. He says:

"*Monday.*—Passed through Stephensburgh, Stoverstown, and Millerstown—crossed Shenandoah, and after travelling forty-eight miles, we came to a Dutchman's, where we tarried all night.

"*Tuesday.*—We rode this day thirty-five miles—crossed the North river, and lodged at Widow Watson's.

"*Wednesday.*—About noon, came to Staunton; where, it being court time, I met with a number of my old acquaintances, who professed great joy to see me. I stayed in town till towards evening, and then rode to John Trimble's. This day I travelled about twenty-two miles.

"*Thursday.*—Continued at Mr. Trimble's.

"*Friday.*—Went to John Moffett's.

[John Moffett was buried in the North Mountain grave-yard. His grave is marked by a sandstone, but all the inscription, except the name, has worn out.]

"*Saturday.*—Returned to Mr. Trimble's; and, in the evening, Benjamin Brown brought me a pair of shoes for which I paid him 8s.

* The Hessian fly, from which the farmers of the country suffered so severely for many years, is commonly believed to have been imported by the Hessian troops in their straw bedding, and hence the name. It appeared on Long Island during the Revolutionary war, and quite numerously in Virginia in 1796. McMaster's History says it first appeared in New York in 1784.

"*Sabbath* (the fourth in November.)—Preached at the North Mountain, and lodged with Matthew Thompson.

"*Monday.*—This day I rode in company with John Thompson about sixteen miles to see my uncle on Back creek; found them all well.

"*Tuesday.*—This morning proving very stormy, we thought it most convenient to return again to the settlements, and, accordingly, I took leave of my relations, and though it snowed excessively, we set to the road, and in the evening came again to Matthew Thompson's.

"*Wednesday.*—Went to Hugh Torbet's; from thence to Alexander Mitchell's, where I tarried all night.

"*Thursday.*—Came to Joseph Blair's.

"*Friday* (1st. December.)—Rode to John Moffett's in the evening. Got a tooth pulled by Wendal Bright. Tarried here until Sabbath.

"*Sabbath* (the first in December.)—Preached at the stone meeting-house, and in the evening rode in to Staunton in company with Mrs. Reed. Lodged at Mr. Reed's.

[Mrs. Reed afterwards, while a widow, became the second wife of Colonel George Mathews, from whom she was divorced. She lived to extreme old age in the low frame house which formerly stood on the south side of Beverley street, between Augusta and Water streets. A few persons still living remember her. She was generally called "Aunt Reed."]

"*Monday.*—I left town. Called at Mr. Trimble's and lodged with Mr. Moffett.

"*Wednesday.*—This day I moved my camp to William McPheeters'.

"*Thursday and Friday.*—Continued at the same place, spending my time chiefly in study."

On New Year's day, 1776, he preached at Peter Hanger's to a large assembly, and next day set out down the Valley.

The Rev. James Waddell came to Augusta from Lancaster county about the year 1776,* and bought the Springhill farm on South River, originally owned by Colonel James Patton. The deed of James and William Thompson, Patton's son in-law and grandson, describes the

* Hanover Presbytery met at his house, Springhill, June 18, 1777, when the Rev. John Blair Smith was licensed as a preacher.

tract as 1,308 acres, and states the price as £1,000 ($3,333⅓). Dr. Waddell resided at Springhill, and preached at Tinkling Spring and occasionally in Staunton, while he remained in the county. One of the subscription papers circulated in Tinkling Spring congregation, for raising the pastor's salary, has escaped destruction, and is interesting as showing in some degree the state of the times. The subscribers promised to pay the Rev. James Waddell "the sum of one hundred pounds, current and lawful money of Virginia, for the whole of his labours for one year;" payment to be made "in clean merchantable wheat at three shillings (fifty cents) per bushel, or in corn or rye of like quality at two shillings per bushel, or in other commodities he may want at said rates." James Bell, Sr., promised to pay £3, os. 9d. (about $10), the largest subscription on the list. Other subscribers were John Ramsey, Thomas Turk, John Ramsey, Jr., William Black, William Guthrie, John Collins, John Caldwell, Benjamin Stuart, Robert Thompson, A. Thompson, Thomas Stuart, and Walter Davis. The subscription for 1783 was £40 in cash for half the minister's time, the other half to be bestowed in Staunton.—[*Foote's Sketches*, First Series, page 376.]

In the early part of 1776, the county committee of Augusta adopted a memorial to the Convention, of which we have no account except in the journal of that body. The purport of the paper, presented to the Convention on the 10th of May, is thus awkwardly stated in the journal: "A representation from the committee of the county of Augusta was presented to the Convention and read, setting forth the present unhappy situation of the country, and from the ministerial measures of revenge now pursuing, representing the necessity of making the confederacy of the united colonies the most perfect, independent and lasting, and of framing an equal, free and liberal government, that may bear the test of all future ages." This is said to be the first expression of the policy of establishing an independent State government and permanent confederation of States, which the parliamentary journals of America contain.* It is curious, however, to observe how carefully "the representation" throws the blame of the measures complained of upon the British ministers, still seeking apparently to avoid censuring the king. The feeling of loyalty to the sovereign was hard to give up.

The last Court of Augusta County under the authority of the King of Great Britain, was held May 1, 1776, when a man accused of stealing a horse was sent on for trial before the General Court at Williamsburg.

* Hugh Blair Grigsby.

The first Court under authority of the Commonwealth of Virginia, pursuant to an ordinance of the Convention, was held July 16, 1776.—Samuel McDowell and Sampson Mathews administered the prescribed oath to Archibald Alexander, justice of the peace, who immediately administered the oath to them. John Christian qualified as sheriff and Richard Madison as deputy clerk. Court was proclaimed and then adjourned till the next monthly term. The orders were signed by Archibald Alexander.*

At the Court held August 20, 1776, Archibald Alexander was recommended to the Governor for the office of High Sheriff of Augusta, and qualified as such November 19, 1776. At the same time Alexander St. Clair was recommended as a justice of the peace.

In October, 1776, the "several companies of militia and freeholders of Augusta" forwarded to the representatives of the county in the Legislature their "sentiments" on the subject of religious liberty. They demanded that "all religious denominations within the Dominion be forthwith put in full possession of equal liberty, without preference or pre-eminence," etc. The paper was signed by John Magill, James Allen, George Moffett, Alexander St. Clair, John Poage, John Davis, Alexander Long, William McPheeters, Elijah McClanahan, Alexander Thompson, Archibald Alexander, Robert Wilson, James Walker, Charles Campbell, Walter Cunningham, and others.—[*American Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume II, page 815.]

At a special term of the County Court of Augusta, held December 18, 1776, Mary Wolfinger was tried for felony, and being found guilty agreed to receive corporal punishment, rather than go to Williamsburg for final trial before the General Court. Thereupon, she was sentenced to receive "twenty lashes on her bare back, well laid on, at the public whipping post."—But her husband appeared before the Court, and acknowledged himself "the capital *on* the offence whereof she is convicted," and asked that he might be punished instead of his wife, and the Court so ordered.

It is impossible to obtain any list or particular account of troops furnished by Augusta county during the Revolutionary war, and the names of only a few comparatively of the soldiers have escaped oblivion. As a general fact, we know that most of the younger men of the county were in the military service. One of them, William McCutchen, of Bethel neighborhood, who survived to a good old age,

* Afterwards, the free male inhabitants were required to swear allegiance to the State, and commissioners were appointed by the Court to administer the oath.

served three "tours" in the army. The first and longest was in New Jersey, when he was so young that the recruiting officer doubted about admitting him into the ranks. The second term of service was on the invasion of Virginia by Cornwallis, and the third was at Yorktown. Dismissed to return home from the Jerseys, after his time of service had expired, he received his wages in Continental money. "Soon after leaving camp, a landlord, supposed not favorable to the cause, refused him and his companion a meal of victuals for less than five dollars apiece in paper currency. The next landlord demanded two-and-a-half dollars. They determined to travel as far as possible in a day, and to eat but one meal. In all the places along the road where they called for refreshments they were asked, 'Can you pay for it?' and 'In what can you pay for it?' In Winchester, where they purchased their last meal, the landlord took but half price of them, as they were soldiers—the first time any allowance was made in their favor—and charged only a dollar and a half. A week's wages would not pay their expenses, traveling on foot, a single day."—[*Foote's Sketches*, Second Series, page 206.] The paper currency depreciated so greatly that it was finally called in, and funded at the rate of one for a thousand.—Hening's introduction to Volume II.]

The regular army was recruited by bounties, by volunteers, and by drafts from the militia. For the assistance of North and South Carolina, as well as to repel the invasion of Virginia, the whole body of the militia might be called out, as provided by act of the Legislature.

The general officers were appointed by the Continental Congress; and early in the war Andrew Lewis was appointed a brigadier-general. It is said that Washington recommended Andrew Lewis for the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Continental armies. He commanded at Williamsburg early in 1776, and in July drove Dunmore from Gwynn's Island. It seems there was no opportunity for the display of the military talent universally attributed to him. He died during the war, in 1781.*

From various ordinances of Convention and acts of Assembly, printed in *Hening's Statutes at Large*, we learn how the State raised her quota of troops, and incidentally what troops, or companies, Au-

* General Lewis' wife was a Miss Givens, of Augusta. His sons were John, Samuel, Thomas, Andrew and William. John was captain of a Botetourt company at the battle of Point Pleasant. Samuel was a lieutenant-colonel in 1781. The death of General Lewis occurred at Colonel Buford's, eastern base of the Blue Ridge. He was buried on his estate called "Dropmore," near Salem, Roanoke county.

gusta furnished. We, therefore, give a synopsis of the ordinances and acts referred to.

The Convention, which managed affairs in Virginia from the time the old system of government disappeared till the adoption of the first Constitution of the State, in 1776, passed an ordinance July 17, 1775, for raising two regiments of regulars, and for organizing the militia. The first regiment was to consist of 544 rank and file, with a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, 8 captains, 16 lieutenants, and 8 ensigns; and the second of 476 rank and file, with seven companies and corresponding officers. The field officers were appointed by the Convention,—Patrick Henry to command the first regiment, William Woodford* the second. The companies were to consist of 68 men each, to be enlisted in districts, and to serve one year. The companies raised in the district composed of Augusta etc., to be "expert riflemen." The company officers were appointed by the members of the Convention from the district.

The whole State was divided into military districts, and the militia were ordered to be embodied as minute-men. The counties of Buckingham, Amherst, Albemarle and Augusta constituted one district. Each district was to raise a battalion of 500 men, rank and file, from the age of 16 to that of 50, to be divided into ten companies of 50 men each. The officers were to be appointed by committees selected by the various county committees. The battalion was required to be kept in training at some convenient place for twelve days, twice a year; and the several companies to be mustered four days in each month, except December, January and February, in their respective counties.

Every man so enlisted was required to "furnish himself with a good rifle, if to be had, otherwise with a tomahawk, common firelock, bayonet, pouch, or cartouch box, and three charges of powder and ball." Upon affidavit that the minute-man was not able to furnish his arms etc., they were to be supplied at public expense. The officers were required to equip themselves, and officers and men were liable to a fine for failure in this respect.

For the only account of any proceedings under the ordinances passed by the State Convention in July, 1775, providing for the organization of "minute men," we are indebted to the "Gilmer Papers," issued in 1887 by the Virginia Historical Society. Com-

* Colonel Woodford was born in Caroline county; served in the French and Indian wars, commanded at the battle of Great Bridge, December 9, 1775; was promoted Brig. General and participated in various battles; wounded at Brandywine; made prisoner in 1780. at siege of Charleston; taken to New York, and died there, Nov. 13, 1780, aged 45.

missioners from the counties of Buckingham, Amherst, Albemarle and Augusta, composing a district, met on the 8th of September, 1775, at the house of James Woods, in Amherst, now Nelson. The commissioners from Augusta were Sampson Mathews, Alexander McClanahan and Samuel McDowell. It was resolved that Augusta furnish four companies of fifty men each, and that each of the other counties furnish two companies, making the total of ten companies and five hundred men required by the ordinance. George Mathews, of Augusta, was chosen colonel; Charles Lewis, of Albemarle, lieutenant-colonel; David Gaines, major; and Thomas Patterson (or Patteson, doubtless, of Buckingham), "commissary of masters."

The officers appointed for the Augusta companies were as follows:

1st. Benjamin Harrison, captain; Henry Evans, lieutenant; and Curord Custard, ensign.

2d. Daniel Stephenson, captain; John McMahon, lieutenant; and Samuel Henderson, ensign.

3d. Alexander Long, captain; James Sayres, lieutenant; and John Buchanan, ensign.

4th. William Lyle, Jr., lieutenant; and William Moore, ensign. The captain of this company was not named.

The first company was evidently intended to be raised in the northern part of the county, now Rockingham, and the fourth in the southern part, now Rockbridge.

The regiment was required to meet on the east side of the Blue Ridge, at a point to be designated by the colonel, within three miles of Rockfish Gap.

As far as we have learned, no other proceedings were taken in pursuance of the ordinance, and probably the regiment never mustered. In December following, an ordinance was passed for raising seven regiments of regulars, in addition to the First and Second, and George Mathews was then appointed by the Convention lieutenant-colonel of the Ninth. The latter ordinance superseded the former, which proposed merely a militia organization.

The ordinance of July, 1775, also called for two regiments of regulars, the First and Second, and the district commissioners, at their meeting in September, designated the officers for two companies. Among them was Thomas Hughes, but whether captain or lieutenant it is impossible to tell from Dr. Gilmer's memorandum. William Robertson, of Augusta, was chosen a lieutenant.

Lieutenant Robertson entered the service in 1775, and was at the battles of Great Bridge, Brandywine and Germantown. Being a member of Colonel Mathews' regiment at Germantown, he was taken pris-

oner there, and detained three years. After his discharge, he rejoined the army and served till the close of the war. He died November 12, 1831.*

In December, 1775, the Convention passed another ordinance for raising additional troops. It provided for augmenting the two regiments already raised, by the addition of two companies to the first, and three to the second; and also for raising six additional regiments, of ten companies each, and sixty-eight men to a company. One of the new regiments was to be made up of Germans and others, as the county committees of Augusta, West Augusta, Frederick, etc., should judge expedient. Captains and other company officers were to be appointed by the committees of the counties in which companies were raised, respectively. Two captains, two first and two second lieutenants, etc., were assigned to Augusta, and it was expected that their companies would be raised in the county. The men were to be enlisted for two years from April 10, 1776.

Arms, etc., for the new companies were to be furnished by the public; but until muskets could be procured, the men were to bring the best guns they had,—riflemen to bring rifles and tomahawks. For smooth-bore guns and for rifles and tomahawks, private property, rent would be allowed at the rate of 20s. a year. Each soldier was allowed, out of his pay, "a hunting shirt, pair of leggins, and binding for his hat" (!) Pay of colonels, 17s. 6d. per day; captains, 6s. and privates, 1s. 4d.

The same ordinance provided for raising a Ninth regiment of seven companies, sixty-eight men to a company, for the protection of Accomac and Northampton counties. It was evidently contemplated that the Ninth regiment should be recruited in the counties named. By a subsequent ordinance, the Ninth was augmented by the addition of three companies, so as to make it equal with other regiments. Three of the companies were raised in Accomac, two in Northampton, and three on the western shore.

The same ordinance, of December, 1775, also provided that the committee of Augusta county should appoint officers to command a company of fifty men, to be stationed at the mouth of the Little Kanawha.

* The only child of William Robertson was the wife of Charles A. Stuart, of Greenbrier, who, with his sons, William Robertson Stuart and John Stuart, succeeded to the old gentleman's property. He owned at one time the mill which stood where the mill of Witz & Holt is now, on Lewis creek just east of Staunton, but sold it before his death to Jacob Smith.

The State Constitution was adopted by the Convention June 29, 1776. The counties of "East Augusta and Dunmore" constituted a district for the election of a State senator. The name Dunmore was afterwards changed to "Shenandoah." West Augusta constituted another senatorial district.

The Legislature elected under the State Constitution met for the first time October 7, 1776, and soon thereafter passed an act for raising six additional battalions "on the continental establishment," and assigning two captains, etc., to Augusta.

Other acts for recruiting the army will be mentioned as we proceed.

Thus we find that a number of company officers were assigned to Augusta, with the expectation, of course, that the men should be enlisted in the county. The companies were no doubt raised, yet there is no record or tradition in regard to their assembling and marching off, nor even of the names of most of the officers. Our local archives furnish little information on the subject, and we have applied in vain at Richmond and Washington for the names of officers.

The act of the first Legislature after the adoption of the Constitution, referred to above, prescribed that the militia officers of each county, assembled in court-martial, should elect the company officers assigned to their county. The court-martial of Augusta militia met at the courthouse, December 3, 1776, to discharge that duty. Present, Colonels Abraham Smith and Alexander Thompson, and Captains David Bell, John Stevenson, James Ewing, Daniel Smith, Peachy Gilmer, John Young, David Laird, George Moffett, Alexander Robertson, William Anderson, and others.

The court proceeded to choose by ballot officers "to raise two companies of regulars according to act of assembly," and the following were chosen: First company—John Syme,* Captain; Charles

*One of Capt. Syme's recruits seems to have been fond of military life. In his "declaration," in 1832, when he applied for a pension, he states that he enlisted, December 19, 1776, under Capt. John Syme, 10th Virginia Regiment, and served three years. In 1780, he enlisted again, in Staunton, under Col. Sampson Mathews, to serve during the war; but was taken prisoner at Bluford's (Buford's?) defeat in North Carolina, and was a paroled prisoner during the remainder of the war. In 1792, he again enlisted and served three years "in Wayne's army."

Many leading patriots wanted to fight the war out with militia, having a great dread of a standing army and whatever might tend to a monarchy. Dr. Rush wrote to John Adams that he hoped no American citizen would demean himself by enlisting for three years. Washington, Franklin and others saw that a standing force better disciplined than militia, was indispensable; but they were warmly opposed by many others, including Adams and the Lees.

Cameron, First Lieutenant; William Christian, Second Lieutenant; and James Hamilton, Ensign. Second company—David Laird (a member of the court-martial), Captain; Andrew Anderson, First Lieutenant; William Smith, Second Lieutenant; and Michael Troutt, Ensign. The Lieutenant Anderson mentioned was no doubt the person known after the war as Colonel Anderson, who often represented the county in the House of Delegates.

At a court-martial held February 1, 1777, it was reported that Captain Syme had recruited twenty-eight men, Lieutenant Cameron, twenty, Lieutenant Christian, twelve, and Ensign Hamilton, ten, making seventy rank and file. There was no report from Captain Laird and Lieutenant Anderson, but it was believed they had nearly completed their respective numbers. Lieutenant Smith had enlisted seventeen men and Ensign Evans, ten. The last named appears to have been substituted for Ensign Troutt.

Governor Gilmer tells us that John, Andrew, and Thomas Lewis, sons of Thomas Lewis, were officers in the Revolutionary army. He also mentions a Captain Hughes and a Captain McElhany, of the Continental army, both of whom married daughters of Thomas Lewis, and also Layton Yancey, another officer, who married another daughter. John Lewis, son of William, commanded a company at the battle of Monmouth. Robert Gamble, of Augusta, says Governor Gilmer, was an officer in the army very early in the war, and continued to serve to its close. He was generally with the main army, and under the immediate command of Washington.

These and others whose names have not reached us were no doubt the officers of the various companies raised in the county. We shall have occasion hereafter to speak of Moffett, Tate, Doak, Stuart, Fulton, and others who served as officers in the field when the militia was called out at different times. Robert Doak, then a young man, was ensign of Captain Tate's company at the battle of Guilford.

But Augusta furnished at the outset at least two officers of higher rank than captain. Alexander McClanahan was appointed by the Convention, in 1775, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Seventh regiment, of which William Dangerfield was Colonel, and William Nelson, Major. Colonel McClanahan was at the battle of Great Bridge, near Norfolk, December 9, 1775, in which every British grenadier was killed, without loss to the Virginians. He served under General Andrew Lewis, at Williamsburg, in 1776, and was commissioned Colonel of the Seventh October 7, 1776. At that time General Woodford's brigade

was composed of the Third, Seventh, Eleventh, and Fifteenth Virginia regiments.*

George Mathews was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Ninth regiment, of which Thomas Fleming was Colonel, and M. Donovan, Major. This regiment was at first stationed on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, for the protection of Accomac and Northampton counties, but was afterwards a part of the main army under Washington. In December, 1776, the regiment marched to join the main army. On the march the Colonel died, and Lieut. Col. Mathews succeeded to the command. The date of his commission as Colonel is February 10, 1777. He commanded the regiment at the battle of Germantown, in which he and all his men were captured by the British.†

Colonel McClanahan retired from the army before the close of the war, but in a "list of general and field officers of the late army of the United States who continued in service to the end of the war," George Mathews appears as the fourteenth name in the list of colonels.

We learn something about the services of Augusta militia during the war, from the "declarations" of various old soldiers in 1832, with a view to obtaining pensions, pursuant to an act of Congress.‡

Joseph Bell, of South River, when 21 years of age, was drafted in 1776, with other militia-men, for the protection of the southwestern frontier against the Indians. They rendezvoused at the site of the present town of Lexington, July 15, 1776, and were assigned to the company of Capt. John Lyle. From that point the men marched to the Holston river, under command of Col. Russell. From thence they marched to the Great Island of Holston, and were placed under command of Col. William Christian, with whom they went on the expedition against the Cherokee towns southwest of the Tennessee river. The command remained in the Indian country for some time, and returned about the middle of December, having been in service

*Colonel McClanahan's children were two daughters, Mrs. Abney and Mrs. Austin; and a son, John, who died unmarried. His wife was a Miss Shelton, a sister of Patrick Henry's first wife.

† Gen. Henry Lee, referring to the battle of Germantown, (See Lee's Memoirs, edition of 1869, page 95,) says: "Our loss was considerable, and unhappily augmented by the capture of the Ninth Virginia regiment and its brave Colonel Matthews, who had, with a part of the Sixth, led by Colonel Towles, victoriously pierced into the midst of the British army, where, gallantly contending, unsupported, he was compelled to surrender."

‡ These papers were resurrected by Mr. H. P. Cochran from the musty files of the County Court Clerk's Office.

about five months. There was no battle, and not a man was lost. William Willson was a private in the same company, of which William McCutchen was Lieutenant and Joseph Long, Ensign.

At least one other company from the county was in Col. Christian's expedition. It was commanded by Capt. William Christian, Lieut. Patrick Buchanan, and Ensign Zachariah Johnston, and assembled at Midway, (Steele's Tavern.)

Alexander Williams was drafted in August, 1776, in Capt. Henderson's company, and marched under Col. William Bowyer to join General McIntosh on the western frontier. This company was at Fort McIntosh some months, and then at Fort Lawrence.

A company commanded by Capt. William Kincaid and Lieut. James Steele, marched from Staunton, in March, 1777, to a blockhouse on the west fork of Monongalia. Alexander Williams and William Armstrong were members of the company.

John McCutchen served three months, in 1777 or 1778, against the Indians, under Capt. Andrew Lockridge, Lieut. Andrew Kincaid, and Ensign James Gay, and was stationed at Clover Lick (Pocahontas county.) He was called out again, in June, 1779, by the alarm about an assault by Indians on Donnelly's Fort, Greenbrier, and was stationed, with others, under John Wackub, at the Warm Springs, to protect that place.

Smith Thompson's declaration, made in the County Court, July 24, 1820, sets forth that he was then about 73 years old; that he enlisted in Staunton, on July 10, 1777, with Lieut. Robert Kirk, of Capt. Granville Smith's company, attached to the 16th Regiment commanded by Col. William Grayson; that he was in the battles of Monmouth, Stony Point and Paulus Hook, and at the siege of Charleston, where he was captured; that he was discharged from service in the continental line, in June, 1780; and that he was afterwards at the battle of Guilford, C. H., and the capture of Cornwallis. He says he was a weaver by trade; but for many years he followed the business of a barber in Staunton, and boasted that he had shaved Gen. Washington, preserving with care the razor he claimed to have used.

By the erection of Botetourt county, in 1769, and the legal recognition of the district of West Augusta, in 1776, the county of Augusta was shorn of much the larger part of her original territory. She was thus reduced to her present territory, with parts of the present counties of Rockbridge, Bath and Alleghany, and all of Rockingham, Highland and Pendleton.

The district of West Augusta appears to have been evolved, rather than created by law. Its existence was first recognized by the Legislature during the session which began October 7, 1776, when an act was passed "for ascertaining the boundary between the county of Augusta and the district of West Augusta." The boundary of the district is thus described: "Beginning on the Alleghany mountain, between the heads of Potowmack, Cheat and Greenbrier rivers, thence along the ridge of mountains which divides the waters of Cheat river from those of Greenbrier and that branch of the Monongahela river, called Tyger's valley river, to the Monongahela river; thence up the said river and the west fork thereof to Bingerman's creek, on the north side of the said west fork; thence up the said creek to the head thereof; thence in a direct course to the head of Middle Island creek, a branch of the Ohio; and thence to the Ohio, including all of the waters of the said creek in the aforesaid district of West Augusta; all that territory lying to the northward of the aforesaid, and to the westward of the States of Pennsylvania and Maryland, shall be deemed, and is hereby declared, to be within the district of West Augusta."

The act proceeded to divide the district into the three counties of Ohio, Yohogania and Monongalia. The greater part of Yohogania fell within the territory of Pennsylvania, when the boundary line between that State and Virginia was established; and the residue was, by act of 1785, added to Ohio county, and Yohogania became extinct.

We may state that the rhetorical declaration about West Augusta, attributed to Washington, at a dark day during the war, is sheer fiction. What Washington said, in the simplest terms, was, that if driven to extremity, he would retreat to Augusta county, in Virginia, and there make a stand.

The State undertook to provide a navy, but the trouble was to obtain linen cloth for sails. Therefore, an act passed by the Legislature during its first session "in regard to the Virginia fleet," appointed Sampson Mathews and Alexander St. Clair, of Staunton, trustees, "to erect at public expense and superintend a manufactory at such place as they shall think proper, for the making of sail duck," at a cost not exceeding one thousand pounds. We can imagine the reasons which induced the selection of this region for the purpose mentioned. Staunton was regarded as a place not likely to be invaded by the enemy; much flax was then and afterwards raised in the county; and there were many natives of the north of Ireland living here, who were skilled in weaving linen cloth. England having no rival industry, for

a long time imposed no restriction upon the manufacture of flax and hemp in Ireland. The people of Ulster took advantage of their opportunity, and finally supplied sails for the whole British navy. The manufacture extended to England, however, and the Irish trade was thereupon crippled by a duty on sail cloth. This led to another flight of Ulster people to America a few years before the outbreak of the Revolution. We have found no other reference to the manufacture of sail cloth in this region.

The Legislature of 1776, passed an act repealing all acts of the British Parliament which made criminal the maintenance of any religious opinions, forbearing to attend church, or the exercise of any mode of worship. The act also exempted Dissenters from all levies, taxes, and impositions for the support of the "Established Church"—still so called. But all Dissenters, as well as others, were required to contribute to the salaries of ministers and other parish dues, up to January 1, 1777. The vestries were to continue their care of the poor. Glebes, churches and chapels were to be kept for the use of the "Established Church," but all acts providing salaries for ministers were suspended.

At the meeting of the vestry of Augusta parish, in February, 1777, Mr. Jones, the rector, appeared by Robert McClanahan, his attorney. He was allowed £200 for the year 1776, and to February 1, 1777; but Mr. Balmaine, late curate, was to receive out of the said sum the balance due to him,—£103, 10s. 10d. It was ordered that the collector pay to Robert McClanahan the remainder of the £200, he entering into bond to keep and maintain Mr. Jones, and save the parish any expense on his account for three years. Very likely, before the three years expired, the aged rector had departed this life. We hear no more of him. The Glebe was turned over to the vestry to make what they could of it. William Bowyer and Alexander St. Clair were elected church wardens.

At the beginning of the war, when the State first called for troops, the young and ardent men no doubt rushed into the army, and there was no difficulty in filling up the ranks. The officers were eager for military distinction, and others, not anticipating a protracted war, were anxious to participate in the frolic. As months and years rolled by, and the war still continued, the popular enthusiasm evidently cooled down. It was one thing to march out and shoot at the British and return home "covered with glory," and a different thing entirely to be kept from home indefinitely, marching about or lolling in camp, exposed to the weather, badly clad, and nearly all the time without

sufficient food. Many men who had courage and patriotism to serve a campaign, hesitated about voluntarily taking upon themselves the sufferings mentioned. But the casualties of war depleted the regiments in the field, and recruits were demanded. Volunteers in sufficient number were not forthcoming, and drafting was resorted to.

Governor Patrick Henry, writing to General Washington, March 29, 1777, on the subject of Virginia's quota of Continental troops, says: "In a very little time seven (7) companies were made up in Augusta."

The Legislature passed an act in May, 1776, "for completing the quota of troops to be raised in this Commonwealth for the Continental army." Any two militiamen procuring a recruit for three years, or the war, were exempted from draft and muster. To complete the six additional battalions already mentioned, drafting was ordered to be made on the 10th of August, unless the number of men required had previously enlisted.

Again, in 1777, the people of Augusta sent supplies to the destitute. From some cause unknown to us, there was a scarcity of provisions in Washington county, Southwest Virginia, and the records of that county show that Augusta contributed flour for the use of "the distressed inhabitants." [Howe, p. 501.]

The militia were called out again, in September, 1777, to protect the frontier from the Indians. The men rendezvoused at Staunton on the 22nd. Capt. Thomas Smith commanded the company, and Joseph Bell, of South River, was first sergeant. From Staunton the company marched to the Little Levels in Greenbrier, at which point they were joined by other troops under Colonel Dickerson, Lieut.-Col. George Skillern, and Maj. Samuel McDowell. They then marched to the Ohio, at Point Pleasant, to join the commands of General Hand. After being there for some time, says Bell in his "declaration," the army was drawn up and Major McDowell rode along the line and proclaimed that the British army under Burgoyne had surrendered! The troops were then disbanded, and the Augusta men reached home about the second week in December, after an absence of two months and three weeks. It was no doubt thought that the war was over.

Samuel McCune was in the same company, of which, he says, Charles Baskin was lieutenant. He says further that General Hand came down from Pittsburg and disbanded the men at Point Pleasant.

At the session of the Legislature, which began in October, 1777, another act was passed "for recruiting the Virginia regiments on the Continental establishment, and for raising additional troops." It provided that Colonel George Gibson's battalion should continue in

the Continental service in place of the Ninth Virginia regiment, which was captured at Germantown. It also provided for the speedy recruiting of the Virginia regiments in service, Augusta to furnish ninety-seven men by drafting, if a sufficient number of volunteers did not come forward. The drafting was to be made at the court-house of each county on the second Monday in February, 1778, and only unmarried men were liable to be called out. Foote relates that a company of volunteers was made up at this time in Rockbridge, of which the Rev. William Graham was elected captain, but which was not called into service. We are informed, however, that the statement is not entirely correct.

The counties of Rockingham and Rockbridge were established by act of assembly passed at the session which began in October, 1777, the former being taken from Augusta, and the latter from Augusta and Botetourt. From that time till further reduced, Augusta consisted of her present territory, the county of Highland, and part of Bath.

The first session of the County Court of Rockbridge was held April 7, 1778, at the house of Samuel Wallace, the justices presiding being John Bowyer, Samuel McDowell, Charles Campbell, Samuel Lyle and Alexander Stuart. Other justices commissioned were Archibald Alexander, Andrew Reid, John Trimble and John Gilmore. Andrew Reid being appointed clerk, was sworn in. A commission from Governor Patrick Henry, appointing Archibald Alexander sheriff of the county during pleasure, was produced, and the sheriff executed bond and took the oath of office. Other county officers who qualified were Samuel McDowell, Colonel; John Gilmore, Sen., Lieutenant-Colonel; Alexander Stuart, Major; John Bowyer, Lieutenant; and James McDowell, County Surveyor. The surveyor was still appointed by the president and masters of William and Mary College.

The court sat April 18 and May 5, 1778, for the examination of Captain James Hall and Hugh Galbraith, "upon a charge of suspicion" of being guilty of the killing of Cornstalk and two other Indians in November, 1777, and they denying their guilt, and no one appearing against them, they were acquitted. On both occasions the sheriff made proclamation at the door of the courthouse for all persons who could give evidence in behalf of the commonwealth against the accused to come forward and testify, but of course no witness volunteered.

On the 14th of May the court sat for the trial of Mary Walker, wife of John Walker, who stood charged "with speaking words maintaining the power and authority of the King and Parliament of Great

Britain over the United States of America." A jury was impaneled, consisting of Henry McClung, William Ramsey, John and Samuel Caruthers, Hugh Barcley, William Paxton, and others, and after due trial the accused was pronounced guilty of the charge preferred. Thereupon it was considered by the court "that she be committed to close gaol four days, and that the commonwealth recover against her fifteen pounds, ten shillings, as damages," etc.

No attorneys appear to have qualified to practice in Rockbridge County Court till August term, 1778, when Harry Innis* and Andrew Moore were admitted to practice. At April court, 1782, Archibald Stuart was recommended to the Governor as "deputy attorney for the State."

The town of Lexington was legalized and named before it existed, or had a local habitation. The act of assembly, which established Rockbridge county, provided that "at the place, which shall be appointed for holding courts in the said county of Rockbridge, there shall be laid off a town to be called Lexington, thirteen hundred feet in length and nine hundred in width." The act further provided for the condemnation of the land (only about twenty-seven acres), and payment for it out of the county levy. One acre was to be reserved for county buildings, and the residue sold by the justices.

Rockbridge was so called from the celebrated Natural Bridge, in the southeast part of the county, and Lexington after the town in Massachusetts, where the first battle of the Revolution occurred.

It is presumed that Rockingham county was named in honor of the Marquis of Rockingham, Prime Minister of Great Britain in 1765–'6. During his administration the Stamp Act was repealed by Parliament, which caused great rejoicing in America, and the Minister received more credit for the repeal than he perhaps deserved.

The County Court of Rockingham held its first session April 27, 1778, at the house of Daniel Smith, which was two miles north of the site of Harrisonburg. The justices commissioned were Silas Hart, Daniel Smith, Abraham Smith, John Grattan, Josiah Davison, George Boswell, Thomas Hewitt, John Thomas, William Nalle, Robert Davis, Henry Ewing, William McDowell, Anthony Ryder, John Fitzwaters, and Isaac Hinckle.

* Harry Innis, son of Rev. Robert Innis of the Episcopal church, born in Caroline county, in 1752; elected, in 1783, by the Legislature of Virginia, Judge of the Supreme Court of Kentucky, with Samuel McDowell and Caleb Wallace as his associates; appointed, in 1787, Judge of the U. S. Court for Kentucky, and held that office till his death, in 1816. His brother James was Attorney General of Virginia.

Only one of the justices (Isaac Hinckle) seems to have been of the German race. At that time the Scotch-Irish no doubt predominated in Rockingham, and probably few of the German people then living in the county could write or speak the English language.

Silas Hart was the first sheriff; Peter Hogg, the first clerk of the court, called in the proceedings "clerk of the peace of the county;" and Thomas Lewis, the first county surveyor. The following military officers were nominated by the court to the Governor and Council for appointment: Abraham Smith, County-Lieutenant; Daniel Smith, Colonel; Benjamin Harrison, Lieutenant-Colonel; John Skidmore, Major. For some unexplained reason the last-named person was not appointed Major by the executive, but the office was conferred upon William Nalle. John Grattan, John Thomas, and Daniel Smith, were appointed coroners. At May court, 1778, Gabriel Jones was appointed deputy-attorney for the commonwealth, with a salary of £40 a year.

We now take leave of Thomas Lewis, Gabriel Jones, Silas Hart, Peter Hogg, John Grattan, the Smiths, and others, as citizens of Augusta.

Thomas Harrison, of Rockingham, laid off fifty acres of his land in lots and streets, and the Legislature, in 1780, confirmed what he had done by establishing the town of Harrisonburg, without appointing trustees, as was usual.

We resume our narrative of events during the Revolution.

Still more soldiers in the field were needed. Therefore, the Legislature, in May, 1778, passed an act "for raising volunteers to join the Grand Army." A bounty of $30 and a complete suit of regimentals, were promised to every soldier volunteering before August 1st to serve till January 1, 1779. To Augusta was assigned a captain, lieutenant and ensign; the captain to enlist twenty four men; the lieutenant, sixteen, and the ensign, ten, making a company of fifty.

The vestry of Augusta parish held a meeting May 21, 1778, but transacted no business except in regard to the poor. Dr. John Jackson was then practising medicine in the parish.

The court-martial of the county sat for a number of days in succession in October, 1778, Colonel Sampson Mathews presiding. George Moffett was then a colonel also, and a member of the court.

On October 21, sundry persons were reported to the court "as delinquents for not going out when drafted, August 25, 1777," and at other times.

The next day John Bratton, a soldier of Captain Thompson's company, was tried "for deserting from the detachment of militia of this county commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bowyer, on their march to Fort Pitt to join General McIntosh," but was acquitted, and on account of bodily infirmity, exempted from military duty.

On the 23d of October, "William McCutchen, of Captain Samuel McCutchen's company, returned for not appearing at the place of rendezvous, 15th September, 1778, to join the said company on the expedition commanded by General McIntosh, and for opposing Lieutenant James Buchanan and his guard by force of arms," was duly tried. It was ordered that the accused be fined twenty shillings and imprisoned twenty days.

The following day, it appearing that Sergeant John Barrett, of Captain Laird's company, Tenth Virginia regiment, had hired Campbell McCawly as a substitute, and that Colonel John Green, of the Tenth, had refused to receive the latter, Barrett and McCawly being brought before the court, and Captain Laird testifying that McCawly had "used some deceit" to induce Colonel Green to reject him, it was ordered that Barrett having "sore legs," and McCawly being fit for service, the latter should return to camp and be accepted in place of the former.

At the same term the court ordered that arms be furnished to various captains for members of their companies too poor to supply themselves.

In October, 1778, the Legislature passed an act for recruiting the Virginia regiments, requiring each county, *except Illinois*, to furnish the one twenty-fifth man of its militia by May 1, 1779, to serve for three years, or during the war. An act of May, 1779, reciting that the former act had not "produced the end proposed," ordered that the "one twenty-fifth man of the militia" be drafted for eighteen months.

By another act passed at the same session, a part of Augusta county was added to Monongalia.

At a court-martial, held April 15, 1779, Lieutenant-Colonel William Bowyer was fined £10 for not attending the court.

On the 17th John Woods, of Captain Simpson's company, "returned at the last court for deserting from his command when he was a substitute for Robert Wallace, who was drafted in Captain Bell's company, on the head of Greenbrier, about the last of September," was fined £4, and ordered to be imprisoned thirty days.

The Augusta militia were called out in April, 1779, by Col. Sampson Mathews, and rendezvoused at Staunton on the 16th. The company was commanded by Capt. James Trimble. Joseph Bell of South River was orderly sergeant, and Alexander Hamilton was one of the privates. They marched to Tygart's Valley, and returned home after an absence of three months. Hamilton states in his "declaration" that he was on several scouts, but in no battle.

By the year 1779, courthouse No. 2 required fixing up, and the sheriff was ordered to employ workmen to repair the under-pinning and windows, so that business might be done therein; and also to rent out the old courthouse, in which jailor Thomas Rhodes then lived.

The Poages.

Robert Poage, with many other settlers in the Valley, appeared at Orange court, May 22, 1740, to "prove his importation," with the view of taking up public lands. The record sets forth that he, his wife, Elizabeth, and nine children, named, came from Ireland to Philadelphia, "and from thence to this colony," at his own expense. He may have come some years earlier than the date mentioned, but we find no trace of him before that time. Alexander Breckinridge proved his importation on the same day, and very likely the two families came over in the same ship.

Mr. Poage settled on a plantation three miles north of Staunton, which he must have purchased from William Beverley, as the land was in Beverley's Manor. The tract contained originally seven hundred and seventy-two acres. It was there, no doubt, that the young preacher, McAden, obtained his first dinner in Virginia, on Saturday, June 21, 1755.

But he acquired other lands directly from the government. There is before us a patent on parchment, executed by Governor Gooch, July 30, 1742, granting to Robert Poage three hundred and six acres of land "in the county of Orange, on the west side of the Blue Ridge," to be held "in free and common soccage, and not in *capite* or by knight's service," in consideration of thirty-five shillings; provided the grantee should pay a fee rent of one shilling for every fifty acres, annually, "on the feast of St Michael the Archangel," etc. The seal attached to the patent has on it an impression of the royal crown of Great Britain.

The will of Robert Poage, dated October 20, 1773, was proved in court March 6, 1774. The executors were William Lewis and testator's son, John. The testator mentions his sons John, Thomas, Robert, George and William; and his daughters Martha Woods,

Elizabeth Crawford and Margaret Robertson. To the last six he gave only "one pistol," each, having provided for them otherwise. The son Thomas is not named in the Orange county court record, and the presumption is that he was born after the family came to America. The record referred to mentions, however, two daughters, Mary and Sarah, who are not named in the will. Both had probably died before the date of the will. One of these, it is supposed, was the first wife of Major Robert Breckinridge (son of Alexander), who died while quite young, leaving two sons, Robert and Alexander Breckinridge, who became prominent citizens of Kentucky.

William Poage, son of Robert, probably removed first to Albemarle (see Hening, Vol. 7, p. 203), and finally to Kentucky.

The only children of Robert and Elizabeth Poage, of whom we have any particular account, are their sons John and Thomas.

I. John Poage qualified as assistant to Thomas Lewis, surveyor of Augusta county, May 20, 1760. In 1763, he was a vestryman of Augusta Parish. On March 17, 1778, he became high sheriff, and on the next day qualified as county surveyor. His will, dated February 16, 1789, and proved in court April 22, 1789, mentions his wife, Mary; and his children, Robert, George, James, John, Thomas, Elizabeth and Ann. Of most of these nothing is known.

1. Robert Poage, son of John, qualified as assistant county surveyor, June 16, 1778. Nothing else is known of him.

2. James Poage married his cousin, Mary Woods, daughter of Mrs. Martha Woods, who was a daughter of Robert Poage, Sr. He moved to Kentucky, and was a member of the Kentucky Legislature in 1796. He had two sons, Andrew and George, both Presbyterian ministers; and two daughters, Margaret, wife of the Rev. T. S. Williamson, M. D., and Sarah, wife of the Rev. G. H. Pond. The last couple were missionaries.

3. John Poage, son of John, succeeded his father as county surveyor. He lived on a farm near Mowry's Mill, about five miles north of Staunton, and died in 1827, leaving several children, most of whom went west. His son James, who remained in Augusta, died in 1876.

4. Thomas Poage, son of John, Sr., was a promising young minister, who died in 1793. He had recently married a Miss Jane Watkins, to whom and his brother John, he left his estate. The witnesses to the will were the Rev. William Wilson and the Rev. John Poage Campbell. The latter and John Poage were appointed executors. Mr. Campbell's name was originally simply John Campbell, but he added the name Poage on account of his devotion to his friend, Thomas Poage.

5. Elizabeth, daughter of John Poage, Sr., was the wife of the Rev. Dr. Moses Hoge, long president of Hampden Sidney College. She was married August 23, 1783, and died June, 1802. Her three sons were eminent ministers, viz: Rev. Dr. James Hoge, of Columbus, Ohio; Rev. John Blair Hoge, a man of brilliant genius, who

died young, at Martinsburg; and Rev. Samuel Davies Hoge, who also died young, the father of the Rev. Moses D. Hoge, D. D., of Richmond.

Of George and Ann Poage, the remaining children of John Poage, Sr., nothing is known.

II. Thomas Poage, son of Robert, Sr., inherited and lived on his father's homestead. His wife was Polly McClanahan, a daughter of Robert and Jane McClanahan. His will, proved in court, January 24, 1803, mentions his children, viz: Elijah, Robert, John, William, Elizabeth, Ann, Polly and Agnes.

1. Elijah Poage married Nancy Grattan, daughter of John Grattan, July 3, 1787, and went to Kentucky.

2. Robert Poage, son of Thomas, Sr., married Martha Crawford, September 15, 1791, and went to Kentucky.

3. John Poage, son of Thomas, Sr., married, November 27, 1792, Mrs. Rachel Crawford, widow of John Crawford, of Augusta, and daughter of Hugh Barclay, of Rockbridge He lived in Rockbridge, on a farm given to him by his father, and was the grandfather of Colonel William T. Poage of Lexington.

4. William Poage, youngest son of Thomas, Sr., was the Major Poage who lived many years on the ancestral farm, three miles from Staunton. His first wife was Betsy, daughter of Colonel Andrew Anderson. She died without issue, and he married again, Peggy Allen, (see "The Allens,") by whom there was a large family. His son Thomas, a rising lawyer in southwest Virginia, was Colonel of the Fiftieth Virginia regiment when he was killed, on Blackwater, in February, 1863. One of Major Poage's daughters is the wife of General James A. Walker, late Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia.

5. Ann Poage, daughter of Thomas, Sr., married Major Archibald Woods, of Botetourt, March 5, 1789, who was a son of Mrs. Martha Woods, daughter of Robert Poage, Sr. Major Woods removed to Ohio county, and died in 1846. His son, Thomas, who was cashier of the North Western Bank of Virginia, at Wheeling, was the father of the Rev. Edgar Woods, of Pantops Academy, Albemarle.

6. Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Poage, Sr., was the wife of the Rev. William Wilson, of Augusta church.

7. Polly, daughter of Thomas Poage, Sr., was the wife of Thomas Wilson, a brother of the Rev. William Wilson. Thomas Wilson lived at Morgantown, Northwest Virginia, and was a lawyer, member of Congress, etc. His son, the Rev. Norval Wilson, was long a prominent minister of the Methodist Episcopal church, and one of his daughters, Mrs. Louisa Lowrie, was a missionary in India. Among the grandsons of Thomas Wilson is Bishop Alpheus Wilson of the M. E. church.

8. Agnes Poage, daughter of Thomas, Sr., died unmarried.

Another family of Poages came from Ireland and settled in Rockbridge county. The name of the ancestor is not known. He was, probably, a brother of Robert Poage, Sr., who settled in Augusta about 1740. His wife was Jane Somers. They had ten children. One of the sons, Jonathan, was the grandfather of Dr. Poage, late of Rockbridge, and of Mrs. Lane, a missionary in Brazil, and others. A daughter, Ann, was the wife of Isaac Caruthers, and has many descendants widely scattered. Another daughter, Martha, married James Moore. The fifth child of James and Martha Moore was called Mary, after her father's oldest sister, who was the wife of Major Alexander Stuart, father of Judge Archibald Stuart. Mary Moore became the wife of the Rev. Samuel Brown, of New Providence. When a child, nine years of age, living with her parents in Abb's Valley, now Tazewell county, she and others were carried off by Indians, July 14, 1786, and detained in captivity three years.

The Cunninghams.

Robert Cunningham, a native of north Ireland, settled on a farm called Rock Spring, in Augusta county, about the year 1735. He was one of the first set of justices of the peace appointed in 1745, and afterward a member of the House of Burgesses. His wife was a widow Hamilton, and the mother of several children at the time of her second marriage. One of her daughters, Mary Hamilton, married David Campbell, and was the mother of John and Arthur Campbell, and others. Two of the daughters of Robert Cunningham also married Campbells. He had no son. His daughter, Martha, about the year 1750, married Walter Davis, who became the owner of Rock Spring farm. Mr. Davis never held civil office, but was an elder of Tinkling Spring church, and a man of much influence. His daughter, Margaret, married John Smith, and was the mother of Judge Daniel Smith, of Rockingham. His son, William Davis, born in 1765, married Annie Caldwell, and died about 1851, aged eighty-six. He was a man of high standing in the community, a justice of the peace, high sheriff, etc. Walter Davis, Jr., son of William, born in 1791, was for many years one of the two commissioners of the revenue in Augusta county, and noted for his faithful and intelligent discharge of the duties of his office. His wife was Rebecca Van Lear. William C. Davis, a brother of Walter Davis, Jr., removed to Missouri in 1836 or 1837. Dr. Thomas Parks, of Missouri, is the only surviving grandchild of Walter Davis, Sr.

John Cunningham, believed to have been a brother of Robert, lived in Staunton, his residence being on Lot No. 1, southwest corner of Augusta street and Spring Lane. He had three daughters and one son. His oldest daughter was Mrs. Margaret Reed, who was baptized

by Mr. Craig in 1747, and died in 1827. Another daughter, Isabella, married Major Robert Burns, and was the mother of Mrs. Waterman and Mrs. Gambill, of Rockingham. The third daughter of John Cunningham, Elizabeth, married Captain Thomas Smith. The daughters of Capt. Smith were Mrs. Michael Garber, Mrs. Moses McCue, and Mrs. John Jones. Captain Walter Cunningham, only son of John, removed to Kentucky in 1788, and thus the name disappeared from the county.

We are indebted to Major James B. Dorman, a grandson of Mrs. Moses McCue, for most of the above facts.

Another family of Cunninghams settled at an early day in the "Forks of James River," their name being written sometimes Cuningham, and occasionally Coningham. The first mention of this family in the records of Augusta county, is August 18, 1752, when John Coningham and Robert Weir received a deed for 133 acres of land in Borden's Grant.

On August 5, 1753, James Coningham conveyed to his son Jacob 100 acres, a part of 400 acres on Tees' creek, a branch of James River, which had been patented by James C.; and on February 12, 1756, he conveyed 128 acres of the same tract to his son Isaac. The last named died in 1759, Jean Cunningham having qualified as his administratrix, May 20, 1759. Jacob Cunningham died in 1760, as appears from the inventory and appraisement of his personal estate. The wife of a Jacob Cunningham was killed by Indians July, 1763, and his ten-year old daughter scalped and left for dead. One account of the first Kerr's Creek massacre states that he escaped by being absent from home; but the probability is that he was the person who died more than three years before.

Hugh Cunningham conveyed to Law Todd, May 19, 1760, 251 acres lying "on Whissle Creek, Forks of James River;" and on May 8, 1764, he conveyed to Jonathan Cunningham 281 acres, described as lying "on Carr's Creek, Augusta county."

John Cunningham and Margaret his wife, on May 13, 1764, conveyed 230 acres of land and a variety of personal property to their son Patrick, in consideration of their maintenance by him. This John C. (or some other), died in 1774, his personal estate being appraised, March 18, 1774, at £32, 12s. Patrick conveyed the 230 acres, August 18, 1766, to Edward Erwin.

James Cunningham's will was admitted to record March 19, 1765. He provided for his wife, Margaret, and gave most of his estate to his son Moses. To his son Hugh, his grand-son James, (son of Jacob), his grand-son John, (son of Isaac), and his daughters, each, he gave one English shilling.

The will of Jonathan Cunningham, "of Carr's Creek," was admitted to record March 20, 1770. He gave his wife, Mary, £60, etc., and left his plantation to his "dutiful father," Hugh Cunningham. His wife, as appears from the will, was a daughter of John McKee and

sister of Col. William McKee. The people of Kerr's Creek were assembled at the house of Jonathan Cunningham at the time of the second massacre, in 1764, and some of the Cunninghams were then captured and carried off by the Indians.

Hugh Cunningham and Sarah his wife, "of the Forks of James River," on March 20, 1770, conveyed a tract of land to John McKee, probably the tract devised to Hugh by his son Jonathan.

From Mr. Clarence Cunningham, of Charleston, S. C., we learn that John Cunningham, of Kerr's Creek, had four sons and three daughters. The sons were Robert, Patrick, John and David.—In January, 1769, Robert and Patrick removed to District Ninety-Six, S. C., now Abbeville, and were followed, in 1770, by John and David and their sisters. During the Revolutionary war, Robert became an officer in the British army, and is known in history as the Tory General Robert Cunningham.

Appleton's *American Biography* says: Robert Cunningham, loyalist, born in Ireland about 1739; settled in District Ninety-Six, S. C., in 1769, and soon became a judge. He opposed the cause of the colonies, and in 1775 was imprisoned in Charleston. After his release he joined the British forces, and, in 1780, was commissioned Brigadier General. He first was placed in command of a garrison in S. C., and the following year served in the field against General Sumter. His estate was confiscated in 1782, and, having left the country, he was not allowed to return, although he petitioned to be allowed to do so. The British Government gave him an annuity. He died in Nassau, in 1813.

Patrick Cunningham also entered the British service during the Revolutionary war, and became a Colonel; but seems not to have incurred the odium his brother Robert did. His son Robert was a captain in the Mexican war. Capt. Robert's son John was prominent in law, politics and journalism, and his daughter Pamela was the organizer and first Regent of the Ladies' Mt. Vernon Association.

William Cunningham, called "Bloody Bill" in South Carolina, is said to have been a second-cousin of Robert and Patrick. He is otherwise known as Major, or Colonel, William Cunningham, of the British army. Bancroft gives an account of an expedition he commanded in 1781, and the cruelties practised by him. (Vol. X, p. 458.) In Appleton's *American Biography* we find a sketch of a man of the same name. He was born in Dublin, and came to America in 1774. Gen. Gage appointed him provost-marshal of the army. In 1778 he had charge of the military prisons in Philadelphia, and later those in New York; and in both places was notorious for his cruelties. It is said that he literally starved to death 2,000 prisoners, and hung 250 without trial. At the close of the war he went to England, became very dissipated, and in 1791 was hanged for forgery. This man was probably the same as "Bloody Bill," as it is not likely that the same generation could produce two such men. It is a relief to find that the gallows claimed him at last.

Virginia furnished fifteen regiments of regulars, known as the "Continental Line," the original Colonels of which were: 1st. James Read, [it would seem that Patrick Henry was not commissioned]; 2d. William Woodford; 3rd. Hugh Mercer; 4th. Adam Stephen; 5th. William Peachy; 6th. Mordecai Buckner; 7th. William Dangerfield [Alexander McClanahan, Lt. Col.]; 8th. Peter Muhlenberg; 9th. Charles Fleming [Geo. Mathews, Lt. Col.]; 10th. Edward Stevens; 11th. Daniel Morgan [Christian Febiger, Lt. Col.]; 12th. James Wood; 13th. William Russell; 14th. Charles Lewis; 15th. David Mason.

In September, 1778, the number of Virginia regiments was reduced from fifteen to eleven. The 9th was consolidated with the 1st, and the 7th was designated the 5th.

Andrew Lewis commissioned Brigadier General Continental army, March 1, 1776; resigned April 15, 1777; died September 26, 1781.

Andrew Lewis, jr., (son of Thomas), 1777, ensign 13th Va., afterwards the 9th, Lieutenant, October 2, 1778.—Transferred to 7th, Feb. 12, 1781.

Charles Lewis (son of ———), colonel of 14th Va., Nov. 12, 1776; resigned March 28, 1778.

John Lewis (son of Thos. or Wm.) 2nd Lt. 9th Va., March 16, 1776; 1st Lt. Nov. 7, 1776; resigned Sept. 15, 1778.

William Lewis (son of ———), 1st Lt. 1st Va., Oct. 2, 1775; Capt. Sept. 4, 1776; Brigade Inspector of Muhlenberg's Brigade, April 7, 1778; Major of 10th Va. May 12, 1779; taken prisoner at Charleston, May 12, 1780; transferred to 3rd Va. Feb. 12, 1781; served to close of war; died, 1811.

Thomas Lewis (son of Thomas), 2nd Lt. 15th Va., Nov. 21, 1776; 1st Lt. March 20, 1777; retired Feb. 12, 1781; Capt. U. S. Infantry, March 5, 1792; resigned March 9, 1801.

William Lewis (son of ———), Lt. in Lee's Battalion of Dragoons; killed, Sept. 14, 1779, at Gennesee, N. Y.

William Christian, Lt. Col. 1st Va., Feb. 13, 1776.—Colonel, March 18, 1776, which he declined and retired from the regular service.

Robert Gamble, 1st Lt. 12th Va., Sept. 14, 1776; Capt. March 7, 1778; regiment designated 8th Va., Sept. 14, 1778; served to close of war.

George Mathews, Lt. Col. 9th Va., March 4, 1776; Col. Feb. 10, 1777; wounded and captured at Germantown, Oct. 4, 1777; exchanged Dec. 5, 1781; died Aug. 30, 1812.

Alexander McClanahan, Lt. Col. 7th Va., Feb. 29, 1776; Col. March 22, 1777, to rank from Oct. 7, 1776; resigned May 13, 1778.

Robert Porterfield, 2nd Lt. 11th Va., Dec. 24, 1776; 1st Lt., June 1, 1777; Adjutant April 19, 1778; transferred to 7th Va. Sept. 14, 1778; Captain Aug. 16, 1779; taken prisoner at Charleston May 12, 1780; transferred to 2nd Va., Feb. 12, 1781; served to close of war; died Feb. 13, 1843.

Alexander Breckinridge, 1st Lt. "Gist's Additional Continental Regiment," January, 1777; Capt. April 23, 1779; taken prisoner at Charleston May 12, 1780, and held till June 17, 1781; retired January 1, 1781.

Robert Breckinridge, 2nd Lt. 8th Va., August 10, 1777; 1st Lt. April 4, 1778; transferred to 4th Va., Sept. 14, 1778; taken prisoner at Charleston, May 12, 1780; exchanged July, 1781; served to close of war; died Sept. 11, 1833.

Henry Bowyer, 2nd Lt. 12th Va., Nov. 15, 1777; Lt. 1st Continental Dragoons, Feb. 18, 1781; served to close of war; died June 13, 1832.

Michael Bowyer, Capt. 12th Va., Sept. 30, 1776; retired Sept. 14, 1778.

William Robertson, Adjutant 9th Va., May 22, 1777; 1st Lt. Sept. 24, 1778; taken prisoner at Charleston, May 12, 1780; released Dec. 3, 1780; served to close of war; died Nov. 12, 1831.—(From Heitman's Historical Register.)

CHAPTER X.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION, ETC., FROM 1779 TO 1781.

The storming of Stony Point occurred July 15–16, 1779. This famous incident of the war has a place here, because a company of Augusta soldiers participated in it. General Wayne commanded, on the Hudson river, New York, a brigade of four regiments, one of which was from Virginia. The field officers of this regiment were Colonel Febiger, Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury, and Major Posey.* One of the companies of the Virginia regiment was commanded by Captain Robert Gamble, of Augusta.

Stony Point is a hill which projects into the Hudson, a few miles below West Point. The Americans had occupied and partially fortified it, but retired before an overwhelming force of the enemy. The hill was then strongly fortified by the British, and garrisoned by about 600 men.

During the summer of 1779, Washington planned the capture of the place, and entrusted the execution of the scheme to Mad Anthony Wayne. Twelve hundred chosen men, led by Wayne, marched in single file over mountains and through morasses, starting after dark the evening of July 15. They depended on the bayonet alone, and not a gun was fired by them. The assault was made before daylight, on the 16th. The Americans were divided into two columns, for simultaneous attack on opposite sides of the works. One hundred and fifty volunteers, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury, seconded by Major Posey, formed the van-guard of the right, and one hundred under Major Stewart, the van-guard of the left. In advance of each was a forlorn hope of twenty men, one led by Lieutenant Knox, and the other by Lieutenant Gibbon of the Virginia regiment. It was the des-

* Colonel Christian Febiger was a native of Sweden. He went with Arnold to Quebec, and was conspicuous at Stony Point and Yorktown. After the war, from 1789 till his death in 1796, he was treasurer of Pennsylvania. Chevalier and Viscount Louis de Fleury, Lieutenant-Colonel, was a Frenchman, and a Marshal of France at the time of his death. He received the thanks of Congress and a silver medal for his conduct at Stony Point. Major Thomas Posey was subsequently known as General Posey, of Spotsylvania county, Virginia.

perate duty of these men to remove the abatis and other obstructions. Of the party led by Gibbon, seventeen were killed or wounded. The Americans were close upon the works before they were discovered. The British pickets then opened fire, and aroused the garrison. The assailants rushed forward, heedless of musketry and grape-shot, using the bayonet with deadly effect. According to the account given by Irving, in his *Life of Washington*, Colonel Fleury was the first to enter the fort and strike the British flag, and Major Posey sprang to the ramparts and shouted, "The fort is our own." They were instantly joined by Major Stewart. General Wayne, who led the right column, was wounded in the head, but insisted upon being carried into the fort, to die there; but soon recovered. The loss of the Americans was fifteen killed, and eighty-three wounded. Of the British, sixty-three were slain and five hundred and fifty-three were taken prisoners.

General Charles Lee declared the storming of Stony Point the most brilliant achievement he was acquainted with in history. The part in the affair which Captain Gamble is said to have acted is related in a biographical sketch on another page.

To Dr. Cary B. Gamble, of Baltimore, we are indebted for a list of the men led by Captain Gamble at Stony Point, who were, it seems, detailed from the Seventh and Eighth Virginia regiments. The paper is headed: "A return of the men of Captain Gamble's company when Stony Point was taken from the enemy, 15th July, 1779;" and is certified at the end by "Robert Gamble, captain, Colonel Febiger's Regiment." The names of the officers and men are as follows:

Robert Gamble, Captain; David Williams, Lieutenant; James Flauherty, Sergeant-Major; William Spencer, George Goimes and Richard Piles, Sergeants; Randolph Death (*sic*), Samuel Glen and Jesse Page, Corporals; John Farrell, Drummer.

The privates from the Seventh regiment were: Joshua Haycraft, Mathias Martin, Alexander Dresdal, John Malvin, Peter Sheridan, Joseph Fox, Daniel Burcher, Thomas Roberts, Sylvester Hurly, William Gibbs, William Hinds, Daniel Rich, Aaron Redmond, Thomas Miller, William Campbell, Moses Plain, Peter Barret, Alexander Strickling and Charles Steward.

From the Eighth regiment: George Ward, John Bray, James Ball, Henry Denny, Henry Normand, Jacob Roads, William McCollum, Henry Denny (two of this name), John Trotter, George Sell, Michael Moore, James L. Masters, Richard Barlow, Stephen Smythers, John Bland, Marshall Burton, Peter Warren, John O'Harroh, Patrick Lyons, William Steward and John Hanson.

It will be observed that many of these names are not Scotch-Irish. The ranks of the regular army were largely recruited in the Valley from the class of "indentured servants," who obtained their freedom from domestic servitude by enlisting, and they were generally of a different race from the original settlers and their descendants.

The captured property was sold or appraised, and the proceeds, or valuation, distributed to the officers and men, the share of Captain Gamble's company being $4,751⅓.

A fragment of the order book of Captain Gamble's company, while serving under Wayne on the Hudson, subsequent to the storming of Stony Point, has been preserved and has come into our hands. Much of it is illegible, the writing having faded out, and some of the sheets are mutilated. It was probably kept by the orderly sergeant of the company, who was an indifferent penman and worse scholar. How he made so many mistakes in merely copying orders etc., is a mystery. But such as it is, it gives us a rare view of camp life during the Revolution, and we offer no apology for the extracts we shall make.

The first legible order,—the date of which has disappeared, but it was some day in August, 1779.—is as follows: "Colonels Meggs and Butler, and Majors Hull and Murphy, will attend at headquarters this afternoon, at five o'clock, to receive their divide*nt* of money arising from the sale of the plunder taken in storming Stony Point, July 15th, '79."

At a court-martial held August 24th, whereof Colonel Putnam was president, Lieutenant Smith, of Putnam's regiment, was tried upon the charge of taking several articles of plunder from a soldier "the night of the storm of Stony Point," and acquitted.

Lieutenant Maynard, of the Massachusetts regiment, was tried by court-martial, August 30th, on charges preferred by Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury of disobedience to orders, want of respect to a field officer, and hindering him from visiting the night-guard. Maynard was the officer on duty, and detained Fleury a prisoner all night. The court found him guilty, and sentenced him to be privately reprimanded by the General. Thereupon, Maynard preferred charges against Fleury of ungentlemanly behavior, and abusing him when on duty. A majority of the court thought Fleury guilty, but in view of the provocation he had received, and the punishment of his arrest, the case was dismissed.

The General next issued an order, expressing his dissatisfaction at the wrangling amongst the officers, and the frequent arrests "in a

corps that has acquired so much glory, as to become not only the admiration but the envy of many," and exhorting the officers to cultivate harmony amongst themselves.

A regimental order, of September 1, sets forth that "the drummers and fifers, instead of improving themselves since they have been on this detachment, have *grone* a great deal *wors*," and directs that Philip Goaf, fifer in the First battalion, and William Armstead, drummer of the Second, take out the drums and fifes of the regiment every afternoon, Sundays and rainy days excepted, to practice from 4 to 6 o'clock.

Captain Gamble was officer of the day, September 2d.

John Bowling and John Malvin were tried for disobedience to orders, absence from roll-call, and drunkenness, found guilty, and sentenced to receive fifty lashes each, but, in consideration of the former good character of the men, the colonel remitted the penalty. Thomas Roberts was sentenced to receive fifty lashes for absence from roll-call, and one hundred for stealing. The colonel thought one hundred enough for both offences, but ordered that they be "well laid on." James Black, a soldier of Captain Montgomery's company, Virginia regiment, was sentenced to receive fifty lashes on his bare back for stealing a ham of bacon, Major Posey commanding approving the sentence, and ordering it "to be put in execution at Retreat beating." Alas! alas! the heroes of Stony Point!—the patriots of the Revolution!

By a general court-martial, held September 5, William Mallock, of Captain Talbert's company, Colonel Butler's regiment, was convicted of several offences, including "attempting to go to the enemy," and sentenced to suffer death. General Wayne approved the sentence, and ordered Mallock to be shot to death at 6 o'clock the same evening, "the whole of the troops to assemble at that hour on the grand parade and attend the execution."

On the 12th of September the General ordered that the men should be kept in camp, as a movement might be made at any moment. A standing order, which was often repeated, required the men to keep on hand two days' rations ready cooked.

Captain Gamble was officer of the day again on the 14th of September.

The following appears under date of September 18, written by Captain Gamble himself in a beautiful hand: "William Askins, of my company, is appointed a Corporal, and is to be obeyed and re-

spected as such." Signed: "R. Gamble, Captain First regiment light infantry."

Captain Gamble was president of a regimental court-martial, held September 19th. Little else appears to have been done, except to hold courts for the trial of officers as well as private soldiers.

On the 24th of September, the command being near Fort Montgomery, a ship, one or two galleys, and some boats appeared in view, and the General ordered that every officer and soldier should hold himself ready for action "in case any attempt should be made by the enemy, which is rather more wished than expected."

By a general order of September 29th, the men are rebuked for their unsoldier-like appearance, and to remove any pretext for it the quartermasters are instructed to "call on Mr. Thomas, each, for four pounds of sewing-thread and four hundred needles and immediately distribute them among the companies of their respective regiments."

A regimental order, on September 30th, directed that return be made of the barefooted men "in a column by themselves." The Colonel further expressed his astonishment and sorrow that the men, "instead of taking a pride in keeping themselves clean and neat, are daily decreasing in this very necessary point, appearing on the parade d*u*rty and sloven*ny*, with their caps *laped* and *sloughed* about their ears."

Captain Gamble did not trust the company's scribe to record his own orders, but entered them himself. In one dated Kakeyatte, 13th October, 1779, he gives directions in regard to the pay, etc., of three washer-women, who drew rations in his company.

A general order in October calls upon the officers to exert themselves in detecting marauders, reminding them that the army was raised to protect, and not to oppress the inhabitants.

Another general order, also in October, exhorted the men to furbish up their arms and clothing, as the corps would probably very soon "parade through towns and cities, from which they have been long excluded," and all eyes would be upon them.

On the 22d of October, General Wayne expressed his concern that the Virginians were the only troops in the light infantry that had not "procured hair for their caps." [Probably instead of plumes.] The colonel of the Virginia regiment thereupon repeated his order on the subject. He directed that no officer should mount guard or go on the grand parade without a cap, and "if he has not one of his own he

will *kind a nuff to borrow.*" So the copyist enters it in the company order book.*

Next appears a company order dated October 24, in the handwriting of Captain Gamble. The Captain expressed his pleasure at learning from Ensign Phillips that notwithstanding the soldiers had drawn "two days' rum" the day before, not one of the company was drunk on the parade. The commissary, he said, would soon have liquor to issue, exclusive of what the State of Virginia had begun to supply, and as it would be most proper to draw several days at once "on account of the distance," Captain Gamble was fearful that soldiers "accustomed to get drunk" would fall victims to the vice. He declared his determination to suppress a practice destructive of good order and military discipline. The men who should be caught "disguised with liquor either on or off duty," should have their rum stopped for two weeks. For a second offence the punishment should be whatever a court-martial might inflict without favor to any individual.

A general order of November 5, says: "Some late intelligence renders it necessary for the corps to be prepared to seek or meet the enemy." Every man was to be in readiness to act. The commissary was ordered to send wagons immediately to bring the rum and other supplies from the landing. At the next general parade a gill of rum would be issued to each man.

Cold weather had come on by November 7th, and a regimental order of that date, signed by Colonel Christian Febiger, directs about chimneys to the tents, and requires the officers to prevent the men from destroying the fences or anything belonging to the inhabitants. A general order instructs the commissary to "engage all the roots and vegetables he can procure for the use of the troops, for which he will give beef in barter."

*The forlorn condition in respect to costume of the Virginia regiment which served on the Hudson in 1779, was not unprecedented. According to Shakespeare King Henry V described the equipment of his soldiers on the field of Agincourt in almost the same words. He is represented (Act IV, scene 3) as saying to the French herald—

Tell the Constable,
We are but warriors of the working day;
Our gayness and our gilt are all besmirched
With rainy marching in the painful field;
There's not a piece of feather in our host
(Good argument, I hope, we shall not fly,)
And time hath worn us into slovenny.

On the last page of the fragment Captain Gamble is mentioned as "regimental officer." He was then only about twenty-five years of age.

In October, 1779, an act of the Legislature was passed repealing all acts providing salaries for ministers. Such acts had only been previously suspended from time to time.

At a county court-martial, October 27, 1779, Colonel Moffett presiding, Lieutenant James Bell, accused by his captain, Alexander Simpson, of disobedience, "in refusing to impress a horse to carry provisions for the use of the militia ordered out on duty in this county," was tried and found guilty. It was ordered that he be reprimanded, "which was immediately done by the president in presence of the court."

At the same session of the court, Ensign James Steele reported the desertion of sundry men from their station on the west fork of Monongahela, they being substitutes for Augusta militiamen. Many other substitutes were returned on the same day by Ensign Robert Christian for deserting from his command at Buchanan fort. Some of the alleged deserters were acquitted, and others convicted and sentenced to serve six months longer than their original time.

Early in the spring of 1780, the militia was again called out, Alexander Hamilton being one of the men drafted. On this occasion the Augusta militia rendezvoused at Jennings' Gap, and marched under command of Capt. John McKitrick, by the Warm Springs to Forts Dinwiddie and Warwick, in Bath. At the latter place they remained till the end of the three months tour. William Wilson was ensign. There were no lieutenants. The number of officers and men was forty-four.

By act of May, 1780, the vestries in Augusta and several other counties were dissolved; and the election of five freeholders as overseers of the poor in each county was provided for. The vestry of Augusta parish held their last meeting on the 16th of May, 1780, but only entered some orders in regard to the poor.

Soldiers, however, were still needed. Therefore an act passed by the Legislature in May, 1780, provided that the several counties (except the *county of Illinois* and the territory in dispute between Virginia and Pennsylvania) furnish one-fifteenth man of the militia, to serve in the Continental army till December 31, 1781. Staunton was appointed a rendezvous.

The last act on the subject during the war, passed at the session which began October 16th, 1780, called for 3,000 men, and fixed the

quota of Augusta as 80, Rockbridge 38, and Rockingham 49, to be drafted for eighteen months, if not furnished by volunteering.

At the same session an act was passed for supplying the army with clothes, provisions and wagons. Augusta was required to furnish forty-six suits of clothes, Rockbridge seventeen, and Rockingham nineteen.

By the militia court-martial which sat at the courthouse, October 24, 1780, six captains were fined £10 each for not returning rolls of their respective companies. Zachariah Johnston, a member of the court, was one of the delinquents, and forthwith paid his fine.

On the following day, John Massey was brought before the court on suspicion of being a deserter from "the detachment of militia ordered on duty from this county to the southward, under the command of Captain Tate and Captain Buchanan." The court was of opinion that Massey's return home was not culpable under the circumstances; and he, acknowledging that he was a deserter from the British army, and would rather serve to the westward, was allowed to exchange places with James Buchanan, the latter to go south and Massey west.

From the proceedings of the Legislature in 1781, we learn that there had been some trouble in Augusta in reference to a draft; but the date, cause and extent of it are not stated. Probably the men called for were furnished without drafting.

The court provided for the families of soldiers out of the county levy. At November court, 1779, Mary Waugh and Mary Lendon, soldiers' wives, were allowed, the one forty and the other sixty pounds ($133.33⅓ and $200) for the ensuing year. The people were evidently almost unanimous in support of the American cause. We have heard of only two disloyal men in the county during the war. At a term of the county court in 1781, William Ward and Lewis Baker were found guilty of treason in levying war against the commonwealth, and sent on for trial. The court on that occasion was composed of Elijah McClanahan, Alexander St. Clair, Alexander McClanahan, Thomas Adams and James Trimble.

In October, 1780, by act of the Legislature, all ministers of the gospel were authorized to celebrate the rites of matrimony on and after January 1, 1781; but Dissenting ministers, not exceeding four of each sect in any one county, were to be specially licensed by the County Courts. Ministers of the "Established Church," were authorized *ex officio* to perform the service. Notwithstanding a large majority of the people had become Dissenters long before this, the

Legislature, elected by freeholders, clung to the establishment, and it was not till October, 1784, that all ministers were put upon an equal footing in respect to the matter referred to.*

By act of the Legislature, in October, 1780, the Court of Greenbrier county was empowered to have a wagon road opened from their courthouse to the Warm Springs, or to the mouth of the Cowpasture river, the costs to be paid by the property-holders of Greenbrier, in money or "clean merchantable hemp." This act was suspended in 1781, but re-enacted in October, 1782. The last act authorized the justices of Greenbrier "to clear a wagon road from the Warm Springs in Augusta to the Savanna," (now Lewisburg.) We presume the road was *cleared* soon afterwards. Previously, merchandise and baggage were transported from the east in wagons, to or near the Warm Springs, and from thence west on pack-horses, while the wagons returned loaded with venison, hams, etc.

Mention has been made of the Rev. Archibald Scott as the first pastor of Bethel congregation. Foote gives the following account of the origin of Bethel. The year succeeding Mr. Scott's settlement as pastor of North Mountain and Brown's meeting-house—that is, in 1779—"as he was riding through the neighborhood he came unexpectedly upon a company of men putting up a large log building. Upon inquiry, he found it was designed as a meeting-house. The people worshiping at the old North Mountain meeting-house, had been talking about a new church building and a new position, but nothing had been decided upon by the congregation. Fearing lest evil might spring from this sudden movement of one part of the congregation, the young pastor says: 'Are you not too fast, my boys?' 'No,' said Colonel Doak, 'we will end the dispute by putting up the church.' The church building was completed, and called Bethel, and the dispute was heard of no more." Mr. Scott lived six miles from Staunton, about where Arbor Hill now is. He died in 1799, and was buried in Hebron graveyard.†

A member of Mr. Scott's flock was Mrs. Margaret Humphreys, who lived to an advanced age, near Greenville. "Her graphic descriptions," says Foote, "were full of interest, and conveyed the liveliest impression of the times when the Valley was a frontier settlement. Where now may be seen the beautiful farms and substantial houses in Bethel, her active memory recalled the log cabins, the linsey-wolsey, the short gowns, the hunting shirts, the moccasins,

* See Appendix on Marriage Laws, etc.

† His descendants are Scotts, Sprouls, McPheeterses, etc.

the pack-horses, the simple living, the shoes and stockings for winter and uncommon occasions, the deer and the rifle, the fields of flax and the spinning wheel, and the wool and looms, and, with them, the strict attention to religious concerns, the catechising of children, the regular going to church, the reading of the Bible, and keeping Sabbath from the beginning to the end, the singing of hymns and sacred songs, all blended, presenting a beautiful picture of enterprise, economy and religion in laying the foundation of society." *

From an order of the County Court, of February 18, 1780, we learn that Sampson Sawyer's negro woman, Violet, was sentenced to be hung on the 4th of March for burning her master's dwelling house. What is curious, however, in connection with the matter is, that it was ordered also that after the body was cut down, the head should be severed and stuck upon a pole at a cross-road.†

Governor Gilmer gives a picture of the times during the war in an anecdote which he relates, and which we cannot omit.

We have mentioned John Grattan as one of the church wardens of Augusta parish in 1774. He was, says Governor Gilmer, a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian of the old Covenanter's faith and practice, noted for his love of David's Psalms in long metre, and his long prayers at family worship. He settled on North river (now in Rockingham county), and built the first good flour mill in the Valley. He was also a merchant, supplying a wide extent of country with foreign goods. Little coin circulated here, and trade was generally managed by barter. The goods bought were paid for in cattle, ginseng, pink-root, and bear and deer skins. These articles were disposed of in Philadelphia, and this part of the business was usually transacted by Mrs. Grattan. She went to Philadelphia on horseback, sold the cattle, etc., and bought new goods for her husband's store. She was very expert, and generally very successful; but on one occasion she suffered a woful defeat. Being in Philadelphia, during the war, on a trading expedition, she was offered Continental paper money for her

* The Rev. Dr. William McPheeters, a native of Augusta, educated in Staunton and at Liberty Hall, was pastor of Bethel from 1805 till 1810, when he accepted a call to Raleigh, North Carolina.

† This custom seems to have been general in Virginia, at this, or an earlier period. The ghastly memorials thus set up were doubtless to inspire a wholesome dread in the minds of the negro slaves. They impressed themselves in many instances as local topographical designations. Witness: Negro-foot precinct, in Hanover county, and Negro-head, Negro-foot and Negro-quarter, in Amelia county.

cattle, at the rate of two dollars for one of coin. When she left home the depreciation was not near so great. So she took the paper, and set off home with it, exulting in her financial shrewdness. Each day's travel lowered her anticipations of profit, until, when she reached home, three dollars in scrip were worth only one in specie.*

Until some time after the Revolution, the merchants in the State were, with few exceptions, Scotch or Scotch-Irish.

An incident of the Revolution, which occurred in Augusta, is related in the memoir of Mrs. Jane Allen Trimble. The women and children of that era were left in charge of the homesteads, and many females displayed as much patriotism and courage as the male members of their families. Rigid economy and untiring industry were practised in every household, and many families, whose sons and brothers were in the field as soldiers, were dependent upon their neighbors for the means of living.

A German family dwelling near the Stone Church, seemed to be out of the pale of sympathy that pervaded society. They contributed neither men nor means to aid the cause, and were regarded as Tories, but afraid to avow their principles.

An officer of the Virginia line visited his family in Augusta in 1777, and was at a social party composed principally of females, when the conduct of the family alluded to was commented upon. A majority of the party urged that the Tories should be driven out of the neighborhood. Jane Allen and one of the Misses Grattan opposed the proposition, saying that the people, if driven away, would probably go to North Carolina and swell the number of active enemies. It was therefore agreed that the case should be put into the hands of the young women named, to be managed by them. The two heroines

* One of Mr. and Mrs. John Grattan's daughters became the wife of Colonel Robert Gamble; another, the wife of Samuel Miller, son of Henry Miller, who founded the iron-works on Mossy creek in 1774; and a third married Colonel Samuel Brown, of Greenbrier, who, as we have seen, was carried off by the Indians when he was a boy, in 1764. Their youngest child was Major Robert Grattan, for some years a merchant in Staunton, of the firm of Gamble & Grattan, and afterwards, for many years, famous for his hospitality to travelers by Bockett's stage coaches, while passing his residence on North river, in Rockingham. He commanded a company of cavalry against the whiskey insurgents in Pennsylvania. An older son of John Grattan was an officer in one of the Virginia regiments during the Revolution, and died in service in Georgia. Major Robert Grattan was the father of the late Peachy R. Grattan, of Richmond, Major Robert Grattan, of Rockingham, Mrs. George R. Gilmer, and Mrs. Dr. Harris.

made their plan and proceeded to execute it at once. Disguised as Continental officers, it is said, they repaired to the house of the German, two miles off, late in the evening. The dogs announced their approach, and the men, seeing officers coming, hid themselves, the female head of the family presenting herself at the door of her dwelling. "Madam," said one of the recruiting officers, "more soldiers are needed. You have four sons and can spare two. Your family has been protected by your neighbors, while you have contributed nothing to relieve the women and children around you. You must either furnish men for the army, or supplies for the neighborhood."

The old woman exclaimed, "Mine Fader, vot vill ve do!" A voice from the loft cried out: "O give de money or provisions, and let de men stay at home." The husband was thereupon ordered down, and the contract then ratified was observed during the war.

The young women returned and made their report. Profound secrecy was enjoined and preserved, as to the persons engaged in the enterprise. The evening's entertainment was closed with a hymn, and a prayer for the Divine blessing, led by the good-man of the house.

Very likely, the "good-man of the house" was the old Covenanter John Grattan, and the officer referred to his older son.

The prices paid for labor, etc., in Staunton, in 1780, show the great depreciation of the currency at that time. The County Court allowed Jacob Peck £80 "for making a new door to the prison," and £287, 10s. "for building a bridge across the creek below Staunton." Alexander St. Clair was allowed £97, 10s. "for one pair of dog-irons for the courthouse," and £30 ($100) were paid for the use of a wagon one day.

During the war, officers were sometimes transferred from one regiment to another. This was doubtless owing to the fact, that by the casualties of war regiments were often broken up, and new combinations were necessary. In a "list of officers on the establishment of eight regiments," found among the papers of Colonel Robert Gamble, furnished to us by Dr. Cary B. Gamble, of Baltimore, a grand-son of Colonel Gamble, we discover some familiar names. The date is not given, but we learn, incidentally, that it was after the battle of King's Mountain, which occurred on the 7th of October, 1780. It was therefore probably during the winter of 1780–'81. Thomas Posey is entered as major of the First regiment, and as "rendezvousing at Staunton." Christian Febiger is entered as colonel of the Second

regiment, and commanding at Philadelphia. Robert Porterfield* was a captain, and William Eskridge a lieutenant in the Second, and both were prisoners in "Charlestown." George Mathews, previously colonel of the Ninth, is here entered as colonel of the Third, and a "prisoner on parole." Robert Breckinridge was a lieutenant in the Fifth, but a prisoner in "Charlestown." Andrew Lewis was a lieutenant in the Seventh, and at Fort Pitt. James Wood was colonel of the Eighth, Robert Gamble a captain, and John McDowell and Henry Bowyer lieutenants of the same regiment. Captains Andrew Wallace and Thomas Bowyer, of the Eighth, are entered as having been killed at King's Mountain.

We have now come to the year 1781, and from this time for more than twelve months, the militia of the Valley, and indeed of the whole State, had no rest. The militia of Rockbridge, and no doubt of Augusta, were in service in the fall of 1780, when Leslie invaded the State, but we can find no account of the matter.

In January, 1781, a British force under Benedict Arnold invaded Virginia. They sailed up James River, entered Richmond without resistance, on the 5th of January, destroyed all the public stores there and some private property, and departed down the river. In the meanwhile the militia had been called out by Governor Jefferson, Baron Steuben being at the head of the State troops. From the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. I, we learn that several hundred men from Augusta served in lower Virginia at that time; and from the "declarations" of several old soldiers, made in 1832, we learn something about three of the companies.— Sampson Mathews was Colonel, William Bowyer Lieutenant-Colonel, and Alexander Robertson Major.

Captain John Cunningham's company marched from Teas' (now Waynesborough) January 1, 1781. John Thompson and John Diddle were in this company, but were transferred to the command of Capt. Charles Cameron. Diddle was in a "scrimmage" near Portsmouth, when Capt. Cunningham was wounded, and "succeeded in capturing a British Yeager."

William Willson and William Patrick were in the company of Captain Thomas Rankin, Lieutenant Alexander Scott, and Ensign William Buchanan. Both were in "several little skirmishes."

*Robert Porterfield was Lieutenant and Adjutant of Colonel Daniel Morgan's 11th and 15th Virginia regiments, as they stood from May 31, 1777, to Nov. 30, 1778.

John McCutchen was in the company of Captain William Kincaid, Lieutenant Jacob Warwick, and Ensign Jonathan Humphreys.

On the 13th of January, Col. Mathews wrote from Staunton to the Governor that, in accordance with orders, he would start to Fredericksburg early the next morning with about 250 men. The men of the second battalion were then on the way, and also the militia from Rockbridge and Rockingham. Major Posey, of the 1st regiment of the line, a recruiting officer at Staunton, was to go with Col. Mathews. His men would take some beef cattle from Augusta, as ordered.

On January 21st, Col. Mathews wrote to the Governor from Bowling Green, in Caroline county, where he was with his command, by order of Gen. Muhlenberg, having been at Fredericksburg four days. [He made a rapid march, starting from Staunton on the 14th, spending four days in Fredericksburg, and arriving at Bowling Green on the 21st.] Col. John Bowyer, with about 220 men from Rockbridge, joined him that morning. Smiths, vises, files, etc., were needed for the repair of fire-arms.

Col. Mathews wrote again, on the 29th, from Cabin Point, in Surry county, south of James River, where he had been ordered by Gen. Muhlenberg, and was to proceed next morning to Smithfield, in Isle of Wight county. He had been detained three days by "wett and the badness of the Boats." He had hoped to be supplied with tents and ammunition, but was disappointed, and had sent Capt. Robert Gamble [lately a prisoner at Charleston, S. C., and now probably a volunteer aid to Col. Mathews,] to solicit these articles. Many of the men were sick from exposure, and the Colonel feared a mutiny if they were not supplied. "The marching is so severe, the duty on the lines so fatiguing, and the exposure to the severity of the season so great, that soldiers must be expected to grumble at their hardships." A surgeon was needed, and the letter requested that Dr. Foushee, or some other good surgeon, be ordered to join the rifle corps. The smiths, vises, etc., had not arrived, and many of the rifles were out of order.

Brig. Gen. Robert Lawson wrote to Governor Jefferson, on February 15th, having left the command in lower Virginia on the 13th. He says: "Our advanced Post is near Hall's, consisting of nearly 350 Riflemen under Col. Mathews, with about 150 pick'd musqueteers, under Major Dick, with some light horse." Hall's was in the vicinity of Portsmouth, then occupied by the British. Of this expedition of

Col. Mathews and his men, we have no further account. The Augusta militia returned home about the 17th of April.

The battle of the Cowpens, in South Carolina, was fought January 17, 1781. Part of Morgan's command consisted of Virginia riflemen, and at least two companies were from Augusta county, Capt. James Tate's and Capt. Buchanan's. Samuel McCune says in his "declaration," that he was drafted, in October, 1780, in Buchanan's company (Lieut. Wilson.) The men of this company rendezvoused at the Widow Teas' tavern, and marching by way of Lynchburg joined Gen. Morgan at Hillsboro, N. C. After the battle of the Cowpens, they returned to Salisbury with about 500 prisoners, and were there discharged.*

The victory at the Cowpens was one of the most remarkable of the war. Only twelve of the Americans were killed, and sixty wounded. Of the enemy, ten commissioned officers were killed, and more than a hundred rank and file; two hundred were wounded; twenty-nine officers and more than five hundred privates were taken prisoners, besides seventy wagons. The prisoners were turned over to the Virginia troops, whose time of service had just expired, to be conducted to a place of safety.

A company of Augusta militia were ordered out, and rendezvoused at Rockfish Gap, for the purpose of guarding the prisoners taken at the Cowpens. They conducted the prisoners to Shenandoah county, and returned home after less than a month's absence. Joseph Bell was one of this company.

The result of the battle excited Cornwallis, the British commander in the South, to more vigorous efforts. He pressed forward into North Carolina, eager to come to battle with General Greene.

Gen, Greene being hard-pressed by Cornwallis, it seems to have been proposed to send the militia already in the field to North Carolina. In reference to this matter, Baron Steuben wrote to the Gover-

*Gen. Henry Lee, in his account of the battle of the Cowpens, mentions only two companies of Virginia militia as participating in it—Capt. Triplett's and Capt. Tate's. Congress presented a sword to Triplett; probably the death of Tate at Guilford, less than two months afterwards, prevented his receiving a similar compliment. Triplett, however, is styled Major in the official report. The militia Captains were Tate and Buchanan of Augusta, and James Gilmore of Rockbridge, whose subordinate officers were John Caruthers, Lieutenant, and John McCorkle, Ensign. The last named was mortally wounded in the battle. Morgan speaks of Tate's and Buchanan's companies as "Augusta Riflemen." Gilmore's men carried muskets.

nor on February 15th. He agreed with the Governor that "the militia of Rockbridge, Augusta, Rockingham and Shenandoah would be the most speedy reinforcement to General Greene, but they must first be relieved by others." He advised that the officers of the militia be consulted, and if they consented to go the Governor should issue the necessary order. As far as appears, the regiment or battalion under Col. Mathews was not ordered to North Carolina, but other companies went from the Valley under Tate, etc.

Capt. Robert Porterfield, a paroled prisoner at Charleston, S. C., wrote to the Governor February 1, 1781, informing him that his brother, Lt.-Col. Charles Porterfield, had died on the 10th ult., on his way from Camden to Charleston, [or Charlestown, as then written], from the effects of a wound at the battle of Camden on August 16, 1780. The British officer, Lord Rawdon, had loaned Col. P. thirty guineas, and otherwise treated him with great kindness. Capt. Porterfield asked the Governor to pay the money, as he flattered himself his brother's services had merited it from the State. If this could not be done, he begged a loan of the amount, promising to return it immediately on his release. The guineas were not forthcoming, and Capt. P. wrote to Governor Nelson on the subject, August 9, 1781. He had then just arrived at Richmond as a paroled prisoner from Charleston, S. C.

Capt. Tate had hardly rested from the fatigue of his Southern campaign when he began to retrace his steps to North Carolina, to reinforce General Greene. Tate's company was composed largely, if not entirely, of men from Bethel and Tinkling Spring congregations. According to tradition, they assembled at Midway, and when about to start from there the latter part of February, the Rev. James Waddell delivered to them a parting address. Robert Doak is said to have been Ensign of the company.

At least two other companies went from the county, Capt. Gwin's and Capt. Thomas Smith's. The latter marched from Staunton under command of Col. George Moffett, and joined the Southern army near Guilford C. H. Alexander Williams and Augustine Argenbright were members of this company, and both say in their "declarations" that Col. Moffett commanded the regiment. Neither says what route they took.

Capt. Gwin's company, to which William Armstrong belonged, proceeded, about the first of March, on horseback, by way of Rockfish

Gap and Lynch's Ferry, (Lynchburg.) Before the battle of Guilford the men were dismounted and the horses sent back.*

Two or more companies went from Rockbridge. One of the Rockbridge captains was Alexander Tedford, whose only daughter, wife of Elisha Barclay, was the mother of Alexander T. and Hugh Barclay. He was killed at Guilford. His wife going in search of his body, was crazed by her hardships and sufferings, and died soon afterwards. Another Rockbridge captain was John Paxton, brother of Gen. Sam Houston's mother. His wife was Phebe Alexander, daughter of Capt. Archibald Alexander. He was wounded in the foot by a musket ball at Guilford, and never fully recovered.

Col. Samuel McDowell and Maj. Alexander Stuart commanded the Rockbridge companies. Archibald Stuart, son of the Major, and afterwards Judge Stuart, was commissary, but fought in the ranks at Guilford.

Capt. Tate and many of his men were killed in the battle of March 15th. It is said that as one of the results of the battle there were eight or ten widows in the bounds of Bethel congregation. Some of the men who came back carried on their persons ever afterwards the marks of British sabres. Major Stuart was taken prisoner. It is said that "his captors plundered him and left him standing in his cocked

* Col. William Preston and Col. William Campbell, both originally of Augusta county, participated in the battle of Guilford Court-house. Col. Harry Lee, in his "Memoirs of the War," relates the circumstances under which Col. Preston joined the Southern army. Gen. Greene had recrossed the Dan, from Virginia to North Carolina, and Lee and others, detached from the main army, were operating against the Tories and endeavoring to circumvent Tarleton. Late one evening, when the advanced sentinels and patrols of the opposing forces were in sight of each other, Lee heard from some countrymen, who were refugees from their homes on account of the enemy, that a small party of militia had collected for safety a few miles off, and sent a dragoon to request them to hasten to his camp, hoping to obtain valuable information from them. "It so happened," he says, "that with the militia company was found Colonel Preston, of Montgomery county, Virginia, just arrived at the head of three hundred hardy mountaineers, who, hearing of Greene's retreat, had voluntarily hastened to his assistance,—alike ignorant until that hour of the General's having recrossed the Dan and of Tarleton's corps being but a few miles in front." Encouraged by the arrival of these auxiliaries, Lee's Legion, and Preston's men also, were eager for a fight the next morning; but Tarleton withdrew before day-light. On the 2nd of March, however, they had an encounter with Tarleton, and killed and wounded about thirty of his men. Col. Campbell brought with him a company of riflemen from Washington county, who had fought at King's Mountain. He afterwards with his company joined La Fayette in Virginia.

hat, shirt and shoes."* He was detained for some time on board a British ship. In the retreat, Samuel Steele, who died in his old age near Waynesborough, shot a British dragoon who followed him but two others assailed him and he was forced to succumb. He refused, however, to give up his gun, which he afterwards succeeded in reloading, and then put his captors to flight. David Steele, of Midway was cut down in the retreat and left for dead. He revived, and came home and lived to old age. Foote states that the scar of a deep wound over one of his eyes painfully disfigured him. Several persons who often saw the old soldier, have informed us that his face was not disfigured at all. His skull was cleft by a sabre and to the end of his days he wore a silver plate over the spot. Colonel Fulton, who was at Guilford, and afterward for many years represented Augusta in the Legislature, is said to have been disfigured as Steele is described to have been. One of the Wilsons, of Bethel, was probably the last survivor of Guilford in this region. The Rockbridge troops started from Lexington, February 26, and the survivors reached home again on March 23, following.†

The scene of the battle, old Guilford Court-house, is six or seven miles northwest of Greensboro, the present county seat. The graves of the slain were long ago obliterated, and no memorial of the battle existed on the spot, till about the year 1888, when a monument was erected.

Among the militiamen from Rockbridge, in the expedition to Guilford, was Samuel Houston, afterward for many years a highly esteemed Presbyterian minister. He was twenty-three years of age and a student of divinity when the call came for the militia to go to the assistance of General Greene. Laying aside his books, he fell into the ranks of a Rockbridge company, and had Archibald Stuart, afterward the Judge, as his messmate.

* His sword, a somewhat uncouth weapon, presumably of local manufacture, was some years ago presented by his grand-son, Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart, to the Virginia Historical Society, of which the latter was president. The sword is without scabbard, that having been lost during the late war between the States, in hiding the weapon from Federal invaders.

† Among the Revolutionary soldiers from Augusta, who died between 1835 and 1848, are the following: James Robertson, December 25, 1835, in the eighty-fifth year of his age; John Tate, August 6th, 1836; Samuel Steele, June 8, 1837; Major Samuel Bell, May 15, 1838; Lewis Shuey, January 22, 1839; Robert Harnsberger, February 7, 1840; Smith Thompson, May 12, 1840; Peter Lohr, September 21, 1841; Samuel Gardner, January 11, 1842; Francis Gardner, July 26, 1842; John Bell, Sr., October 17, 1842; Claudius Buster, November 20, 1843; Captain Robert Thompson, January 23, 1847; William McCutchen, June 29, 1848.

Mr. Houston kept a diary of the trip, writing every day, except one, from his departure till his return, which is published in full in the Second Series of Foote's *Sketches of Virginia*. It is provoking for its brevity and omission of much that would now be interesting, but contains some items worth reproducing.

The Rockbridge company marched from Lexington to Grigsby's on Monday, February 26th. The next day they marched fifteen miles, and encamped at Purgatory, near Buchanan, in Botetourt county. On the 1st day of March the distance made was seventeen miles. "Drew liquor in the morning," says Mr. Houston, and "I paid fifteen dollars for beer to Mrs. Breckinridge." This lady was doubtless the widow of Colonel Robert Breckinridge who removed from Staunton to Botetourt in 1769. The incident mentioned shows that the best women of the time were not above gaining money by any honest means. No doubt there was need of economy and thrift. But the question arises, did young Houston consume $15 worth of beer himself? Perhaps he did, as the currency was almost worthless, like Confederate money at the close of the late war, and purchased very little of anything.

Apparently, the command was in no hurry to reach the enemy. Imagine Stonewall Jackson marching fifteen miles one day and twelve the next, while on his way to reinforce General Lee! On Sabbath, March the 4th, however, the day's march was twenty miles, to a point beyond New London. This day "we pressed a hog, which was served without scraping." The word "pressed," so familiar to Confederate soldiers, is therefore as old as the Revolution.

The night of the 4th was spent at a Major Ward's, and on the next day the command crossed Staunton river, into Pittsylvania, and marched eight miles. On the 6th they advanced fourteen miles, when Major Ward overtook them, with a complaint that some of his personal property had disappeared. "We were searched," says the diary, "and Mr. Ward's goods found with James Berry and John Harris, who were whipped. (!) The same were condemned to ten lashes for disobeying the officer of the day on Monday." Harris deserted on the 7th, and Berry was arrested and sent to prison.

The Dan river was crossed on the 8th. "At this river some mean cowards threatened to return. This morning," (the 9th), "Lyle, Hays and Lusk went to General Greene and returned. The same day deserted Geo. Culwell."

The headquarters of General Greene's army was reached Saturday night, the 10th, and the battle of Guilford was fought on Thursday, March 15th. Colonel Moffett's and Colonel McDowell's battalions

of Augusta and Rockbridge militia composed a part of General Stevens' brigade. The men were ordered to "take trees," which they did with alacrity, many, however, crowding to one tree. The close firing began near the centre, but soon extended along the line. During the battle, which lasted two hours and twenty-five minutes, Mr. Houston discharged his rifle fourteen times. He says, "our brigade Major, Mr. Williams, fled." For some time the militia displayed great bravery; they repulsed the enemy several times, and after advancing fell back, when compelled, in good order.* Finally they were assailed by the British light horse, "were obliged to run, and many were sore chased and some were cut down." Major Stuart was captured, and Captain Tate killed.† The men "all scattered," but soon came together, and with Colonel Moffett and other officers retreated fourteen miles. The following night, "through darkness and rain and want of provisions we were in distress. Some parched a little corn."

Early in the morning of the 16th, the men were "decamped, and marched through the rain till we arrived at Speedwell furnace, where Greene had retreated from Guilford town." There "we met many of our company with great joy, particularly Colonel McDowell." Other men given up for lost also came in. In the evening "orders were read to draw provisions and ammunition, to be in readiness, which struck a panic on the minds of many."

The next day the men discussed the matter of returning home, pleading want of blankets and clothing. "Many went off; a few were remaining when General Lawson came and raged very much; and about ten o'clock all but McDowell came off."

Dan river was re-crossed on the 18th. "A little afterward many went to a tavern, where some got drunk and quarreled." On the 21st, "we paid Murphy one dollar a man for horses to carry us over Goose Creek." On the 22d, "my brother and I hired Mr. Rountree's horses, and his son came with us to Mr. Lambert's, when, after he received forty-three dollars, he returned. We eat with Mr. Lambert and paid him ten dollars each. I bought five books from him and paid him four hundred and twelve dollars and a half. We crossed the mountains, and in the valley saw the wonderful mill without

* All accounts agree that Stevens' brigade, including the Augusta and Rockbridge militia, behaved well in the battle.

† A North Carolina historian (Schenck) says: "Captain Tate of Virginia, so distinguished at Cowpens, received a ball which broke his thigh."

wheels, doors or floors." On Friday, March 23d, Mr. Houston arrived at his brother William's, and there the diary ended.

We are accustomed to think of the men of the Revolutionary period as all heroes panting for the fray, and patriots ready to make any sacrifice for the cause of their country. Here we see they were very much like other people. The men who composed Colonel McDowell's battalion were, most of them, worthy citizens, of fully average courage and public spirit. But they were hastily levied, untrained, and easily demoralized. However brave each man might be, he could not rely with certainty on the support of his neighbors in the ranks, and therefore provided for his own safety according to his best judgment. So raw militia have nearly always acted, and nearly always will.

"The second day after the battle," says Foote, "when they must either march further in pursuit of Cornwallis or return home, they all, in face of their Colonel marched off home. Some, both of the Carolina and the Virginia militia, fled from the battle-ground on the 15th, and never rested till they reached their homes. Some of the Virginia men that fled thus, in the fear lest they should be called to account for their flight, retreated into the western ridges of the Alleghany, and even to old age dreaded the approach of a stranger, as perhaps an officer for their arrest for desertion."

Upon the authority of an old army list, it is stated on a preceding page that Captain Andrew Wallace was killed at the battle of King's Mountain. Foote states, however, and no doubt correctly, that he was killed at Guilford. (See Sketches of Virginia, second series, page 147.) He says: "Captain Andrew Wallace, from near Lexington, was in the regular service, and had always shown himself a brave man. That morning he expressed a mournful presage that he would fall that day. In the course of the action, he sheltered himself behind a tree, with some indications of alarm. Being reproached, he immediately left the shelter, and in a moment received his death wound."*

We have an echo from the battle of Guilford C. H. in a letter written by Major Charles Magill to Governor Jefferson, from General Greene's head-quarters, March 19, 1781. Major Magill says:

*Foote says, also: "A brother of his, Captain Adam Wallace, was with Buford at the terrible massacre on the Waxhaw. After killing many of the enemy with his espontoon" [a kind of pike], "he died, bravely fighting."

Another brother, Captain Hugh Wallace, in the regular army, died in Philadelphia, of small-pox.

"I am sorry to inform your Excellency that a number of the Virginia militia have sully'd the Laurels reap'd in the Action, by making one frivolous pretence and another, to return home. A number have left the Army very precipitately, the best men from Augusta and Rockbridge have been foremost on this occasion."

Joseph Bell, of the Stone Church family, was in 1781, an agent for buying cattle, and on February 24th wrote to the Governor in regard to his difficulties. The farmers were unwilling to sell to the State on credit, and under orders from Col. Wood he had seized many cattle. Attorneys, "paid to do so," pronounced the proceedings illegal, and he expected to be sued. He said, however: "Good Whigs perform their duty with most punctuality."

The Bells.

Three or more persons named Bell, not at all related, as far as known, were among the early settlers of Augusta county. Two of these, and perhaps three, were named James. A James Bell was a member of the first County Court.

To distinguish between the families, we shall designate them by the respective neighborhoods in which they lived,—North Mountain, South River, Stone Church, and Long Glade.

North Mountain Bells.—The first of this family in the county was James Bell, who located on a tract of land one mile and a half east of Buffalo Gap, on a part of which his descendant, John Christian, lives at present (1888). It was his dwelling that was raided by Indians, as related on a former page. His children were three sons, James, Samuel and Francis; and three daughters, Ann, Betty and Mary.

I. James Bell, son of James, removed to Kentucky and located near Lexington. He was a near neighbor of Henry Clay, who consequently visited the Bells of Buffalo Gap several times on his trips to and from Washington.

II. Samuel, known for many years before his death as Major Bell. He was a soldier in the Revolution, while quite young, and, with many of his countymen, was with Morgan at the Cowpens. He lived on the farm recently owned by his son, Samuel H. Bell, and now by Archibald A. Sproul, a short distance west of Swoope's Depot.

Major Bell was married three times. His first wife was Nancy, daughter of James Bell, of Long Glade, and her children were: 1. Sarah, wife of Robert Christian; 2. James, who was a lieutenant in the

war of 1812, and known for many years as Captain James Bell; and 3. Nancy, wife of John Brownlee, of the Greenville neighborhood.

The second wife of Major Bell was a Miss Cunningham, who had one child, a daughter, who died young.

The third wife was Rebecca Hays, mother of Samuel H. Bell, deceased, and Francis Bell, late of Pulaski county.

III. Francis Bell, son of James, married Sally, daughter of James Bell, of Long Glade, who had only one child, a son named James, who died in his youth.

IV. Ann Bell, wife of Francis Gardiner, a soldier of the Revolution. Their children were the late James and Samuel Gardiner, Mrs. Henry Sterrett, Mrs. Robert Wright, and others.

V. Betty, the next daughter, was the wife of Benjamin Brown, and mother of Major Joseph Brown, a prominent citizen of the county for many years, who removed to Illinois in 1837, and afterwards to Missouri. Major Brown's wife was a daughter of Jacob Swoope, the old merchant and Congressman.

VI. Mary, third daughter of James Bell, died unmarried.

The South River Bells.—James Bell, the first of this family in the county [how related to other families of the name, if at all, is not known] had the following children:

1. Agnes, who married James Gamble, and was the mother of Col. Robert Gamble and others.

2. Dorcas, who married ——— Love, and was the mother of Robert Love, William Love and others.

3. Sarah Bell.

4. James Bell sold his land in Augusta in 1795, and moved to Bardstown, Ky.

5. Wm. Bell, married and his descendants live in Tennessee.

6. Thomas Bell died unmarried, in 1797, in Charlottesville, a Captain in the Revolution.

7. John Bell died unmarried in 1797.

8. Joseph Bell, a Revolutionary soldier often mentioned in the Annals, died unmarried in 1832.

9. Samuel Bell, died unmarried in 1788, having been an officer in the Revolution.

The Stone Church Bells.—There is some uncertainty in regard to the name of the ancestor of this family. It was probably Joseph, as a Joseph Bell purchased a lot in Staunton, in 1747. All that is certainly known of him is, that he was a married man and had children, one of whom was named Joseph, and that he and his wife were murdered, as heretofore related.

Joseph Bell, son of the former, was born in Augusta, May 25, 1742, and died in 1823. His wife was Elizabeth Henderson. Their

residence was on the present macadamized turnpike, about four miles north of Staunton.

The children of Joseph and Elizabeth Bell, who attained maturity, were three sons and two daughters. One of the daughters was the wife of the senior John Wayt, and the other the wife of Dr. John Johnston.

I. William Bell, son of Joseph, known as Major Bell, was for many years County Surveyor of Augusta. His wife was Margaret, daughter of Captain James Allen.

II. James Bell, son of Joseph, was born in 1772, and died in 1856. He was long the senior Justice of the Peace in Augusta. His first wife was Sarah, daughter of Captain James Allen, whose children, leaving posterity, were the late Colonel William A. Bell, and Sarah, first wife of John Wayt, Junior.

III. Joseph Bell, Junior, the third son of Joseph, Senior, resided during most of his life in Rockbridge county, near Goshen. His wife was a daughter of Alexander Nelson.

The Bells of Long Glade.—James Bell came from Ireland and settled on Long Glade, Augusta, about 1740. His wife was Agnes Hogshead. He is said to have been a school teacher, and also a surveyor and scrivener. He probably was the James Bell who was one of the first county magistrates in 1745. His children were:

I. John Bell married three times, successively. His first wife, a widow Young, and his second, Esther Gamble, (sister of Colonel Robert Gamble,) had no children. His third wife, Elizabeth Griffith, had four sons and two daughters. He served two "tours" during the Revolution.

II. William Bell, son of James and Agnes, never married. Killed in battle during the Revolution.

III. Francis Bell, married Polly Ervin. No children.

IV. David Bell was in the military service during the war of 1812, and was called Captain Bell. His wife was a Miss Christian. He had five children, two of whom died young.

V. James Bell, son of James and Agnes, went to Kentucky and died childless.

VI. Thomas Bell, son of James and Agnes, married Rebecca Robertson, of Botetourt. He inherited his father's homestead, the present Dudley farm, and died in 1854, aged eighty-two years.

VII. Nancy Bell, daughter of James and Agnes, was the first wife of Major Samuel Bell, of North Mountain.

VIII. Sally Bell, daughter of James and Agnes, was the wife of Francis Bell, of North Mountain.

Of the descendants of James and Agnes Bell, eighteen were soldiers in the Confederate army during the war of 1861–'5; five were killed in battle or died of wounds, and six died of disease contracted in the army.

Thomas Posey is worthy of special mention here, because of his personal merit and his intimate association in his early life with Augusta county and her people.

He was born, July 9, 1750, on the Potomac river, but when nineteen years old came to western Virginia. It is said that he was aide to Gen. Lewis in the Point Pleasant expedition, and also that he was a member of the Augusta County Committee in 1775. It has been stated further that his first wife was a daughter of Col. Sampson Mathews, but the known descendants of Col. Mathews deny that he had such a daughter.

During the whole Revolutionary war he was in active military service. He first appears as a Captain in the 9th Regiment, commanded by George Mathews.—Afterwards he was a Captain in Morgan's rifle corps. At the storming of Stony Point he was Major of Col. Febiger's regiment. For some time in 1781, he was at Staunton as a recruiting officer. He, however, aided in the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Subsequently, he served under Wayne in Georgia, as Lieutenant-Colonel of a new regiment. After the war he settled in Spotsylvania county, and from 1786 to 1793 was County Lieutenant. In the latter year he was appointed Brigadier General. The distinguished Rev. Dr. Archibald Alexander, when a youth of seventeen, was private tutor in General Posey's family, about the year 1789. He afterwards described the General as a man of noble appearance and courtly manners. Though somewhat decayed in wealth, the Poseys maintained much of the style which belonged to old Virginia families. There were two sets of children at that time.

In 1794, General Posey was second in command under Wayne in his Indian campaign. We next find him living in Kentucky—a member of the State Senate—Lieut. Governor for four years—and Major General of Kentucky levies in 1809. Then he removed to Louisiana, and was U. S. Senator from that State in 1812–13. He succeeded Gen. Harrison as Governor of Indiana Territory in 1813. In 1816 he was agent for Indian affairs. He died at Shawneetown, Illinois, March 19, 1818.

Marriage Laws, etc.

From the many acts in respect to marriage found in *Hening's Statutes at Large*, it would seem that the early Burgesses were greatly perplexed over the subject. One would suppose that whatever tended to increase population in a regular way would have been

favored ; but some of the laws might have been styled "Acts to discourage matrimony."

For more than twenty years after the settlement at Jamestown, persons desiring to marry had to apply to the Governor for license, except that marriages after publication of the banns in the parish church on three successive Sundays, were allowed. Till the Revolution, only ministers of the established church were permitted to perform the ceremony. Any "pretended marriage," made otherwise, was declared null and void, the offspring illegitimate and the parents liable to prosecution for unlawful cohabitation. The minister was subjected to a heavy penalty.

After the settlements were extended, licenses were issued by the Justice of the Peace first in commission in the county, and the Clerk of the Court was required to report the names of the parties to the Secretary of the Colony, "that the Governor may have account of the fees."

To prevent alarms and waste of powder, an act was passed in 1642–3, prohibiting the firing of guns, except "at weddings and funeralls."

At the session of 1705, a long act was passed "concerning marriages," embracing the provisions of former acts. It provided also that the minister of the parish should receive all the fees for marriages and funeral sermons in his parish, although another minister performed the services. This act was in force at the date of the first settlement in the Valley, no other act making material changes in the law having been passed till the session of 1748. The act of 1748 provided that licenses should be issued by the Clerk of the County Court where the *feme* resided ; and the prescribed fees were : The Governor's, 20 shillings ($3.33⅓) ; the Clerk's, 5 shillings (83⅓); the minister's, 20 shillings if by license, by banns 5 shillings; and for publishing banns one shilling and six pence (25 cents). This act took effect June 10, 1751, and from that time till 1775, no act concerning marriages was passed.

In "the Interregnum," in 1775, the convention passed an act for raising the public revenue, which imposed a tax of 40 shillings, ($6 66⅔), on every marriage license ! By an act of October, 1776, the 1st of the Commonwealth, the tax was reduced to 20 shillings, and the fees of the Governor were abolished.

An act of the Legislature in 1784, put all ministers on an equal footing in respect to marriages, and then, for the first time, the clerks of courts began to keep registers of marriages, as required.

The present wiser generation has relieved marriage of some of its burdens. The fees of clerks and ministers legally demandable, are only one dollar each, and no tax is imposed. As this is the age of pensions and subsidies, very likely after awhile bounties will be offered to stimulate the ardour of young couples.

Judge Lyman Chalkley, in his researches among the musty records of the County Court of Augusta, found lists of marriages from 1749 to 1773, kept by the Clerk evidently with reference to the fees of the Governor. The names of females married and of the officiating ministers are not given.

The papers in a suit prosecuted in the County Court, in 1773, also brought to light by Judge Chalkley, shows that the Rev. John Jones, rector of Augusta parish, recovered against the Rev. Adam Smith, rector of Botetourt parish, £2, 2s., 6d, for marriage fees unlawfully received by the latter.

In only one list are the names of the females given, as follows :

June 17, 1749, John Buchanan and Margaret Patton.
" 20, " Archibald Houston and Mary Stevenson.
" 28, " John Hinds and Jean Kerr.
July " Robert Boyd and Eleanor Porterfield.
Aug. " John Driskell and Jane Burnet.
Sept. " Silas Hart and Jane Robertson.
" " Elijah McClanahan and Letitia Breckinridge.
Feb. 1748 Arch'd Elliot and Sarah Clark.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REVOLUTION, ETC., FROM 1781 TO THE END OF THE WAR.

General Phillips arrived at Portsmouth, Virginia, March 26, 1781, with two thousand men, and took command of the British at that place.

Major Posey of the Continental army had returned to Staunton by the 27th of March, and on that day wrote to Governor Jefferson that according to Baron Steuben's orders he could not enlist any man under 5 feet 4 inches. There were men well adapted to military service who did not reach that standard, and he asked for discretionary powers in such cases. The Baron was a Prussian, of the military school of King Frederick William, who had a mania on the subject of tall soldiers.

Anticipating an advance of the enemy from Portsmouth, the State authorities sought to recruit the Continental ranks by again calling out the militia. The condition of affairs in the Valley at this time appears from letters written by military officers to the Governor, which we find in the *Calendar of State Papers*.

Col. William Preston, County Lieutenant of Montgomery, wrote, on April 13, 1781, that "nearly one-half of our militia are disaffected, and therefore cannot be drawn into the service either by threats or otherwise; and should they be punished according to law, they would either withdraw to the mountains, or embody or disturb the peace of the county." Moreover, the frontier of the county was exposed to depredations by Indians, and the men could not join Greene's army without leaving their families exposed.

On the 20th of April, Col. Samuel McDowell, of Rockbridge, wrote to the Governor that a draft was ordered to take place on the 26th, but the men drawn would be ruined. Most of them were in service in the fall of 1780, when Leslie invaded the State, and were prevented from sowing fall crops, and to go now would prevent their raising spring crops. With few exceptions they would leave no one at home to work their farms. The letter continues: "This county had, in October last, Capt. James Gilmer [Gilmore] and forty-odd men in Carolina, under Gen. Morgan, for near four months, and was

at Tarleton's defeat at the Cowpens in South Carolina. And there were also three companies drawn when Leslie invaded the State ; their numbers were about 180 men. On Arnold's invasion, Col. John Bowyer marched with about 200 men down the country. And when Gen. Greene retreated into Virginia * * I marched near 200 men from this county to join Gen. Greene. * * I with difficulty persuaded the men to cross the Dan into Carolina, and joined Gen. Greene some time before the battle of Guilford Courthouse ; continued with him till after the battle, the 15th of March last, had 1 Capt. and 4 Privates killed ; two Capts., one Ensign and seven Privates wounded, and Maj. Stuart and four Privates taken prisoners. From these different calls all the men in this county have been on hard service, each a term, since October last, and nearly two-thirds of them at the same time."

On the 24th of April, the British under General Phillips entered Petersburg. Baron Steuben with a thousand militia made such resistance as he could. Phillips advanced, on the 30th, to Manchester, opposite Richmond.

LaFayette, having been assigned to the command in Virginia, entered Richmond, on the 29th of April, with a small body of Continental troops. The enemy thereupon abandoned the thought of attacking Richmond, and departed towards the coast, destroying mills, flour, tobacco, etc., as they went. Early in May, however, the British returned to Petersburg, no doubt in pursuance of advices from Cornwallis.

In the meanwhile, Cornwallis was advancing from North Carolina. He marched towards Halifax, on the 25th of April, sending before him Colonel Tarleton, with one hundred and eighty dragoons, and arrived at Petersburg on the 20th of May.

Major Thomas Posey wrote to Col. William Davies, from Staunton, May 18, 1781, as follows : "The number of men which I have collected at this place (in deserters and others) amount to twenty-one. The draft for eighteen monthers has not yet taken place in any of these back counties, neither can I inform you at what particular time it will. The people seem much aversed to it in Augusta and Rockbridge, but it don't amount to a majority I beleave. However, a considerable number met at the place apointed for laying of the Districts, and in a very bold and daring manner, seased the papers and destroyed them. I don't know where this may stop, if there is not a timeous check, in Hanging a few, for examples to the rest. The cloathing, I understand, the different counties is providing, as fast as possible, but

none as yet delivered to me. I have a deserter or two delivered to me every five or six days—I suppose I shall have a comp'y of them in a short time to send down."

Colonel Davies, son of the celebrated Samuel Davies, was Inspector General.*

LaFayette now commanded three thousand troops, continentals and militia. He was pursued by Cornwallis, who crossed James River at Westover, and wisely retreated before the advancing enemy. On the 10th of June he was joined by General Wayne, in Culpeper county, with eight hundred men of the Pennsylvania line.

After Cornwallis entered Virginia, a party of Tories raised the British standard on Lost river, then in Hampshire, now Hardy county. John Claypole, a Scotchman, and John Brake, a German, were the leaders, and drew over to their side a majority of the people in the neighborhood. Their object appeared to be to organize and march in a body to join Cornwallis upon his approaching the Valley. The militia of Shenandoah, Frederick and Berkeley were called out to suppress the insurrection, and a body of four hundred men was speedily equipped and mounted. General Daniel Morgan, of Frederick, being out of service and at home, was called to the command, and advanced with the troops into the disaffected region. Claypole was arrested, but released on bail, and Brake was punished by the army living at free quarters for a day or two on his cattle pens and distillery. No collision occurred, but one man was killed by a drunken attendant of General Morgan, and another, while running away, was shot in the leg. The militia were out only eight or ten days. The Tories soon became ashamed of their conduct, and several of their young men volunteered and went to aid in the capture of Cornwallis.—[Kercheval, page 199.]

The Legislature adjourned in Richmond on the 10th of May, to meet in Charlottesville on the 24th. The official term of Governor Jefferson expired on the 1st of June, but his successor not having been elected by the Legislature, Col. William Fleming, a member of the Council, acted as Governor for nearly two weeks, "holding his court" in Staunton.

At the junction of the Rivanna river with the James, called Point of Fork, the Virginians had collected a quantity of military stores, defended by Steuben with about six hundred raw militia. Cornwallis detached Colonel Simcoe with five hundred men to destroy

* He was grand-father of Bishop Whittle, of the Virginia Episcopal church.

the stores referred to, while Tarleton and his dragoons started to capture the Legislature at Charlottesville. Simcoe succeeded in his enterprise; but when Tarleton reached Charlottesville on the 4th of June, the Legislature, warned in time, had adjourned to meet in Staunton on the 7th. Tarleton then, with seven members of the Legislature he had picked up, turned to join Cornwallis and Simcoe near the Point of Fork.

Colonel Fleming, acting Governor, wrote from Staunton, on the 6th, to Colonel James Wood, in reference to the removal of the British prisoners of war, from Albemarle to Rutland, Mass. On the 9th he wrote again, advising that fifty men be stationed at Swift Run Gap, and thirty at Woods' Gap, (Jarman's), some of them mounted, "so as to discover in time the approach of the enemy," in an attempt to rescue the prisoners.

The Legislature convened in Staunton, in the old parish church, on the 7th of June, but the members were soon stampeded again, as we shall see.

Stephen Southall, Quartermaster, had 280 barrels of powder and other army supplies, stored at Staunton, on the 9th of June, 1781.

Capt. Henry Young wrote to Col. Davies, June 9th, from Staunton, where the Legislature was then in session: "We have reason to apprehend that the enemy are within twelve miles of Charlottesville. I apprehended two days ago a Deserter on suspicion of his being a Spie; circumstances are strong against him, but no positive proof; he says that the enemy will be hear in a day or two—some confidence is reposed in his assertion by many, for my part I give no credit to anything that he says. Two days ago Mr. Nicholas gave notice that he shou'd this day move to have a Dictator appointed. Gen. Washington and Gen. Greene are talked of. I dare say your Knowledge of these worthy gentlemen will be sufficient to convince you that neither of them will or ought to accept of such an appointment."

On Sunday, the 10th, a session of the Legislature was held to enter an adjournment to the Warm Springs. This proceeding was caused by a report that Tarleton was pursuing across the Blue Ridge. Some of the members of assembly took the road toward Lexington, and others went to the northwest part of the county. Patrick Henry was one of the latter, and such seemed to be the emergency that, according to tradition, he left Staunton wearing only one boot.

A book of travels published anonymously, in 1826, at New Haven, gives some account of the alarm in Staunton caused by the anticipated

approach of Tarleton. The author is said to have been Mrs. Ann Royall, a lady of some literary pretensions, who died in Washington City, September 1, 1854. She was in Staunton in 1823, and obtained a report of the affair from Mrs. William Lewis. She says: "Col. Sam Lewis, at midnight, called at the home of his uncle, William Lewis, living then at Staunton, but later at Sweet Springs, and called out, 'Where are the boys, aunt?' 'They are up stairs in bed,' she said. 'Call them up, Tarleton is coming.' She did so, and they set out immediately. Among the persons quickly rising were the members of the Legislature, calling for horses, which were obtained. Next morning the streets were strewn with bags, portmanteaus, bundles of clothes, and not a member in sight. They rode with the utmost speed during the night and the next day, but instead of going to the mountain to meet Tarleton, they went the opposite direction; one member, Dr. Long, rode 20 miles without a saddle. Meanwhile, the others, young and old, men and boys of Augusta county, repaired to the point of danger at Rockfish Gap." Only one member, Major William Royall, from Amelia county, was with the Augusta troops.—[*Virginia Historical Magazine* of January, 1901.]

The cause of the alarm and stampede has been variously reported. The late Judge Francis T. Brooke, then a young Lieutenant of the Continental army, gives one version of the matter in a memoir he left behind him. He was in Albemarle, in command of a detachment, and was ordered by his captain, Bohannon, if he could not join the Baron Steuben, to proceed to Staunton, and thence to join the corps to which he belonged in the army of La Fayette. He says: "The next day I crossed the ridge about six miles to the south of Rockfish Gap. When I got to where Waynesboro' is, I found a large force of eight hundred men, or one thousand riflemen, under the command of General McDowell, probably Colonel Samuel McDowell. He stopped me, saying he had orders to stop all troops to defend the gap. I replied that I belonged to the Continental army and had orders to go to Staunton, and said to the men, 'Move on,' and he let me pass. At that time I suppose a regimental coat had never been seen on that side of the mountain—nothing but hunting-shirts. I marched with drums beating and colors flying, and some one seeing the troops, carried the news to Staunton that Tarleton had crossed the mountain, and the Legislature then sitting there ran off again; but learning the mistake, rallied and returned the next day. In the morning I entered the town. There, for a few days, I heard Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, George Nicholas, and my neighbor, Mann Page, of Mansfield."

Judge Brooke's narrative proceeds: "When I arrived at Staunton, Colonel Davies, whom I found there, insisted on retaining me in that service, but Captain Fleming Gaines, who belonged to Harrison's regiment of artillery, ordered me to join my corps as speedily as I could in the army of the Marquis, and furnished me with his horses and servant to do so. In a few days I left Staunton, and took the road, by what is now called Port Republic, to cross the ridge at Swift Run Gap. A curious incident occurred: one of the horses was taken lame, and I stopped at a smith's shop to have his shoes repaired; the people were all Dutch, and spoke no English, and seeing me in regimentals, they took me for a British officer, and detained me for a time as their prisoner, until one of them came who understood English, and I showed him my commission, and he let me pass."

Yet there was good reason for anticipating an inroad by Tarleton. The first rumor of it seems to have arisen on Saturday, but on Sunday the report was apparently confirmed. On Saturday, Mr. Scott was hearing a class in the catechism at Bethel, which he dismissed to spread the alarm. On Sunday, the people of Tinkling Spring congregation were assembled as usual for worship, when a strange man, arrested in the vicinity, was brought to the church. This man was one of four who had been captured, but the others had escaped. He was dressed partly in the uniform of a British soldier, and was supposed to be a spy sent forward by Tarleton. The excitement at the church may be imagined. The pastor, Rev. James Waddell, addressed the congregation, urging the men to obtain arms and hasten to Rockfish Gap, intending to go with them. But what should be done with the prisoner? A guard of several men could not be spared, and a young man named Long, who had carried his trusty rifle to church, volunteered to bring the stranger to Staunton and lodge him in jail. By command of Long, the prisoner marched on before and moved obedient to orders till they arrived at Christian's Creek. There, Long wished to take off his moccasins, but the spy persisted in coming on, wading the stream in his jack-boots. Long repeatedly warned him to stop, and finally shot him down. After a few days he died, confessing that he was a British soldier, and had been sent in advance by Tarleton. These facts were related to the writer by the late Joseph Long, who was a son of the young man who shot the spy.

The alarm having arisen, riders traversed the county to notify the people. From Lexington to the Peeked Mountain, now Massanutten, the people were aroused. The men hastened to Rockfish Gap, while the women and children hid their silver spoons and other portable

articles of value. Two venerable men, who were children in 1781, many years ago related to the writer their recollections of the time. One of these remembered that his father came home from Tinkling Spring church and took down his gun, to the boy's great astonishment, as it was the Sabbath day; the other told of his anxiety to bury his only treasure, a little bar of lead.

By Monday morning the mountain at Rockfish Gap was lined with men. Some, who could not procure guns, provided piles of stones to hurl at the invaders. The force under General McDowell, encountered by Lieutenant Brooke, was doubtless composed of the hasty levies referred to.

On the day the alarm first arose, the Rev. William Graham, of Lexington, was coming to Staunton. He heard the exciting report before he arrived here, and immediately returned home to call out the militia. With a company of men he went on the next day to Rockfish Gap. Finding that Tarleton did not come, part of the militia, accompanied by Mr. Graham, went in quest of the enemy, and joined La Fayette below Charlottesville. During a short stay with the army Mr. Graham had evening prayers in the company to which he belonged. The services were not well attended, except on one occasion, when a battle was anticipated; then the men generally assembled, and appeared to listen with much attention.—[Foote, First Series, page 453].

The Legislature reassembled at Staunton, and on the 12th of June elected General Thomas Nelson Governor of the Commonwealth. On the 19th the new Governor qualified by taking the prescribed oaths before Sampson Mathews, J. P., and on the same day Samuel McDowell qualified as a member of the Governor's Council.

At some period during the war, an accusation was preferred by Thomas Hughes against Zachariah Johnston, one of the delegates from Augusta, of instigating opposition in the county to the act of assembly for raising troops.* While the Legislature sat at Staunton, June 14th, Mr. Henry reported that Mr. Johnston had uniformly recommended obedience to the law, and that the accusation was groundless.

On June 23d, the assembly adjourned at Staunton, to meet in Richmond in October following.

Before the introduction of putty, lead was used for fixing panes of glass in window sashes, and towards the close of the war was sought after for moulding into bullets. On June 13, 1781, Maj. John Pryor, Commissary, wrote from Charlottesville to Col. Davies, at Staunton,

*Probably the disturbance referred to by Major Posey in his letter of May 18th.

that he had sent out "by Expresses to every probable Houses within 40 miles extent along the S. W. Mountains, to collect what can be found in the windows and elsewhere." On the 14th he wrote again that lead was "amazingly wanted in camp."

By order of Col. Carrington, Deputy Quartermaster General, on June 14, 1781, Staunton was made the principal depot for public stores "beyond the mountains," under Capt. Thomas Hamilton.

Col. Febiger wrote from camp, June 30, 1781, to Col. Davies, at Staunton, that the men were "literally naked, shirts and blankets excepted"—"unless supplied, they would from real nakedness be compelled to quitt the field." There were not more than twenty pairs of good shoes in the regiment. No wonder men objected to being drafted as soldiers under such circumstances.

In pursuance of orders from New York, Cornwallis turned towards the coast on the 16th of June, and was closely followed by La Fayette. On the 22nd of August the British army occupied Yorktown.

A draft of Augusta militia was made in May, 1781. According to Alexander Hamilton's "declaration," the men rendezvoused at the site of the present town of Waynesborough in the latter part of May. Joseph Bell says they rendezvoused "at Col. Eason's, now Waynesborough," June 6th. This was only a few days before the alarm in the Valley in regard to Tarleton's approach. Bell was Ensign in Capt. Francis Long's company. Hamilton was a private in the company of Capt. Patrick Buchanan. Col. Thomas Hughart commanded the troops. They proceeded to join the army under La Fayette, at Colonel Dandridge's, probably in King William county. Both Bell and Hamilton were in the battle of "Hot Water," on the 26th of June, says Hamilton, under the immediate command of Colonel, or Major, Jack Willis of the Continental line.* No engagement is mentioned in history by this name. The reference is probably to a severe skirmish, on June 26, about six miles from Williamsburg. Colonel Butler, † of the Pennsylvania line, commanded the Americans, and Colonel Simcoe the British. It is described as a desperate melee in which much execution was done on both sides.—James Hamilton,

* La Fayette selected seven hundred and fifty of his best militia marksmen, and dividing them into three corps of light infantry, placed them respectively under the command of three regular officers, of whom Major Willis was one. [*Lee's Memoirs*, p. 415.] It was therefore a distinction to have served under Willis.

† Colonel Butler was the second and rival of Morgan at Saratoga. He was employed by Washington as next in command to St. Clair, in whose disastrous defeat he was killed.

brother of Alexander, was severely wounded. He was sent to a hospital in New Kent county, and Alexander was detached to take care of him, which he did till his term expired, and his brother John then took his place as nurse.

Major William Willson testified that he was with Alexander Hamilton at the battle of Hot Water, and saw him aid in carrying his brother from the field.

Capt. John Davis of the Pennsylvania line,* kept a diary from May 26, 1781, when Wayne's Brigade left York, Pa., till January 11, 1782, when it was at Jacksonborough, S. C. From the original we take the following extracts relating to the battle of Hot Water:

"June 25th.—Lay by this day. At dark took up the line of march in order to overtake Simna" [Simcoe] "who had plundered a quantity of cattle."

"26th—At six o'clock in the morning we overtook a covering party who retreated before us. We mounted a party of infantry behind light-horse, who overtook their rear. We had a small skirmish, horse and foot, in which we took some light-horse and cattle and killed 30 on the spot with inconsiderable loss."

Joseph Bell was at the battle of Jamestown, under General Wayne, in July, 1781.

When Lord Cornwallis was about to cross James River at Jamestown Island, on July 6th, a British dragoon and a negro, pretending to be deserters, informed the Americans that nearly all the King's troops had passed over, leaving only the rear guard on the north side. General Wayne with the Pennsylvania line made a furious assault, but found he was confronted by the whole British army. La Fayette, who was at hand and in chief command, ordered a retreat, and the Americans were not pursued. The loss of the Americans in the short but severe conflict was 118 men killed, wounded and captured, and three cannon; of the British 80 killed and wounded. The engagement is otherwise called the battle of Green Spring.

Capt. Davis gives, in his diary, the following brief account of the battle of Green Spring, under date of July 6th:

"At sun rise we took up the line of march for Jamestown, which place the enemy lay at. The 1st Battery was detached with some

* General Henry Lee says in his Memoir they might have been called with more propriety the line of Ireland.

Capt. Davis was the grand-father of Mrs. Alexander H. Fultz, late of Staunton. His wife was a daughter of John Morton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

riflemen, which brought on a scattering fire that continued many hours. When the 2nd and 3rd Battery with one of Infantry arrived in sight, we formed and brought on a general action. Our advances regular at a charge, till we got within 80 yards of their main body under a heavy fire of grape shot, at which distance we opened our musketry at their line, 3 of our artillery horses being wounded; and then their right flanking our left, rendered a retreat necessary, with the loss of 2 pieces of artillery."

Very likely the riflemen mentioned were militiamen from Augusta county. Capt. Davis was, of course, not acquainted with all that occurred; but the above extract is interesting because it was written on the day and on the spot.

Bell continued in service till after the surrender of Cornwallis. He was absent from home about five months.

Other companies from the county during the summer and fall of 1781, were—

Capt. Thomas Smith's, which rendezvoused at Teas' in August. John Thompson and Alexander Williams were members of this company. The former was discharged two or three days before the surrender at Yorktown; the latter continued in service till after the surrender.

Capt. William Finley's company, of which William Patrick was a member, Colonel Lewis' regiment, was dismissed at Yorktown a short time before the surrender.

Cavalry company of Capt. Zachariah Johnston, Lieut. Charles Baskin, and Ensign Richard Madison. This company assembled at Teas' about the first of June, and was probably engaged in the battle of Jamestown.

John McCutchen, drafted in June, left Staunton with Major Alexander Robertson, and was discharged soon after the battle of Jamestown.

Samuel McCune who was drafted in the company of Capt. Francis Long, heretofore mentioned, was in the battle of Hot Water, and was "trampled by a British light-horseman." He was also in the battle of Jamestown.—John Crawford was Lieutenant of the company.

William Armstrong was drafted in July, in the company of Capt. James Bell, Lieut. John Wackub, and Ensign Alexander Crawford, and was discharged two days before the surrender at Yorktown.

One-fourth of the Augusta militia had been called out by the order of July 25th, and marched on the 8th of August to lower Virginia and Yorktown, as appears from a letter written by Colonel

Sampson Mathews, dated September 4th. The regiment, or battalion, was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Lewis (son of Andrew) and Major William Long.

At a court-martial held August 23, 1781, one man convicted of deserting from Captain McCutchen's company, while under command of Brigadier-General Campbell, was sentenced to serve an additional six months. Another was tried for not going with the twenty days men ordered out under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Bowyer, and acquitted. The court was kept busy during this year trying men for desertion and other offences. An offence charged against some of the accused, was "failing to appear at the rendezvous when ordered under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Lewis, August 8, 1781."

On October 19, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered to Washington, at Yorktown, and the war of the Revolution ended, although peace was not formally concluded till 1783.

As a part of the history of the county, we mention that the Presbytery of Hanover, about the year 1773, determined to establish "Augusta Academy," and it was at first proposed to locate the institution at Staunton. At a meeting of Presbytery, in April, 1775, persons were appointed to solicit subscriptions in behalf of the academy, among whom were William McPheeters and John Trimble, at North Mountain; Thomas Stuart and Walter Davis, at Tinkling Spring; Sampson Mathews, at Staunton; and George Mathews, George Moffett and James Allen, in Augusta congregation.

In May, 1776, the Presbytery determined to locate the school on Timber Ridge, "as there was no one in Staunton to take the management, and it was uncertain whether there ever would be." At the same time the Rev. William Graham was elected rector, and a young man named John Montgomery his assistant. Mr. Graham was born in Pennsylvania, in 1746, and was educated at Princeton College. Mr. Montgomery was born in Augusta, and graduated at Princeton in 1775. He spent the last years of his life as pastor of Rocky Spring church, in Augusta. Trustees were also appointed: Rev. John Brown, Rev. James Waddell, Thomas and Andrew Lewis, William Preston, Sampson Mathews, Samuel McDowell, George Moffett, and others.

In 1779, the school was removed to Lexington, and called "Liberty Hall." An act of incorporation by the Legislature was obtained in 1782, and the institution has now become "Washington and Lee University."

The subject of religious liberty occupied the attention of the people of Virginia as soon as the Revolutionary war arose. At a meeting of the Legislature, in October, 1779, all laws providing salaries for ministers were repealed, and it was generally understood that no denomination should be favored in that respect; but the scheme of a "general assessment," for the benefit of ministers of all sects, was proposed and advocated by Patrick Henry and others.

In April, 1780, Hanover Presbytery met at Tinkling Spring, and held a session on the 28th at the house of Mr. Waddell. A memorial, praying the Legislature to abstain from interference with the government of the church, was prepared, and Messrs. Waddell and Graham were appointed to request Colonel McDowell and Captain Johnston, the delegates from Augusta, to present the memorial to the assembly. Another memorial on the subject was adopted at Bethel, May 19, 1784, and still another in October, 1784. A convention of Presbyterians was held at Bethel, August 10, 1785, and a final memorial, drawn by Mr. Graham, was adopted on the 13th. The Legislature met October 17, 1785, and on December 17th, Mr. Jefferson's bill "for establishing religious freedom" became a law.

Early in 1782 the Marquis de Chastellux, a French officer, traveled extensively in Virginia, and subsequently published an account of his trip. In April he visited the Natural Bridge, crossing the Blue Ridge at Rockfish Gap. On the eastern side of the mountain he was joined by an Augusta man on horseback who appeared "much at his ease," and who entertained him with an account of the battle of the Cowpens, in which he had participated. His description of the battle agreed with General Morgan's official report of it. One incident of the battle he did not know of, but it was related by Morgan himself. The old hero was accustomed to say in his latter days that people thought he never was afraid, but he was often miserably afraid. After arranging his troops at the Cowpens, he said, as he saw the glittering array of the British army coming on, he trembled for the result. Retiring to the rear he poured out a prayer to God and then returned to his lines and cheered his men for the fight. The French officer pronounced the battle of the Cowpens the most extraordinary event of the war.

The Marquis and his party forded South river, where Waynesborough now is, and put up for the night at a little inn kept by a Mrs. Teaze,* of which Mr. Jefferson had told him. He says the inn was

* Mrs Teaze, or Teas, was a daughter of Colonel John Reid, son of Thomas Reid, who came from County Down, Ireland. Thomas was a brother of John and Andrew Reid, the latter of whom was the father of the Rockbridge family.

one of the worst in all America. A solitary tin vessel was the only wash-bowl for the family, servants, and guests. The travelers did not pass through Staunton, but hurried on to a better inn than Mrs. Teaze's, promised them near the site of Greenville. They were doomed to disappointment, as the landlord, Mr. Smith, had neither food for the men nor forage for the horses. The war just closed had impoverished the country to that extent. Mr. Smith encouraged the party, however, to expect supplies at a mill further on. The miller, who also kept a public house, was a handsome young man of about twenty-five years of age, and had a handsome wife. He was found to be physically disabled, and upon inquiry explained that he was still suffering from fifteen or sixteen wounds received at the battle of Guilford. This was David Steele, of Midway. His wife brought the piece of skull clipped from his head by a British sabre to exhibit. The most serious injuries were received after he was taken prisoner by the enemy. Mr. Steele kept no spirits, and his guests fared upon cakes baked upon the cinders, and butter and milk.

The Marquis spent a night at a Mr. Grigsby's, near the Natural Bridge, and says: "The other guests were a healthy, good-humored young man of eight and twenty, who set out from Philadelphia with a pretty wife of twenty, and a little child in her arms, to settle five hundred miles beyond the mountains in a country lately inhabited bordering on the Ohio, called the country of Kentucky. His whole retinue was a horse, which carried his wife and child. We were astonished at the easy manner with which he proceeded on his expedition." And the natural charms of the young wife, says the Marquis, "were embellished by the serenity of her mind."—[*Travels in North America*, pages 234, etc.]

After the surrender at Yorktown, Col. George Mathews rested on his laurels at his home in Augusta. Gen. Greene, however, desired his aid in the South, and on February 1, 1782, the Colonel wrote a characteristic letter, from "Markit Hill," Augusta, to Col. Davies, excusing himself from service. He was "with care and rigid economy endavering to presarve from rail want a wife and eight helplis children," left in easy circumstances when he went into the service. Moreover, his health was seriously impaired. He would join Gen. Greene in April, however, if his health permitted.

Until peace was declared the army had to be kept up, and another draft for regular service was ordered early in 1782. Col. George Moffett, then County Lieutenant of Augusta, wrote to Governor Harrison,

March 20th, with "much concern" respecting the draft in Augusta, which was appointed for April 9th. He says "it is probable that day will begin in tumult and end in something worse." The people were indignant at the proposed drawing, and persuaded it was "contrary to the mind of the last Assembly." By a temporizing policy he hoped to avert the threatened consequences.

On May 1st he wrote again—he had found it impracticable to make the draft, and had postponed it till May 28th. The Indians were invading the frontiers, and he had sent out "above eighty militia," exclusive of those sent to Tygart's Valley. He thought it a hard case that he should be called upon to send 70 men to defend Monongalia county, while the frontiers of Augusta were "so distressed by ye Enemy." Col. Armand's* cavalry had lately come to Staunton, and but for the contributions of the inhabitants would "undoubtedly have perished or plundered."

Col. Moffett reported, on November 3, 1782, that more money than necessary for recruiting had been raised, but "not one soldier."

On May 7, 1783, Col. Moffett wrote to the Governor about Indian depredations "nigh ye head of greenbrier." Several persons had been killed. He had ordered spies to be sent out, etc.

We conclude this chapter with a synopsis of what seems now a curious act of the Legislature, passed in 1783. The act authorized the payment of one-half of taxes in tobacco, hemp, flour and deer skins. Warehouses were established at Staunton, Winchester and the stone-house in Botetourt; and at those places flour was to be received at the rate of fourteen shillings per hundred pounds, with an allowance of two shillings and six pence for casks and inspection. At the same places, and also Louisville, (Kentucky), deer skins were to be taken at the price of one shilling and eight pence per pound for gray skins, and two shillings for red and blue skins.

* Charles Armand was a French Marquis, born in 1751. At an early age he entered a military corps at Paris, but fought a duel, was dismissed from the service, came to America and volunteered in the cause of the colonies, May 10, 1777. He was commissioned as Colonel and participated in various engagements under La Fayette. In 1779, his corps was incorporated with Pulaski's. In 1781, he returned to France, procured clothes and accoutrements, and came back in time to participate in the victory at Yorktown. The rank of Brigadier General was conferred upon him, March 26, 1783. In the same year he returned to France, and afterwards took an active part in the early stages of the French Revolution on the side of the King. He became a fugitive, and after the execution of Louis XVI, sank under a nervous malady and died January 30th, 1793. He is described as a polished gentleman and gallant leader.

The Gambles.

About the year 1735, Robert Gamble left Londonderry, Ireland, his native place, and with other emigrants from the same section settled in Augusta county. The name Gamble had been prominently connected with the history of Londonderry, and one of the family died, or was killed, there during the famous siege in 1689. Robert Gamble was a married man when he came to America, and brought with him a son named James, who was born in 1729. He had another son named Joseph, who was probably the ancestor of the Gambles of Ohio and Missouri. [This is a mistake. The Missouri Gambles are descendants of a Joseph Gamble who came to America from Derry, in 1784.]

On the 6th of March, 1746, Robert Poage conveyed to Robert Gamble 306 acres of land, in consideration of £15. This tract lies about a mile northeast of the village of Springhill, and is the farm lately owned by Theophilus Gamble, and now (1892) by the heirs of R. B. Hamrick, deceased.

James Gamble's wife was Agnes Bell, a sister of Joseph Bell of South River, the Revolutionary soldier often mentioned in preceeding pages. He (Joseph Bell) was a bachelor, and died in 1834, leaving a considerable estate to his collateral descendants. He was called Major Bell in 1832.

The children of James and Agnes Gamble were two sons, Robert and John; and three daughters, Mrs. Agnes Davis, Mrs. Elizabeth Moffett, and Mrs. Esther Bell. Mrs. Bell left no children. Mrs. Moffett's descendants,—Moffetts, Tates and others,—are numerous.

Robert Gamble, the younger, was born on his father's farm, September 3, 1754. He received an unusually good education for the time, at Liberty Hall Academy. When he had just attained his majority, and begun the business of a merchant, the troubles with Great Britain culminated in war. At the first call to arms he was made first lieutenant of the first company raised in the county. He soon became captain of the company, but as promotion in the Continental line was slow, he appears to have remained in that position for some years.

Captain Gamble was in active service during the entire war, and participated in many battles at the north, including the battles of Princeton and Monmouth. As we have seen, he served under General Wayne on the Hudson, in 1779. It is said that he led one of the assailing parties at the storming of Stony Point. He with his men mounted the wall in the immediate vicinity of a cannon, and seeing the match about to be applied, barely had time to lower his head and order his men to fall flat before the gun was discharged. He was, however, permanently deafened by the concussion. His company immediately moved on, and were the first to enter the fort. Being busily engaged in securing prisoners, the British flag was overlooked, until Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury observed it and pulled it down. At this stage the Pennsylvania troops entered the fort.

General Wayne's report of the affair was unsatisfactory, and upon learning all the facts he wrote another, giving the Virginians the credit to which they were entitled. At that time there was much jealousy between the troops from different colonies, and before the revised report was published General Washington made a personal appeal to the Virginians to let the matter drop for the good of the cause. Such an appeal from such a source was irresistible, and the error was allowed to remain.

During the latter part of the war, Captain Gamble served under General Greene, in the South, and for a short time acted on the staff of Baron De Kalb. He was taken prisoner in South Carolina, and confined on a British vessel in Charleston harbor. He afterwards frequently complained of the treatment he received while a prisoner, his food consisting exclusively of rice. For many years before his death he was styled colonel, but he appears not to have attained that rank in the army, during the war, having been allotted pension lands for service as a captain only.

Colonel Gamble's wife was Catherine Grattan, daughter of Mr. John Grattan, who lived on North river, near the present village of Mount Crawford. On the 17th of May, 1780, James Gamble, and Agnes, his wife, conveyed to their son, Robert, a tract of four hundred and twenty-seven acres, adjoining the homestead of three hundred and six acres. Colonel Gamble made his home in the country on the farm thus acquired by him, and there his children were born, in a house still standing. Not long after the war, however, he embarked in mercantile business in Staunton, in partnership with his brother-in-law, Robert Grattan. The store of Gamble & Grattan was at the northeast corner of Main and Augusta streets, in a low frame house then standing, and subsequently occupied during many years by the post-office. Colonel Gamble's town residence was the frame house on the west side of Augusta street, about midway between Main and Frederick streets. On the 17th of April, 1787, he was a member of a court-martial held in Staunton, as lieutenant-colonel of Augusta militia. In 1792, or early in 1793, he removed to Richmond, where he became a prosperous business man and influential citizen. His residence in Richmond was on the eminence called for him, Gamble's Hill, and his business was conducted in a large building at the corner of Main and Fourteenth streets. His sons, Colonels John G. and Robert Gamble, were his partners. Both the sons were officers in the war of 1812, and both removed to Florida in 1827, where they were prosperous and influential. One of Colonel Gamble's daughters was the wife of the celebrated William Wirt, and the other, of Judge William H. Cabell, who was Governor of Virginia in 1806–'8, afterwards a judge of the general court, and, finally, president of the Court of Appeals till his death, in 1849. After leaving Staunton, Colonel Gamble sold his Augusta farm, October 15, 1793, to his brother, John, who transmitted it to his son, William.

Colonel Gamble was in the habit of riding on horseback every morning from his residence to his counting-room. On the 12th of

April, 1810, as he was thus on his way, reading a newspaper, some buffalo skins were thrown from the upper window of a warehouse he was passing, his horse took fright, started, and threw him, which produced concussion of the brain, and terminated his life in a few hours. Mr. Wirt said of him, in a letter to a friend: "He was a faithful soldier of the Revolution, a sincere and zealous Christian, one of the best of fathers, and honestest of men." His house in Richmond was the seat of an elegant hospitality, and within its walls were frequent gatherings of the veterans of the Revolution and others, including Generals Washington and Knox, and Chief-Justice Marshall. But he did not forget the friends of his early days and native county, and by them and their posterity his name and memory have always been revered and cherished.

John Gamble, Colonel Robert Gamble's brother, was also a soldier during the Revolution, but where or in what capacity he served is not known. He was called Captain Gamble, and in 1794 was captain of an Augusta militia company. His wife was Rebecca McPheeters, a sister of the Rev. Dr. McPheeters; and his children were James (a minister), William, Philander, Robert, Theophilus, Mrs. Ramsey and Mrs. Irvin. He died in 1831, on the farm where he was born. By his will, he left five hundred acres of land to his daughter, Rebecca, and grand-daughter, Mary J. Ramsey. This land is described as "lying in the district set apart for the officers and soldiers of the Continental line, on the waters of Little Muddy creek, in Logan county, Kentucky,—granted to said Gamble the 15th of September, 1795."

The Mathews Family.

John Mathews, one of the first settlers in Borden's tract, about 1737, died between April 20, 1757, the date of his will, and November 16, 1757, the date of probate. His wife was Ann Archer, daughter of Sampson Archer, a fellow emigrant. His sister, Betsy, was the wife of Robert Renick. His children were John, Joshua, Richard, Sampson, George, Archer, William, Jane, Anna, Rachel and Elizabeth. "Border Warfare" says that five of the seven sons were at Braddock's defeat, which statement may be set down as not entirely correct, to say the least of it.

John Mathews, Jr., lived, it is presumed, on James River, in what is now Botetourt county. From his will, made November 27, 1761, we learn that his wife was named Ann, and that he had three sons and three daughters, all under age at the date of the will.—Soon after that date, the whole family was murdered and burnt with their house. The only information we have of the tragedy is from the proceedings in the suit of Murray and wife against Mathews, brought in the County Court of Augusta, in 1768, for a division of the de-

cedent's real estate. Whether the murders were perpetrated by Indians or whites, is not stated, or surmised.

SAMPSON MATHEWS, son of John, was a very prominent citizen of the county for many years, and is often mentioned in these Annals.—He was the father of Mrs. Samuel Clarke and Mrs. Alexander Nelson. He had two sons, John and Sampson, the latter of whom was the father of Andrew Mathews of Pulaski county, and of Jacob and Sampson Mathews of Pocahontas county. The Staunton residence of Col. Sampson Mathews was the log house on the lot bounded on the south by Beverley street and on the east by Water street, which is still standing, (1892.) He died in Staunton, in 1807. His wife was a Miss Lockhart.

GEORGE MATHEWS, son of John, was born in 1739, and, therefore, was a mere youth when he was engaged in the Indian fray of 1761. In 1762, he and his brother Sampson were merchants in Staunton. His first wife, the mother of his children, was Anne Paul, sister of Audley Paul, and step-daughter of Col. David Stuart. He was captain of one of the Augusta companies at Point Pleasant in 1774, and in 1775 was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Ninth Virginia regiment. This regiment, though raised for the protection of Accomac and Northampton counties, was soon ordered to join the main army under Washington. Mathews therefore participated, in command of the regiment, in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and his conduct gained him great credit. At Germantown he and his whole regiment were captured by the enemy. He was confined in a prison ship in New York harbor, and not exchanged till late in the war. Then he was ordered to the south and joined the army under General Greene, as commander of the Third Virginia regiment. While serving in the south he purchased a tract of land in Georgia to which he removed in 1784

Colonel Mathews was elected Governor of Georgia in 1786, and again in 1794, and between those dates was the first representative of Georgia in the United States Congress after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. During his second term as Governor, a scheme, known afterwards as the "Yazoo fraud," for disposing of the public lands of Georgia, was consummated. These lands embraced the present States of Alabama and Mississippi. The Governor, though he had opposed all such schemes, was induced to sign the bill passed by the Legislature No sooner did the measure become a law than a popular clamor arose. All who had aided the scheme were accused of fraud and corruption. Stout as the Governor was, he was driven from Georgia by the storm and took refuge in Florida. It is not believed, however, that he was justly chargeable with any wrong. He died in Augusta, Georgia, September 30, 1812, while on his way to Washington city, and was buried in St. Paul's churchyard, of that city. Howe states that Mathews county, in Virginia, formed in 1790, was called for him, but others say it was called for Colonel Thomas Mathews, who was Speaker of the House of Delegates for many years.

He is described as a short, thick man, standing very erect, and carrying his head thrown back. His features were bluff, his hair light red and his complexion florid. He admitted no superior but Washington. John Adams, when President, nominated Mathews for Governor of Mississippi territory, but afterwards recalled the nomination, because the Senate seemed unwilling to confirm it. The recall greatly enraged the Governor. He hastened to Philadelphia on horseback, dismounted at the President's door and stalked in, wearing his old army sword at his thigh and his three-cornered cocked hat on his head. He proceeded to administer a rebuke to the President, but being like Mr. Adams, a hot Federalist, means were found to appease his wrath, and he returned home pacified.

In 1812, East Florida belonged to Spain.—The United States feared that the country might fall into the hands of Great Britain, and, pursuant to an act of Congress, President Madison appointed General Mathews and Colonel John McKee commissioners to receive the territory, if surrendered voluntarily, or to take it by force if any foreign power attempted to occupy it. The General thought the danger imminent, and co-operating with a filibuster expedition which he had encouraged, deposed the Spanish authorities and erected the United States flag. When the President heard of these things he recalled Mathews, and ordered his successor to restore the country to Spain, if there should be no probability of foreign occupation. The General was again thrown into a rage, and was on his way to rebuke the President, or to administer personal chastisement, it is said, when he died as stated.

His children were four sons and three daughters. One of his sons was an eminent Judge in Louisiana. One of the daughters was the first wife of Andrew Barry, of Staunton (whose second wife was a daughter of Rev. John McCue). Another daughter was the wife of General Samuel Blackburn, and the third was Mrs. Telfair, whose son, Dr. Isaac Telfair, lived in Staunton many years ago.

After the death of his first wife, Governor Mathews married Mrs. Margaret Reed, of Staunton. They were, however, divorced and she resumed her former name. He married afterwards a Mrs. Flowers of Mississippi.

Capt. James Tate, killed at Guilford, was one of four brothers who came with their parents from Pennsylvania to Augusta early in the eighteenth century. He lived in the neighborhood of the present village of Greenville. His wife was Sally Hall, a grand-daughter of Archibald and Janet Stuart. His will, dated October 3, 1780, and admitted to record August 21, 1781, directed that his estate should be kept together, for the benefit of his wife and children, till the youngest child should come of age; and distribution was not made till June 19, 1798. He had two sons, John and Isaac, and three daughters, Polly, Patsy and Sally. John and Isaac manumitted a negro man left them

by their father. Mrs. Sally Tate, widow of Capt. Tate, contracted a second marriage with Hugh Fulton, and removed with him to the west. Her son, John Tate, died in Missouri, at an advanced age, about 1866 or 1868. A grand-son of this John is the Rev. John C. Tate of Kentucky.

JOHN TATE, brother of James, also lived near Greenville. He represented the county in the House of Delegates at one time, and is said to have voted against the famous resolutions of 1798–'9. His sons went to the west at an early day; his daughters married, respectively, the Rev. John D. Ewing, Jacob Van Lear, Samuel Finley and John Moffett.

WILLIAM TATE, third brother of James, was at the battles of Point Pleasant, Brandywine, and probably others. He removed to Southwest Virginia, and became a general of militia. His descendants are numerous.

ROBERT TATE, the youngest brother of James, had three sons and six daughters, and from them the Tates and others of Augusta are descended.

The village of Greenville was doubtless so called by some of the Augusta soldiers who had served under General Nathaniel Greene in the South.

Until Rockbridge county was established, North river was the boundary between Augusta and Botetourt. In April, 1772, a child was born seven miles east of the site of Lexington, but on the north side of the stream mentioned, and therefore in Augusta, who became highly distinguished and widely known—ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER. He was a son of William Alexander, who was a son of Archibald (or Ersbel, as he was called), a captain in the Sandy Creek expedition, and first high sheriff of Rockbridge. In his personal recollections, Dr. Alexander mentions as an instance of the privations of the Revolutionary war, that his school teacher found it difficult to procure a knife to make and mend the quill pens of his pupils. The teacher to whom he was indebted for his first acquaintance with Latin, was a young Irishman named John Reardon, an "indentured servant," or convict banished to America for crime, and purchased for a term of years, in Philadelphia, by his pupil's father. Reardon enlisted as a soldier in Captain Wallace's company, and was desperately wounded in a battle in North Carolina; but survived, and returned to school-teaching on Timber Ridge. Young Alexander was further educated at Liberty Hall, under the Rev. William Graham. When not yet twenty years of age, he was licensed as a preacher by Lexington Presbytery, October 1, 1791, at Winchester. He states that among the hearers of his first sermon after he was licensed, was General Daniel Morgan. Returning to Lexington late in 1791, he stopped in Staunton. "The town," he says, "contained no place of worship but an Episcopal church, which was without a minister. It was proposed that I should preach in the little Episcopal church; to which I

consented with some trepidation ; but when I entered the house in the evening it was crowded, and all the gentry of the town were out, including Judge Archibald Stuart," [not then Judge,] "who had known me from a child." In course of time Dr. Alexander became President of Hampden-Sidney College. From that position he was transferred to Philadelphia as pastor of a church in that city ; and after a few years was appointed a professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey, where he spent the remainder of his life. He died in 1851. He was a voluminous author. His wife was a daughter of the Rev. Dr. James Waddell.

Rev. Gideon Blackburn, D. D., was (according to *Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit*) born in Augusta county, August 27, 1772. His father removing to East Tennessee, the son was placed under the instruction of the Rev. Dr. Doak. He was licensed as a preacher by Abingdon Presbytery in 1792 or 1795 (it is uncertain which). With his Bible, hymn-book, knapsack and rifle, he plunged into the wilderness of Tennessee, and made his first preaching station at a fort built for the protection of the frontier. He soon attracted attention as an unusually eloquent preacher. He also engaged in teaching at various places. From 1827 to 1830 he was president of Centre College, Kentucky. In 1833 he removed to Illinois, and established a theological seminary at Carlinsville, which bore his name. He died at Carlinsville August 23, 1838. He was a nephew of General Samuel Blackburn.

The Rev. Dr. George A. Baxter, D. D., was born in 1771, in Rockingham, then Augusta. His parents were natives of Ireland, and, on coming to the Valley, settled near Mossy Creek. He was educated at Liberty Hall, of which he became rector in 1798. Afterwards, for many years, he was president of Washington College and pastor of Lexington and New Monmouth congregations. During the last ten years of his life he was a professor in Union Theological Seminary, Prince Edward county. He was an able and eloquent preacher, but never appeared as an author. His wife was a daughter of Colonel William Fleming, of Botetourt. Dr. Baxter's death occurred April 24, 1841. His son, Sidney S. Baxter, was long Attorney-General of Virginia previous to 1850.

Rev. Samuel Doak, D. D., was born in Augusta county, in August, 1749. He graduated at Princeton in 1775, and was licensed as a preacher by Hanover Presbytery, October 31, 1777. His wife was Hester Montgomery, sister of the Rev. John Montgomery. After

preaching for some time in Washington county, Virginia, he removed to East Tennessee, then a part of North Carolina, where, with other settlers, he had now and then to take arms against the Indians. He founded Washington College, Tennessee, and was distinguished as a preacher and teacher. His death occurred December 12, 1830.

The Rev. JOHN POAGE CAMPBELL was born in Augusta, 1767, and when about fourteen years of age removed with his father to Kentucky. He subsequently studied with the Rev. Archibald Scott, in his native county, and graduated at Hampden-Sidney College in 1790. Having been licensed to preach in 1792, he was for a time associated with the Rev. William Graham as pastor of Lexington and other congregations. In 1795 he removed to Kentucky, and on the 4th of November, 1814, died near Chillicothe, Ohio. Dr. Dwight, of Yale College, pronounced Mr Campbell "a remarkably accomplished scholar and divine."

Among the officers furnished by Augusta county to the regular army was John Steele, of the Middlebrook neighborhood. He first appears in an ancient pay-roll as Ensign commanding a detachment of Virginia and North Carolina troops. On May 22, 1778, he was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant in Capt. Curtis Kindall's company of the regiment then styled the First Virginia, commanded by Col. William Davies; and his name appears in muster-rolls for April, May, August and September, 1779. In April, 1782, he was summoned to appear before a Court of Inquiry, at "Cumberland Old Courthouse," to answer the charges of going to a distant part of the country while on furlough, and failing to report for duty at Staunton when ordered. A copy of his defence was lately found among a batch of old papers. He stated that he had been partially disabled by a wound, received in 1774, and by illness while a prisoner at Charleston, S. C., and therefore leave of absence was granted him. At the suggestion of Col. Davies, he undertook to do duty as a recruiting officer; and, thinking he might be more successful in a remote part of the country than elsewhere, he went to Kentucky. But the money furnished to him was so worthless that no one would take it, and he did not succeed in his mission. Col. Febiger issued an order, November 7, 1781, for him to report at Staunton, but it did not reach him till February 7, 1782, and then he was unavoidably hindered from obeying immediately. He was unanimously acquitted.

During some years after the war he was Secretary of Mississippi Territory. His letters show that he was a man of considerable culture.

CHAPTER XII.

EMIGRATION FROM AUGUSTA AND SOME OF THE EMIGRANTS.

Fom the time of the first settlement of Kentucky till near the close of the eighteenth century, the most frequented route of travel from the Eastern and Northern States to Kentucky was called the "Wilderness Road." John Filson, a native of Delaware, and one of the earliest settlers of Kentucky, returned to his former home, in 1786, and kept a journal of the stopping places, and the distances between them. Starting from the "Falls of the Ohio," (Louisville), he mentions thirty-six places between that point and Staunton. Among the places named are Bardstown, Harrod's Station, Logan's Station, Cumberland Mountain, Powell's Mountain, Black Horse, Washington Court-house, Head of Holston, Fort Chiswell, New River, Alleghany Mountain, Botetourt Court-house, North Branch of James River, and Staunton. The distance from the Falls of the Ohio to Staunton by this route, as noted by Filson, was five hundred and nine miles. (Life of Filson, by Colonel R. T. Durritt). The trip on horseback must have required considerably more than a month.

In the year 1783 or 1784, a large party of Augusta people,—Allens, Moffetts, Trimbles and others,—removed to Kentucky, going by the route just mentioned. Among the emigrants was Mrs. Jane Allen Trimble, wife of Captain James Trimble, a woman of rare excellence, in whose memoir we find a graphic account of the trip.

Soon after the Revolutionary war, Captain Trimble and others, who had been soldiers, went to Kentucky to locate the land-warrants issued to them for military services. They were delighted with the country, and on their return to Augusta a spirit of emigration was awakened throughout the county. The memoir states that it was in 1784, but other accounts say 1783. In September of one of those years, a company was formed, consisting of eight or ten families, who made known that they would meet in Staunton on the 1st of October, in order to emigrate to Kentucky, and they invited others to join them, either in Staunton or on the route to Abingdon. On the Sabbath previous to their departure they attended their several churches, and heard their last sermons in Virginia, as they supposed. Mrs.

Trimble, says the memoir, often referred to that day's religious experience as being unusually interesting and impressive. The services she attended were conducted by the Rev. James Waddell, and "the minister spoke of the separation of parents and children, brothers and sisters, friends and neighbors, who had been united in sweetest bonds of fellowship, in such a pathetic strain as to make all eyes fill with tears."

"The families met according to agreement, in Staunton, October 1st. All rode upon horses, and upon other horses were placed the farming and cooking utensils, beds and bedding, wearing apparel, provisions, and last, but not least, the libraries, consisting of two Bibles,* half a dozen Testaments, the Catechism, the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church, and the Psalms of David. Each man and boy carried his rifle and ammunition, and each woman her pistol, for their long journey was mostly through a wilderness, and that infested by savages.

"James Trimble's family consisted of a wife and three children, and four colored servants. The eldest child was a daughter by a former marriage. The other two were sons, one three years old and the other eleven months. These the mother carried, one in her lap and the other behind her. Thus equipped, the emigrants took up their line of march, after bidding farewell to their weeping friends. Mrs. Trimble had an uncle and brother, with their families, to accompany her.

"By the time the party reached Abingdon, they had increased to three hundred persons, and when they arrived at Bean's Station, a frontier post, they were joined by two hundred more from Carolina. Three-fourths of these were women and children." General James

* Bibles were costly in those days. During colonial times, the printing of the English version in America was prohibited, and a heavy duty was laid on copies imported. The only copies of the Scriptures printed here before the Revolution were Eliot's Indian and Luther's German Bibles.

A recent writer remarks that Congress to-day would be rather surprised at a proposition that it should print an edition of the Bible. Yet such a proposition was made in a memorial of Dr. Allison, on which a special committee made a report in September, 1777. The report of the committee was adverse, chiefly, it would appear, on the ground of expense. The decision was reached "after conference with the printers," and the recommendation was made that instead of advancing money for importing type and printing this Bible, the Committee on Commerce should order 20,000 Bibles from Holland, Scotland, or elsewhere. In 1782, Congress was asked to approve an American edition of the Bible, and William White and George Duffield, the Chaplains of Congress, made a report recommending the work.

Knox fell in with them at some point, which is not stated, and at Bean's Station the entire command of their movements was conceded to him.

General Knox organized the unincumbered horsemen, of whom there were not more than twenty, in two companies, one to go in front and the other in the rear, with the women and children and pack-horses in the middle. There was no road, and the trail being wide enough for only one horse, the emigrants went in single file, forming a line of nearly a mile long. At the eastern base of Clinch Mountain there was the first indication of Indians prowling near them. Clinch river was swollen by recent rains, and in crossing it Mrs. Trimble and her children came near losing their lives. A Mrs. Ervin carried two negro children in a wallet thrown across her horse, and these were washed off by the current, but rescued by a Mr. Wilson.

A party of eight horsemen overtook the emigrants at Clinch river, and preceded them on the route. Measles broke out, and there was scarcely a family in the train that had not a patient to nurse; but, notwithstanding their exposure to rain during several days, no death occurred.

Between Clinch river and Cumberland Gap, the emigrants came upon the remains of the eight horsemen who had passed on before them. They had been tomahawked, scalped and stripped by Indians, and some of the bodies had been partly devoured by wolves. General Knox and his party paused long enough to bury the remains of the unfortunate men. During the night which followed, there were unmistakable signs of Indians near the camp. The savages hooted and howled like wolves and owls till after midnight, and made an unsuccessful attempt to stampede the horses. The next morning the Indians were seen on the hills, and their signal guns were distinctly heard. A night or two afterwards, when the camp fires were extinguished, and nothing was heard but the sound of the falling rain and the occasional tramp of a horse, a sentinel discovered an Indian within twenty feet of him, and fired his gun. This alarmed the camp, and in a few minutes the whole party was under arms. No attack was made, however. In the morning Indian tracks were distinct and numerous, and some of them were sprinkled with blood, showing that the sentinel had fired with effect.

An attack by the Indians was confidently expected at the narrow pass of Cumberland Gap, and every precaution was taken. Disconcerted in their plans, the Indians made no assault. At every river to

be crossed the utmost caution was observed to guard against surprise, and the Indians finally abandoned the pursuit.

The emigrants arrived at Crab Orchard, Kentucky, the first of November. This was the frontier post on the northeast border, from which emigrants branched off to their respective destinations. Here General Knox took leave of the party in an eloquent address, which was responded to appropriately by Captain Trimble.

Mrs. Trimble removed to Ohio with her children after her husband's death, and afterwards made several trips on horseback to Virginia. One trip, made in 1811, was accomplished in two weeks. The child who rode behind her on her journey to Kentucky, was Allen, who for four years was Governor of Ohio. She survived till 1849.

Now let us follow the fortunes of some of the other emigrants from Augusta.

General Benjamin Logan's parents were natives of Ireland, but married in Pennsylvania. Soon after their marriage they removed to Augusta county, and here, in 1743, their son, Benjamin, was born. The Rev. John Craig's record shows that Benjamin, son of David Logan, was baptized May 3, 1743. When young Logan was fourteen years of age his father died, and according to the law of primogeniture then in force, he inherited all the real estate which had been acquired. Upon coming of age, however, he refused to appropriate the land to himself, and after providing a home for his mother and her younger children, went to the Holston. His wife was Anne Montgomery. He was a sergeant in Colonel Henry Bouquet's expedition in 1764, and was with Dunmore in his expedition of 1774. He was one of the people of the Holston settlement who signed the "call" to the Rev. Charles Cummings to become their pastor, in 1773. In 1775 he went to Kentucky, with only two or three slaves, and established Logan's Fort, near the site of the present town of Stanford, Lincoln county. His family removed to Kentucky in 1776. In May, 1777, the fort was invested, for several weeks, by a hundred Indians. As the ammunition of the small garrison was becoming exhausted, Logan, with two companions, repaired for a supply to the Holston settlement and returned in ten days. In 1779 he was second in command of an expedition against the Indian town of Chillicothe, which terminated rather disastrously. He was in full march to reinforce the whites at the Blue Licks, in 1782, when that fatal battle occurred, but could only receive and protect the fugitives from the field. He was a member of the Kentucky Conventions of 1792 and 1799, and repeatedly a member

of the State Legislature. Logan county, Kentucky, was called for him. (Collins' History of Kentucky, Volume II, page 482.)

William Logan, oldest son of General Logan, born where Harrodsburg now stands, December 8, 1776, is said to have been the first white child born in Kentucky. He became a Judge of the Kentucky Court of Appeals and a Senator in the Congress of the United States. His death occurred August 8, 1822. (Collins, Volume II, page 713.)

In the year 1768 William Montgomery resided in Augusta county, but in what neighborhood we do not know. On the 14th of May of that year he received from Michael Malls a deed for 470 acres of land lying on "the mountain between the South Fork and the South Branch of Potowmack." He may have been, and probably was, an uncle of the Rev. John Montgomery and of the Rev. Dr. Doak's wife.

On the 15th of August, 1769, William Montgomery and Jean, his wife, conveyed the tract of 470 acres to Adam Harpole in consideration of £82 ($273.33⅓), and soon thereafter removed with the Campbells, Logans, and others to the Holston, now Washington county. In the new settlement young Benjamin Logan wooed and married Montgomery's daughter Anne. As stated, Logan moved to Kentucky and soon became famous there. His father-in-law with his family, including the family of Montgomery's son-in-law, Joseph Russell, followed Logan to Kentucky in 1779 and made a settlement twelve miles from "Logan's Fort." Early one morning in March, 1780, Montgomery, on going to the door of his cabin, was shot and killed by Indians, as was a negro boy by his side. Mrs. Montgomery and her youngest child were at Logan's, and her sons Thomas and Robert, were absent "spying." Her daughter Jane managed to close the door and keep out the savages, while William, a brother of Jane, who lived in an adjoining cabin, firing his gun through an opening, killed one Indian and wounded another. John, another brother, was shot dead in his bed. While this was going on, Betsy Montgomery, some twelve years of age, climbed out of a chimney and fled to Pettit's Station, two and a half miles off, with the news of the assault. Though pursued by an Indian, she arrived in safety. All the survivors of the family then at home, except young William and Jane Montgomery, were marched off by the Indians as prisoners. The savage who had pursued Betsy returned after his comrades had left and was shot by William from his cabin.

From Pettit's the news was speeded to Logan's Fort. There the horn was sounded, and a band of twelve or fifteen men was soon on the trail of the Indians. A negro girl found by the pursuers, toma-

hawked, scalped and left for dead, sprang to her feet and survived her wounds. The Indians fled when overtaken, but not without heavy loss. A touching incident occurred at the moment of the assault. One of the Russell girls hearing Logan's voice exclaimed: "There's Uncle Ben!" and instantly an Indian despatched her with his tomahawk. (Collins' *History of Kentucky*.)

The Jane Montgomery mentioned became the wife of General Casey, of Kentucky, and was the grandmother of the famous humorist "Mark Twain." (*Green*).

Jane Logan, the oldest daughter of General Benjamin Logan, was the wife of Colonel John Allen.

John Allen was born in what is now Rockbridge county, Decem- 30, 1772. His father, James Allen, emigrated to Kentucky in 1780, and settled near the present town of Danville, but afterwards removed to the vicinity of Bardstown. In this town young Allen went to school and acquired some classical learning. Coming to Virginia, he assisted in surveying a tract of land in Rockbridge, and was examined as a witness in court in a suit about the land. Judge Archibald Stuart, of Staunton, then a practicing lawyer, was employed in the case, and being pleased with the young man's intelligence, sought his acquaintance. The result was that Allen came to Staunton in 1791, and spent four years in Judge Stuart's office. He returned to Kentucky in 1795, and immediately entered upon a brilliant career. As a lawyer, he ranked with the first men of his profession. At the beginning of the war of 1812, he raised a regiment of riflemen, and was killed at the battle of the River Raisen, January 22, 1813. Allen county, Kentucky, was called for him. (See Collins' History of Kentucky).

A family named Knox, of Irish birth, settled in Augusta county at an early day. The first guardian's bond recorded in the county was that of James Knox, guardian of Jenny Usher, executed February 11, 1746, ("New Style.") The sureties were John Brown and Andrew Pickens. On the 13th of August, 1769, Knox conveyed to Patrick Miller 160 acres of land lying on Cowpasture river, and this and other circumstances indicate that the family lived in the part of Augusta which is now embraced in Bath county. The death of James Knox occurred in 1772. In his will he mentions his wife Jean, and among his other children his son James. The younger James Knox seems to have been one of the first persons who removed from the more thickly settled part of the county to the Holston. There is a tradition that he was disappointed in a love affair, having been rejected as a suitor by Anne Montgomery, who married Benjamin Logan. As early

as 1769, he went from the Holston on a hunting expedition to Kentucky. In command of a military force he went down the Holston and built a fort for the protection of the frontier, which was called "Fort Knox," and the settlement thereabout grew into the city of Knoxville. He was a soldier in the Revolution, and a member of the Kentucky Legislature from 1795 to 1800. In Kentucky he was known as General Knox. He captured his old sweetheart at last, marrying her after the death of General Logan. He survived till 1822, and she till 1825. It was he who led the party of Augusta emigrants, as just related.

Wallace Estill, of Irish descent, was born in New Jersey in 1707. His first wife was Marcy Bowdy. After the birth of five children he removed with his family to Augusta county, between 1744 and 1747, and a sixth child was born here.

Benjamin Estill, the second son of Wallace and Marcy, was born September 20, 1735, married, in Augusta, Kitty Moffett, was a justice of the peace in 1764, and afterwards removed to the Holston. His sons were Captain John M. Estill, of Long Glade, Augusta county, and Judge Benjamin Estill, of Southwest Virginia.

Wallace Estill married a second time Mary Ann Campbell, of Augusta. By this marriage he had nine children, among them, James, born November 9, 1750, and Samuel, born September 10, 1755.

James Estill married in Augusta, Rachel Wright, and removed to Greenbrier. Before the year 1780, he removed from Greenbrier to Kentucky, and settled at Estill's Station, in the present county of Madison. In 1781 one of his arms was broken by the rifle-shot of an Indian, and before he had fully recovered from the injury he was engaged in a memorable conflict with the savages and lost his life. At the head of about twenty-five men, in March, 1782, he pursued the same number of Wyandotts across the Kentucky river into what is now Montgomery county. The battle was fought on the site of the town of Mount Sterling, and is known as the "Battle of Little Mountain," or "Estill's Defeat." During the battle, which was unusually protracted, a panic seized a part of the whites and they deserted their comrades. The loss of the Indians was greater than that of the whites, but they held the field and the victory was conceded to them. The battle-field has been surveyed and platted at least three times in as many law-suits about land locations, and almost every incident of the fight noted on the surveys. On one of the maps a spot is indicated as the place where Captain Estill fell. The depositions in the suits, taken while the survivors of the battle lived, give a minute history of

the affair and the transactions of several following days. A county in Kentucky was called for Captain Estill. (Collins' History of Kentucky, Volume II, pages 168, 636).

Samuel Estill, younger brother of James, married Jane Tess, and also went to Kentucky. He was celebrated in his youth as an Indian fighter, and for his great size in his latter years. At the time of his death he weighed 412 pounds.

Colonel William Whitley was born in that part of Augusta which now constitutes Rockbridge county, August 14, 1749. He married Esther Fuller, and in 1775 removed to Kentucky, taking with him little more than his gun, axe and kettle. His brother-in-law, George Clark, accompanied him, and in the wilderness they met seven other men who joined them. He became a famous Indian fighter and during his life was engaged in seventeen battles with the savages. His last expedition of this kind was against the Indians south of the Tennessee river. It is known as the "Nickajack Expedition," from the name of the principal town against which it was directed. The number of whites engaged (chiefly Tennesseeans) was from five hundred to seven hundred, and the Indians were routed with great slaughter. In 1813 Colonel Whitley, then in the sixty-fifth year of his age, volunteered under Governor Shelby, and fell at the battle of the Thames, October 5th. He was selected by Colonel Richard M. Johnson to command a "forlorn hope" of twenty men, nearly all of whom were killed. It is believed by many persons that Whitley, and not Colonel Johnson, killed Tecumseh, the celebrated Indian chief, in that battle. Whitley county, Kentucky, was called for him. (Collins' History of Kentucky).

James Robertson and his son, also named James, came to America from Coleraine, North Ireland, in 1737, and settled in Augusta county. James, the younger, died in 1754, and his will is recorded in Will Book No. 2, page 72. It is dated September 11, 1751, and was proved in court November 20, 1754. The testator left his real estate to his sons George and Alexander. His personal estate footed up £63, 3s., about $210. The real estate consisted of 274 acres, conveyed by John Lewis to James Robertson, February 18, 1743, lying on Lewis' creek, "in the Manor of Beverley," adjoining the lands of the Rev. John Craig and others, being a part of 2,071 acres conveyed to Colonel Lewis by William Beverley by deed dated February 22, 1738. It lay between Staunton and Mr. Craig's residence, which was about five miles from town.

Of George Robertson, the older son of James, we have little information; Alexander Robertson, the second son, was born November 22, 1748, about a mile from Staunton, it is said, but the distance was probably three or four miles. He married Margaret Robinson, August 18, 1773, in Bedford county. She was born April 13, 1755, on the Roanoke river, then in Augusta, now in Montgomery county, and is described as a woman of extraordinary intellect and exemplary Christian character. She died at the residence of her son-in-law, ex-Governor Robert P. Letcher, in Frankfort, Kentucky, June 13, 1846, in her 92d year.

In August, 1777, George Robertson resided in Botetourt, and Alexander in Montgomery. On the 10th of that month, George and his wife, Jane, conveyed their one-half of the Augusta farm to Alexander, in consideration of £100; and on the 12th, Alexander and wife conveyed the whole tract to Joseph Bell.

In 1779, Alexander Robertson removed with his family to Kentucky, and settled in Mercer county, where he built "the first fine house in Kentucky." He is said to have been a man of strong mind, sterling moral qualities, and very popular. He was a member of the State Convention of 1788, at Richmond, (Kentucky being then a part of Virginia), and a member from Kentucky of the Virginia Legislature the ensuing winter. He died in 1802.

George Robertson, son of Alexander, was born in Mercer county, November 18, 1790. He was educated at various Kentucky schools, and finally studied law. When just nineteen years of age, he married Eleanor Bainbridge, who was under sixteen, and set up house-keeping in a "buckeye house" of two rooms. Four persons began married life in this house and while occupying it were successively elected to Congress,—John Boyle, Samuel McKee, George Robertson and Robert P. Letcher. Robertson resigned in his third term, 1821–'23. He was Chief Justice of Kentucky from December 24, 1829, till April 7, 1843; and again a Judge of the Court of Appeals from 1864 to 1871, when he resigned. His standing is indicated by the offices tendered to him. In 1824, he was offered, but declined, the mission to Columbia, South America, and in 1828, the mission to Peru. He four times declined seats in the Federal Cabinet, and twice a seat on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. Robertson county, Kentucky, was called for him. (Collins' History of Kentucky, volume 2, page 687.) He died May 16, 1874.

In Collins' History of Kentucky we find some account of a William Poage, who is believed to have been the son of Robert, one of the first Justices of Augusta county.

In company with Daniel Boone, Richard Galloway and John Barney Stagner, William Poage and his family settled at Boonesborough, Kentucky, about September, 1775. In February, 1776, he removed his family to the fort at Harrodsburg, and in the spring of that year cleared ground and planted corn two miles from the fort. He had great mechanical skill, and during more than two years made all the wooden vessels used by the people in the fort. He also made the wood-work of the first plow used in Kentucky, and the first loom on which weaving was done in that State.

On September 1, 1778, a company of sixteen men, including Poage, going to Logan's station, was fired upon by a party of Indians in ambush near where Danville now stands. Poage was wounded by three balls, but his companions escaped unhurt. The next day two parties were sent in search of the wounded man, who had clung to his horse till he came to a canebrake, where he hid until he heard his friends passing near. They carried him to an abandoned cabin near the site of Danville, and stopped there for the night. The Indians tracked them to the place, surrounded the cabin and waited till morning to make an attack. But the whites discovered them in time, sallied out, and killed four of the savages, one of whom had Poage's gun. Poage was supported on a horse and thus reached home, but died the next day. The recaptured gun was given to Poage's son, then twelve years of age, afterwards General Robert Poage, of Mason county, Kentucky.

The maiden name of William Poage's wife was Ann Kennedy. She is presumed to have been a native of Augusta county. In 1750, Joseph Kennedy bought a lot in Staunton, and the deed-books show that he owned various tracts of land in the county. One of the spurs of the Blue Ridge is still called Kennedy's mountain. In 1784, a citizen of the county, named Matthew Kennedy, died intestate, and he may have been Mrs. Poage's father or brother. A prominent item of the inventory of his estate is "30 pair of spectacles," which is suggestive of Moses Primrose and his famous speculation; but the deceased was probably a merchant or peddler, as the list embraces also pins, needles, scissors, brass thimbles, razors, inkhorns, snuff-boxes, etc. His library consisted of a Bible, Confession of Faith, Boston's Four-fold State and Hervey's Meditations. The administrator's sale occurred on October 7, 1784, and one of the principal purchasers was a Martha Kennedy, but who she was does not appear.

Mrs. Poage was married four times. Her first husband was a Wilson, and Poage was the second. After the death of the latter, she married Joseph Lindsey, who was killed at the battle of Blue Licks,

in 1782, and finally she married James McGinty. She was a woman of rare energy and ingenuity. Collins says she brought the first spinning-wheel to Kentucky, and made the first linen manufactured in that country, from the lint of nettles, and the first linsey from nettle-lint and buffalo wool.

In 1779, three men with their families removed from Augusta county, (the part now known as the Pastures), to Kentucky. They were Samuel Stevenson, John Gay and a Mr. Dunlap. The wives of Stevenson and Dunlap were sisters of Gay. Other persons of the Scotch-Irish stock, their neighbors and friends, went with them. Stevenson had a grant from the State of Virginia of several thousand acres of land in what is now Woodford county. On arriving in the promised land, the country was so wild and the savages so hostile that the newcomers sought safety at a rude fort on the site of Lexington, and remained there for several years. Finally they made clearings about nine miles from the fort, and built their log cabins. Stevenson set apart two acres for a meeting-house and grave-yard; and as soon as they had provided necessary shelter, the people erected a house "set apart for the worship of God." The Trimbles, Allens and others from Augusta, joined them. The meeting-house was called Pisgah, and is said to have been the first church established in Kentucky. The Kentucky Academy was soon founded at Pisgah, General Washington and John Adams contributing to it each a $100; but in 1798, the Academy and Transylvania Seminary united to form Transylvania University, at Lexington. Nearly all the present members of the old church are descendants of the original families, and own the lands which their ancestors won. For more than a hundred years the doors of Pisgah church have not been closed on Sunday. Samuel Stevenson died in 1825, aged 82.*

Among the natives of Augusta county who achieved distinction abroad, General John Sevier, of Tennessee, is entitled to a prominent place.

The grandfather of John Sevier, or Xavier as originally written, was a native of France and a Huguenot. On the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he fled to London, and became a prosperous merchant there. His son Valentine came to America, and settled in our Valley, in the year 1740, it is said. Various deeds of record show that he "took up," or otherwise acquired, several tracts of land in Augusta. In 1753 he and his wife, Joannah, conveyed to Andrew

* From a sketch of Pisgah church published in the Louisville *Courier-Journal*.

Bird a tract lying between Limestone Ridge and Smith's Creek, now in Rockingham county. Peter Scholl was one of the witnesses to the deed. Some ten years afterward he appears to have left the county temporarily, as, in 1763, he sold a variety of personal property to Andrew Bird, and described himself in the bill of sale as a farmer of Frederick county. He, however, did not remain away long, and in October, 1765, being then a resident of Augusta, conveyed to George Shumaker 310 acres lying "on the south side of the North river of the Shandore, adjoining Benjamin Borden's land." Among the witnesses to this deed was John Grattan. On the 17th of October, 1769, he conveyed to Thomas Reeves two tracts, one of them, 304 acres, on the northwest side of Long Meadow.

It is probable that in the fall of 1769, Valentine Sevier went to the Holston, along with the Campbells, Logan, Knox and others. The Campbells settled in what is now Washington county, Virginia, but Sevier went on into East Tennessee, then a part of North Carolina.

John Sevier, son of Valentine, was born in 1745, and probably on Smith's Creek. He was sent to school in Fredericksburg, but, according to his biographer, was married when only seventeen years of age. In the new settlement on the Holston he soon acquired prominence. He was better educated than most of the people, and a fluent and effective speaker. It is said that he took part in the battle of Point Pleasant, October 10, 1774, but in what capacity is not known, probably as an officer in Captain Evan Shelby's company.* In 1777 he was appointed judge and administered all the functions of government in "Washington District," as the region where he lived was called. As Colonel of the mountain men, he commanded in many fights with the Indians. At the head of a regiment hastily raised by him he helped to win the battle of King's Mountain, on the 7th of October, 1780. Thus two Augusta-born men, Sevier and Campbell, were leaders in that celebrated engagement.

The people of the district west of the mountains complained that they were neglected by North Carolina, and a few years after the Revolutionary war undertook, in an irregular way, to constitute a State government and apply for admission into the Union. Sevier was a leader in the movement. They called the new State Franklin. One of the first acts of the Territorial Convention or Legislature was in regard to the currency. As there was little money in the country,

* It was his brother Valentine who was at Point Pleasant.

the act prescribed that a pound of sugar should pass for a shilling, the skin of a raccoon or a fox for a shilling and threepence, a beaver, deer or otter skin for six shillings, etc. The salaries of all public officers were to be paid in this kind of currency. But even a portion of this currency was counterfeited, bundles of supposed otter skins turning out to be skins of raccoons with otter tails attached to them.

Sevier was made Governor of Franklin. All connection with North Carolina was renounced. The people proposed to join the Union as a State, if admitted by Congress; otherwise they would set up as one of the independent nations of the world.

The Rev. Samuel Houston, a native of Rockbridge, who returned to his native county and spent a long life there, was then residing in East Tennessee, and actively participated in the political movements mentioned. Very likely at his instigation, the Rev. William Graham, of Liberty Hall, Lexington, an able but visionary man, undertook to write a constitution for the State of Franklin, contemplating a sort of theocratic government. Neither he nor Mr. Houston gained popularity thereby, and both were burnt in effigy by a mob in Franklin.

North Carolina, however, asserted her lawful jurisdiction over the territory, and for a time something like civil war existed. In the meanwhile the Indians became hostile, but Sevier, with his usual promptness and skill, at the head of one hundred and sixty men, attacked three Indian towns and arrested the trouble. But North Carolina was too strong for Franklin, and triumphed in the contest. Sevier was declared a traitor, and a warrant for his arrest was issued. He continued to show himself in the settlements, and even appeared at a militia muster at Jonesboro. That night, however, he was seized and hurried to jail at Morganton, in North Carolina. When brought out for trial, he was rescued by friends in a crowded court-room, and departed for his home. Among the spectators of the scene was Andrew Jackson, then a youth of twenty-one.

The next year Sevier was elected to the North Carolina Senate, took his seat, was formally pardoned, and, in 1790, was elected to Congress. When Tennessee became a State, in 1796, he was elected the first Governor, and held the office for three consecutive terms. In 1803, he was again elected Governor, and again served for three terms. From 1811 to 1815, he was a member of the United States House of Representatives. While acting as United States Commissioner to settle the boundary line between Georgia, and the territory oft he Creek Indians, he died in Georgia, in 1815.

A monument has been erected to Sevier in Nashville, and his remains were lately brought from Georgia and interred there. He has been described as "a man of dauntless courage and iron will, quick to think, quick to act, and a natural-born ruler of men." His nephew, Ambrose H. Sevier, was United States Senator from Arkansas, from 1836 to 1848. The Lieutenant Sevier who was married in Staunton, in 1807, was his son.

A brief account of the sufferings of the Moore family has a place here, because of the connection of the sufferers and their descendants with Augusta county.

Capt. James Moore's first home was near the Natural Bridge. His wife was Martha Poage, and his eldest sister, Mary, was the second wife of Maj. Alexander Stuart. His cousin, Samuel Walker, made an excursion to the South-western part of Virginia, to gather ginseng and on returning gave such an account of the country as induced Captain Moore to go and see for himself. Accompanied by a hired man named John Simpson, he went to what is now Tazewell county, and made rough improvements in Abb's Valley. In the fall of 1775, he removed his family to the new home.

The Moores appear to have lived in security till September, 1784, when a party of three Indians captured Capt. Moore's son James, then fourteen years of age, and carried him off. The leader of the Indians was a chief called Black Wolf, and one of the others was his son. Young Moore was taken to Ohio, afterwards to Michigan, and finally was sold to a white family near Detroit.

In July, 1786, a party of Shawnees led by Black Wolf came into Abb's Valley, on the 14th. They found Capt. Moore salting his stock near the dwelling, and shot him down. Then rushing to the house they killed two of the Moore children, William and Rebecca, and John Simpson, who was confined to the house by sickness. Two other white men were in a harvest field, and fled. The other members of the family were made prisoners,—Mrs. Moore, her children—John, Jane, Mary and Peggy,—and Martha Evans, who had lately come from Augusta. At the time of her capture Mary Moore was nine years old.

As usual, the Indians beat a rapid retreat. Finding the boy, John, feeble and an incumbrance, he was tomahawked and scalped; and two days later the infant, Peggy, was brained against a tree.

On arriving at one of their towns on the Sciota, the Indians heard that some of their warriors had lately been killed by the whites in

Kentucky, and resolved that two of their prisoners should be burned at the stake in retaliation. The victims selected were Mrs. Moore and her daughter, Jane, who was about sixteen years of age.

The mother and daughter were tied to stakes in the presence of Miss Evans and Mary, and tortured with splinters and fire-brands till death released them from suffering. An old squaw, touched with some feeling of humanity, shortened Mrs. Moore's agony by despatching her with a hatchet.

Mary Moore remained a prisoner about three years. She carried with her from home two copies of the New Testament, one of which was taken from her by the young savages; the other she retained during her captivity, an old Indian often making her read to him, that he might hear "the book talk." She fell into the hands of white people who were more cruel to her than the Indians. Her brother James heard through Indians of the fate of his father's family, and that Mary was not far from him. He managed to communicate with her, and after a while to see her. He found her almost naked, having on only a few rags.

Thomas Evans, a brother of Martha, went in search of the captives, and found them. They were ransomed, and in October, 1787, were restored to relatives in the Valley. They first rested on their return at the house of William McPheeters, ten miles southwest of Staunton.

James Moore, Jr., returned to Abb's Valley, and lived there till his death, in 1848, a highly respectable citizen. Mary Moore became the wife of the Rev. Samuel Brown, long pastor ot New Providence church, Rockbridge. Five of her sons were Presbyterian ministers, one of them, the Rev. Samuel Brown, Jr., whose narrative of the Kerr's Creek massacres we have quoted, and another, the Rev. William Brown, for many years pastor of Augusta church.

The Rev. James Waddell was born in July, 1739, either in County Down, Ireland, or on the long passage across the Atlantic. His father was Thomas Waddell, who, it is believed, was a son of William Waddell, one of the prisoners captured at Bothwell Bridge, in 1679, as mentioned in a previous note. Thomas Waddell settled in Eastern Pennsylvania, near the Delaware State line. His youngest son, James, had his left hand nearly severed from the wrist during his early boyhood, by an axe wielded by an older brother, who was cutting into a hollow tree in pursuit of a hare; and although the hand,

upon being bandaged, adhered to the arm, it was permanently disabled. He was educated at the school of the Rev. Dr. Finley, at Nottingham, Pennsylvania, then one of the most celebrated schools in the colonies, and finally became an assistant teacher. Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, was one of his pupils. When nineteen or twenty years old, in 1758 or 1759, young Waddell was proceeding on horseback to South Carolina, to engage in teaching, but on arriving in Hanover county he was prevailed upon by the Rev. Samuel Davies to remain in Virginia. His first employment was as a teacher with the Rev. John Todd, of Louisa county, with whom he also studied theology. While he was teaching in Louisa it is said that several of the young Lewises, of Augusta, were amongst his pupils. He was licensed as a preacher by Hanover Presbytery in 1761, and after preaching at various places, including Hat Creek, in Campbell, he settled in Lancaster county, where there was a considerable congregation of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. His preaching soon attracted much attention. An aged man named Irvin, son of the first white settler in Campbell, many years ago wrote a history of Hat Creek church. After speaking of several other ministers who had preached at Hat Creek, the writer, alluding to Mr. Waddell, says: "And an eloquent one he was. It was said forty years back, [probably about 1800], that of all the preachers who had preached at Hat Creek, none was so much of an orator as Mr. Waddell." Colonel James Gordon, of Lancaster, kept a diary which, in part, has been preserved, and in it alludes to the sensation in that county caused by the young preacher. In Lancaster Mr. Waddell married a daughter of Colonel Gordon. Soon after the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, his health being impaired by the climate of the lower country, he purchased and removed to the Springhill estate, in Augusta. While living in Augusta he preached regularly at Tinkling Spring and occasionally in Staunton. He took an active part during and after the war in the movement in favor of religious liberty, and is said to have written one of the memorials of Hanover Presbytery to the Legislature on that subject. After the war he removed to an estate near the present town of Gordonsville, and there he spent the last twenty years of his life. During this period he was totally blind from cataract for several years, but partially recovered his sight after undergoing a surgical operation. He continued to preach while blind, chiefly in a log meeting-house he had built on his own land. He also often preached by invitation in the former parish churches of the establishment. Bishop Meade quotes from the parish records his formal invitations to fill such pulpits. Carlisle College, Pennsylvania, conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. His death occurred in September, 1805. He was buried on his plantation, and, by his direction, his remains were borne to the grave by his colored male slaves. Before his death he destroyed all his manuscripts, except a few fragments. His powers of oratory were testified to, not only by Mr. Wirt, but by Governor Barbour, Judge Stuart, the Rev. Dr. Baxter, the Rev. Dr. Alexander, and many others. The ornate style of Mr. Wirt's account of the "Blind Preacher" has caused many

people to regard the piece as a fiction, and the person himself as almost a myth. Some of the details are certainly fictitious. It is said that Dr. Waddell never appeared in public in the costume described by Wirt. He is described also as a very old man, whereas he was only sixty-four, although his blindness and palsy probably caused him to appear older. Wirt represents himself as a stranger who had never heard of the preacher till he encountered him in the rustic meeting house. They were well acquainted, however, years before the letters of the British Spy were published ; and instead of no one in Richmond knowing of the preacher, he was well known by many people there. Other liberties were taken by Mr. Wirt, but to his dying day he declared that he had given a truthful account of Dr. Waddell's eloquence.

The children of Dr. Waddell who survived him were: James G., born in Lancaster ; Mrs. Elizabeth Calhoun, Mrs. Janetta Alexander, and Ann H., born in Augusta ; and Addison, (M. D.), Sally and Lyttelton, born in Louisa, near Gordonsville.

Thomas Adams, a native of the county of Essex, England, was in early life clerk of Henrico County Court, Virginia, and later a merchant in London. Returning to Virginia, he settled in New Kent county. In 1766, he purchased from John Carlyle two hundred acres of land on the Great Calfpasture river, in Augusta. In 1771, he purchased from Carlyle two hundred and fifty acres in the same valley ; and in 1772, he acquired from William Wills one hundred and ten acres on a "branch of the Great River of the Calfpasture." He also acquired lands from the government by patent. All the deeds describe him as "Thomas Adams, of New Kent." It is well known that most of the African slaves imported into Virginia in former times were brought over by New England "skippers"; and from a bill of sale which has been preserved, it appears that on the 12th of May, 1773, in consideration of £42, 10s., Thomas Adams purchased a negro girl from "Joseph Hanwood, of Newbury, in the Province of New Hampshire, Marriner." (Virginia Historical Collections, Vol. VI, page 23.)

In 1778–'80, Mr. Adams was a member of the Continental Congress, from lower Virginia. During the year 1780 he removed to Augusta, and spent the remainder of his life here. A deed dated November 17, 1780, by which he conveyed two hundred and thirty-five acres of land, acquired by patent in 1769, to Moore Fauntleroy, describes him as a citizen of Augusta. In 1786, he represented the county in the State Senate. He is described as an ardent patriot, and from his writings, etc., he was evidently a man of great intelligence and benevolence.

He died at his home in the Pastures in the year 1788, leaving a widow, but no children. His will is dated October 14, 1785, and begins as follows : "Being about to take a perilous journey to the Ohio river." It was presented in the County Court of Augusta and proved October 22, 1788. The testator provided amply for his wife, and constituted his brother, Richard, and his nephews, William

Adams Fry, William Smith and William Adams, his residuary legatees and devisees. He was particularly solicitous for the welfare of his slaves, and enjoined it upon his legatees to treat them kindly, and "not to sell or barter them away as cattle." In regard to one of the negroes, he says: "As there is no man to whom I consider myself under greater obligations than to my slave Joe, I hereby declare Joe a freeman, and give him full and complete emancipation."

The ANDERSONS.—John Anderson, the immigrant, acquired by grant, June 3, 1738, 747 acres of land in Augusta county, which is believed to be the farm on Middle river, where the Valley turnpike crosses that stream.

His oldest son, Robert, married Ann Thompson of Augusta, and removed to South Carolina before the Revolutionary war. During the war he served as Colonel under General Andrew Pickens. Anderson County, S. C., was named for him.

His next son, Andrew, served as Ensign, Lieutenant and Captain in the war of the Revolution, and in 1781 was stationed with his regiment at Fort Pitt. For many consecutive years after the war he represented Augusta county in the House of Delegates, being then known as Colonel Anderson. He was married twice. The children of his first wife were: (1) Dr. George Anderson, of Montgomery county; (2) Mrs. Brown, of Kentucky; (3) the first wife of Major William Poage. His second wife was Martha, daughter of Patrick Crawford, and her children were: (1) John; (2) James, (both of whom died leaving no children); (3) Robert, who married Nancy Dean, of Greenbrier, and lived and died on the Middle river farm; (4) William, who died in New Orleans; (5) Nancy, wife of William Crawford; and (6) Sally, wife of Jacob Ruff.

James Anderson, third son of John, removed to South Carolina before the Revolution, and during the war was a Captain in the American army. His wife was Agnes, daughter of James and Mary (Laird) Craig.

The fourth son of John Anderson was William, who also was a Captain during the Revolution, and in 1784 removed to Kentucky with the Trimbles, Moffetts and others.

The daughters of John Anderson were: (1) Margaret, who married James Allen; and (2) Jane, who married first Hugh Allen, and second William Craig.

The REV. WILLIAM WILSON had two sons, Dr. James Wilson and Thomas P. Wilson. His brother, Thomas Wilson, married a Miss Poage, of Augusta, and settled in Morgantown, Monongalia county.

The sons of Thomas Wilson were: 1. Edward C. Wilson, a lawyer and member of Congress; 2. Rev. Norval Wilson, of the Methodist Episcopal church, father of Bishop Alpheus Wilson; 3. Alpheus P. Wilson, a prominent lawyer and member of the State

Senate, from a district embracing all northwest Virginia from Pennsylvania to Kentucky. He removed to New Orleans, and in 1830 fell from a steamboat and was drowned.

Major John Hays lived on a farm under the Jump mountain, Rockbridge. His sons were: 1. Michael Hays, of Ohio, who was an officer in the United States army in 1812; 2. Andrew Hays, a distinguished lawyer of Nashville, Tennessee; 3. John Brown Hays, of Columbia, Tennessee, whose wife was a sister of President Polk; and, 4. James Campbell Hays, of Tennessee and Texas, who was the father of Jack Hays, the Texan Ranger.

Edward McLaughlin, a native of Londonderry, Ireland, settled early in the eighteenth century near the place now called Goshen, in Rockbridge county. His wife was a Miss Irvin. He was a member of Captain Dickinson's company at Point Pleasant, and during the Revolutionary war participated in the battles of the Cowpens, Guilford, and Yorktown. His son, Edward I., was the father of Judge William McLaughlin.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTION TO THE YEAR 1800.

Before the Revolutionary war many German people found their way to the new world, and several of our Valley counties were largely settled by them. They were, for the most part, Lutherans and Tunkers, or German Baptists, and have transmitted their religious faith, with their steady habits, to their posterity. They brought their German Bibles with them, and for several generations the language of the fatherland was used by them in their households. Indeed, many of the older people never learned to read or speak English. Before the close of the Revolution a considerable part of the best lands in Augusta county was occupied by people of this race.

Other German people also came at an early day, and their descendants are now numerous in the county. These were Protestants of the "German Reformed" faith, who hold to the theology of John Calvin. The denomination originated in the Palatinate, adjacent to Prussia. They were subjected to persecution by their Roman Catholic rulers, and at one crisis Frederick William, King of Prussia and father of Frederick the Great, interfered efficiently for their protection. The first immigrants of this faith formed settlements in Pennsylvania in 1684, and their first minister in America was the Rev. Philip Boehm, who came here in 1720. There is no essential difference in the creeds of the "German Reformed" and Presbyterians of Scotch or Scotch-Irish descent, but distinct organizations are kept up at various places in the county, showing the tenacity with which people cling to the usages in worship of their forefathers. Bethel church, of the one denomination, and St. John's, of the other, are almost side by side; and a similar spectacle is exhibited in the village of Churchville, the hamlet so called because it contains no less than four churches.

Peter and George Hanger, the ancestors of the numerous family of that name, settled in Augusta in 1750, it is said, having been born in Germany, but coming here from Pennsylvania. The former lived at Spring Farm, near Staunton, and died there in 1801. In 1780 he was appointed a justice of the peace, but declined to qualify. One of

his sons, of the same name, lived at the place on the Winchester road, since called Willow Spout, but formerly widely known as "Hanger's," during the days of Bockett's stages, Knoxville teams and militia musters.

The most numerous family in the county, and possibly in the country, is that known as Koiner, Coiner, and Coyner. Michael Koiner came to America, from Germany, between 1740 and 1745, and settled in Pennsylvania.* He had ten sons and three daughters. Three of his sons,—George, Adam and Casper,—came to Augusta county and in 1787 were followed by their father, who proceeded to purchase farms. His other sons,—Martin, Philip, Frederick and George Michael,—also came to Augusta, and settled and died here. The three eldest sons were soldiers in the Revolutionary war. The ancestor died in 1796, and was buried in Trinity churchyard, near South river.—[*Peyton's History of Augusta County.*]

Before the Revolutionary war arose, the descendants of the early Scotch-Irish settlers of Augusta began to scatter abroad. Some of the Lewises, Breckinridges and McClanahans went to Botetourt county. Andrew Lewis and Robert McClanahan, Jr., were living in Botetourt before the battle of Point Pleasant. Thomas Lewis† living near Port Republic, became a citizen of Rockingham after that county was organized. William Lewis‡ removed to the Sweet Springs about the year 1790. Some of the family located in Bath county. Soon after the Revolution, several of the Breckinridges went to Kentucky, and from one of them descended the distinguished men of that name. Immediately after the war, in 1783, the Rev. Dr. Waddell, of Tinkling Spring, who came to Augusta from Lancaster county in 1776, removed to the neighborhood of Gordonsville, where he died in 1805. He sold the Springhill place, for which he had paid £1,000, in two parcels—one of 840 acres to Mr. James Powell Cocke for £1,050; and the remainder, or the greater part of it, called "Round Meadow," to Samuel Hunter for £1,200. To show the gradual

* On October 21, 1892, the descendants of Michael Koiner, to the number of more than nine hundred, met at Trinity church and unveiled a monument to their ancestor.

† Thomas Lewis died in 1790. His sons were Andrew, Thomas, Charles and William B.

‡ William Lewis died in 1812. His sons were John, a Captain at Point Pleasant and an officer during the Revolution; Thomas, an officer in Wayne's army; and William I., who was a member of Congress from the Campbell District in 1815–'17.—[*Peyton's History.*]

enhancement in the price of land, we mention further that Mr. Cocke sold his 840 acres, Springhill proper, in 1793, to John Swisher, of Rockingham, for £1,600; and Swisher's heirs sold it in 1812 to John Coalter for £4,110. Thus the prices of the tract were in dollars, in 1783–'5, $3,500; in 1793, $5,333.33⅓; and in 1812, $13,700.

Just before he removed from the county, Dr. Waddell was invited to preach one-half his time to the Presbyterians in Staunton, and it is curious to observe that the call on behalf of the town people was signed by Alexander St. Clair and William Bowyer, the last church-wardens of Augusta parish, of whom we have any account.

An anecdote in relation to Dr. Waddell, which has come down to us, gives some idea of the state of the times. During his residence here coffee was very little used in the county, but having been accustomed to it in lower Virginia, he continued to use it after he came to the Valley. Some of his flock were scandalized at his indulgence in such a luxury, and felt called upon to administer a rebuke. They, however, to strengthen their cause, made out of the matter a case of flagrant Sabbath-breaking. Therefore the minister was charged with the offence of having *hot* coffee on Sunday morning as well as other days! He met the accusation calmly, and asked, "What do you have for breakfast?" They replied, "Mush and milk." "But," he asked further, "is the mush hot or cold?" "Hot, of course," they replied. "Well," said he," "You have cold mush on Sunday, and I will have cold coffee."

Dr. Waddell was succeeded at Tinkling Spring by the Rev. John McCue, who, while living in the county, preached more or less statedly in Staunton for some years. There was, however, no regular Presbyterian church organization in Staunton till 1804. The early Presbyterian settlers were generally engaged in farming and grazing, and sought rural shades in which to worship, turning away, apparently, from towns and villages. Hence, throughout the Valley, their country churches antedate those in the towns.

Colonel Robert Porterfield, a native of Pennsylvania, but living in Jefferson or Berkeley county when the Revolutionary war arose, settled here, on South River, near Waynesborough, at the close of the war. He attained the rank of Captain in the Continental army, and was afterward made Colonel and General of Virginia militia. Revolutionary soldiers, not exempt by age or physical infirmity from military duty, were enrolled in the militia at the close of the war. General Porterfield was a member of Captain Thomas Turk's company, and

by a court-martial held November 25, 1787, was fined for failing to muster.*

Archibald Stuart, a native of Augusta, but reared in Rockbridge county, located in Staunton, in 1785, to practice law. While a very young man he was elected by the people of Botetourt to represent them in the State Legislature, residence of delegates in the county not being required at that time.

Jacob Peck, long an enterprising citizen, was living here in 1780, having come from Pennsylvania.

The first meeting of Free Masons in Staunton was "under dispensation," March 31, 1785. Staunton Lodge was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Virginia, at Richmond, October 28, 1786, "the charter names" being Alexander Long, William Chambers, and John Paris.

Jacob Swoope and John Boys† came to Staunton from Philadelphia, in 1789, and embarked in the mercantile business. Both of them married here, but the wife of the latter dying in a short time, he returned to Philadelphia, where he died in 1798. Mr. Swoope remained in Staunton, and acquired wealth and prominence.

Some time between 1785 and 1790, several persons came to Staunton from different places, all of whom were prominent and influential in their day, and some of whom reared large families. We refer to John Wayt (the senior of that name), Joseph Cowan, Andrew Barry, Peter Heiskell, Michael Garber, Lawrence Tremper, and a school teacher named Clarke. Mr. Wayt came from Orange county. He was a merchant, a magistrate, and high sheriff, several times a member of the Legislature, and long active in all affairs concerning church and state. He died in 1831, leaving no child. Mr. Cowan

* General Porterfield, then a Lieutenant in the Continental Line, was with the army at Valley Forge. Capt. Philip Slaughter, of Culpeper county, in a letter written January 1, 1847, gives a graphic account of the sufferings of the soldiers during that winter. He says: "Captain Charles Porterfield, Capt. Wm. Johnson, Lieut. John Marshall, (afterwards Chief Justice of the U. S.), Lieut. Robert Porterfield, Lieut. James Wright and myself, were messmates the winter the army quartered at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, for four months, or thereabout. We built an open cabin in December, when the snow was two to three feet deep, chinked it with small saplings between the logs; snow all winter so deep that we could not get dirt for cramming it; the cold wind pouring in between the cracks. We were without bedding of any sort; many not a single blanket. We had no money, no credit, almost naked, and many times only half rations. We suffered more than I can describe."

†John Boys married Anna St. Clair, daughter of Alexander St. Clair, and his only child became the wife of Dr. Addison Waddell.

and Mr. Barry were natives of Ireland, and leading merchants; Mr. Garber came from Pennsylvania, and Mr. Heiskell from Frederick county. Lawrence Tremper was born in New York and married there. During the war he was a Lieutenant in the Continental army. He was by trade a leather-breeches maker. During the administration of John Adams he was appointed postmaster at Staunton, and held the office continuously till his death in 1841. He also retailed drugs, patent medicines, and candy. Mr. Clarke, the school teacher, came from Pennsylvania, like so many others. He left four sons, Samuel, John, William, and Thomas, who long resided in the county, and the first of whom, in a quiet way, filled a large space in the community for many years.

Three brothers came to Staunton from Nelson county, probably about the year 1790, Chesley, Jacob, and William Kinney. The first named was clerk of several of the courts which sat here, and the father of five sons and a daughter. Jacob Kinney was a lawyer. His only child was a daughter, the wife of the late Erasmus Stribling, and mother of Dr. F. T. Stribling and others. William Kinney, Sr., was a bachelor, and pursued no regular business during the latter years of his life, but he was noted for genial traits which made him a welcome guest in many homes.

Richard Madison, the second clerk of the County Court, died in February, 1785. He succeeded his father, John Madison, who resigned, November 17, 1778, on account of old age and infirmity, and was succeeded as clerk by Col. Alexander McClanahan. Elijah McClanahan and Alexander St. Clair, a committee appointed by the Court to examine the Clerk's Office, reported April 19, 1785, that the late clerk had grossly neglected his duties. Deeds, wills, etc., had not been recorded for several years, and the proceedings of the Court had not been entered up since March 21, 1774. Thereupon, the Justices of the County Court brought suit in the General Court against William Bowyer, administrator of Richard Madison, to recover £300, the cost of making up the records. The cause was removed to the District Court when that Court was opened at Staunton, and on April 5, 1790, the plaintiffs were non-suited, on the ground that the cause of action was a tort, and expired with the person committing the offence. In partial excuse for the clerk it must be said that he was more or less in the military service during the war. He was Ensign of Captain Zachariah Johnston's company in 1781. The irregularities in the clerk's office show the disorganization of the times.

By the year 1787, the people of the county thought it high time to provide a more suitable place for the judicatories of the Commonwealth of Virginia to sit in. Therefore, on the 22nd of March of that year, the County Court appointed Commissioners to "draw a plan for a new court-house" and to let out the work. The Commissioners were Sampson Mathews, Alexander St. Clair, Michael Bowyer, Robert Gamble, James P. Cocke, and William Bowyer. The house No. 2 was not abandoned till December 17, 1788, and then, "on account of the inclemency of the weather and the court-house being in bad repair court adjourned to the house of Mr. Peter Heiskell." the Washington Tavern. The houses, Nos. 1 and 2, had now to be put out of the way, and the latter was sold to Anthony Mustoe for £3, 17s. 2d.,—less than $12.00.

The court-house No. 3 was completed and occupied by the court in the fall of 1789. It was a square stone building two-stories high, and stood about the center of the lot. The court room occupied the whole lower story. The floor of the upper story was supported by wooden columns, one of which was garnished with iron clamps in which the hands of felons were fastened to be branded with hot irons; there was no State penitentiary at that time. The clerk's office was probably accommodated at first in one of the upper rooms; but a low brick house was afterwards erected for it on or near the site of the original court-house. Court-house No. 3 stood and was used by the courts till the year 1835.

An act of assembly, passed November 6, 1787, added twenty-five acres of land belonging to Alexander St. Clair to the town of Staunton. This addition has always been known as Newtown. Other land, belonging to Judge Stuart, in the northeast part of town, was added by act of assembly passed in 1803.

The earliest returns of commissioners of the revenue for Augusta county, found in our local archives, are for the year 1787. Parts of Bath and Pendleton counties were then included in Augusta. The commissioners of the revenue were James Ramsey, Joseph Bell, and Charles Cameron. Alexander McClanahan was clerk of the County Court. The number of horses and mules in the county was 7,747; cattle, 15,692; ordinaries, 5, kept by John Bosang, Windle Grove, Peter Heiskell, James McGonigle, and Thomas Smith, (all in Staunton); practising physicians, 4,—Drs. William Grove, Alexander Humphreys, Alexander Long, and Hugh Richie. The number of gigs was two, owned by John Ermitage and Robert Richardson. There were no four-wheeled riding-carriages in the county.

The tax on physicians was £5 each ($16⅔.) Lawyers were not listed by Commissioners of the Revenue, but were required to pay to the clerk of the court one-tenth of all legal fees. The tax had to be paid down in each case, or the attorney was not allowed to appear. This was in addition to the tax of 1784, which was £15 ($50) on each admission to practise in the Superior Court, and 20 shillings ($3.33⅓) in the County Court.

The ordinary kept by Peter Heiskell in 1787, was the Washington Tavern, which occupied the site of the present Virginia Hotel, N. E. corner of New and Courthouse streets. Thomas Smith kept the Bell Tavern, diagonally opposite the Washington, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Michael Garber.

William Bowyer, sheriff of the county in 1787, reported to the Governor that not one-third of the taxes of 1783–4 had been collected, and that no purchasers would attend sales of property levied on.

Pendleton county was formed from Augusta, Rockingham, and Hardy in 1788.

In the State Convention of 1788, which ratified the Constitution of the United States, Augusta was represented by Zachariah Johnston and Archibald Stuart.

Zachariah Johnston was born in Augusta about the year 1743, near the present village of Fishersville. He is described as a man of a religious temper, of great simplicity of manners, and utterly void of hypocrisy. As we have seen, he was a member of the House of Delegates during the Revolution. He was also a member in 1785, and warmly supported the act for establishing religious freedom. While that act was pending, he is said to have delivered an effective speech in favor of it, declaring that he would leave his own church if it should become a State church. Near the close of the convention of 1788, he delivered quite a long speech in favor of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, which may be found in the volume of Virginia Debates, page 460. We copy one paragraph. Mr. Johnston said :

"It is my lot to be among the poor people. The most that I can claim, or flatter myself with, is to be of the middle rank. I wish no more, for I am content. But I shall give my opinion unbiased and uninfluenced—without erudition or eloquence, but with firmness and candor. And in so doing I will satisfy my conscience. If this Constitution be bad, it will bear equally as hard on me as on any member of society. It will bear hard on my children, who are as dear to me as any man's children can be to him. Having their happiness at heart,

the vote I shall give in its favor, can only be imputed to a conviction of its utility and propriety."

Mr. Johnston was a Presidential Elector in 1789, and with his nine associates, headed by Patrick Henry, voted for General Washington. He removed to Rockbridge in 1793, and died there in 1803.

Until the year 1789, the County Court was the only court of record which sat in Staunton. As stated heretofore, it had an extensive jurisdiction in law and chancery. The higher law tribunal, called the General Court, composed of gentlemen "learned in the law," sat in Richmond.

In 1777, a High Court of Chancery was constituted, consisting of three judges,—George Wythe, Edmund Pendleton and John Blair; but by a subsequent act the number of judges was reduced to one. From that time for twenty years George Wythe was the sole appellate chancellor in the State.

In 1789 the Legislature passed an act establishing district courts of law. The counties were arranged in districts, in each of which two judges of the General Court were required to hold terms. Augusta, Rockbridge, Rockingham and Pendleton constituted a district, and the court sat in Staunton. Judges Mercer and Parker held the first court here. Judges Tyler, Carrington, Tucker (the elder) and others also sat here at different times.

The first clerk of the district court at Staunton was James Lyle. He was succeeded, in 1793, by John Coalter, afterwards judge; he by Micajah Coalter, and he by Chesley Kinney.

Kercheval, in his *History of the Valley*, states that after the French Revolution broke out, in 1789, breadstuffs of every kind suddenly became enormously high. For several years afterwards it was no uncommon thing for the farmer of the Valley to sell his crop of wheat from one to two, and sometimes two and a half dollars per bushel, and his flour from ten to fourteen dollars per barrel in our seaport towns.

The people of Staunton organized a Fire Company, January 9, 1790, in accordance with an act of the Legislature, and the names of the members are recorded in Deed Book No. 26, page 404. It is interesting to see who were the active citizens of the town at that time. Among the names of persons and firms composing the company—61 in all—are the following: William Bowyer, Michael Bowyer, Alexander St. Clair, Robert Gamble, James Lyle, Robert Stuart, Archibald Stuart, William Abney, Robert Douthat, William Chambers, John and Samuel Boys, Peter Heiskell, Jacob Peck, Robert McDowell, Michael

Garber, Jacob Geiger, Adam Bickle, James Magougal (sic), A. Waterman, Robert McCullough, John Gorden, Michael Garber, Jr., Alexander Humphreys, Margaret Reed, William Shayer, William McDowell, North & Mathews, Alexander Nelson, Jr., John Bosang, Smith Thompson, Michael Faulkler, Samuel Merritt, Daniel Kidd and George Weiford. Other names in the list have disappeared from the community, as have some of those mentioned.

John and Samuel Boys, merchants, were cousins, the latter being a brother of Dr. William Boys. Both of them returned to Philadelphia, and embarked in business there. The first fire engine brought to Staunton was purchased for the town in Philadelphia, by John Boys. He was the only son of Commodore Nathan Boys, of the Pennsylvania Navy during the Revolution.

James Magougal (or McGonigal) built the brick house at the N. E. corner of Beverley and Market streets, and his initials may still (1892) be seen on the gable end.

It is presumed that William Shayer was the husband of the widow Shayer (generally pronounced Shires), who left $4,000 for the education of the poor children of Staunton, and which is still doing its work.

William Bowyer was president of the company, and James Lyle secretary. The organization was kept up as late as 1813, as appears from a note in the record book.

In the latter part of the century the Presbyterian churches of the Valley were disturbed by dissensions in regard to psalmody. The version of the Psalms by Rouse* had been universally used, and when the smoother version by Dr. Isaac Watts was introduced, there was strenuous opposition to it on the part of many people. It is related that, in 1789 or 1790, the Rev. William Graham, a somewhat imprudent man, precipitated a controversy on the subject in New Providence congregation. Rouse's version had been used there as elsewhere, but Mr. Graham, while assisting the pastor at a communion service, without conferring with any one, introduced Watts' psalms and hymns. Some of the older members left the church immediately, and a schism occurred. The seceders repaired to Old Providence church, in Augusta, and reopened that place of worship, which had

*Sir Francis Rouse was, in 1653, speaker of the British Parliament, called the Little Parliament, which he was instrumental in dissolving, and turning over the government to Cromwell. He was also a member of Cromwell's first Parliament in 1654, and one of the new Lords created by the Protector in 1658.

been abandoned for some time. Rouse continued to be used for twenty years longer at Tinkling Spring and other churches, but was gradually superseded by Watts.—[*Ruffner's History of Washington College.*]

The first Lutheran church in Augusta, was built in 1780, on South river, near Waynesborough, and called Trinity. The next was Mount Tabor, near Middlebrook, built in 1785. Nine others have been built during the present century, most of them since 1840.

The Tunker (German Baptist) church was first organized in the county about the year 1790. The German Reformed church in the county also dates back to the last century, but the place and exact date of the organization cannot be ascertained.

The first Methodist Episcopal church building in the county was erected, probably in 1797, in Staunton, on the site of the present church, although Staunton circuit does not appear on the minutes of the Conference before 1806.

Bath county was formed from Augusta, Botetourt and Greenbrier, in 1791, by which act Augusta was reduced to her present dimensions, about thirty-three miles long and twenty-nine miles wide. At its formation, and for more than fifty years afterwards, Bath embraced about one-half the present county of Highland.

The first County Court of Bath was held May 10, 1791, in the house of Mrs. Margaret Lewis, at the Warm Springs. The first justices were Sampson Mathews, Samuel Vance, John Wilson, Charles Cameron, John Bollar, John Dean, James Poage, William Poage, John Kinkead, George Poage, Jacob Warwick, John White, John Peebles, John Lewis, Samuel Shrewsberry, and John Oliver. John Dickinson and Alexander Crawford were appointed, but declined. Charles Cameron was the first clerk, and Sampson Mathews the first sheriff. William Poage was recommended for appointment to the office of surveyor. The following persons were recommended as justices to fill vacancies: James Stephenson, George Messingbird, John Brown, James Robinson, William Crawford and Robert Sitlington. On the same day Archibald Stuart was "recommended to the Attorney-General as a proper person to execute the office of deputy-attorney for this county." No lawyers qualified till the June term, 1791, and then John Coalter and James Reid were admitted as attorneys. At August term, 1791, the first entry is as follows: "Ordered that the court adjourn to some trees down the lane near the highway." Upon meeting under the trees, Archibald Stuart and William H. Cavendish qualified as attorneys.

Sampson Mathews lived in Bath probably ten years, at, or near, Cloverdale. He was living in Bath, in 1800, when his will was executed, but in Staunton, in 1807, when he died.

In 1791, quite an excitement arose on account of the defalcation of one or more Deputy Sheriffs of the county, who were collectors of the public revenues. Archibald Stuart, attorney for the Commonwealth, wrote to Governor Randolph on the subject, May 22nd. Certain important papers connected with the matter had disappeared from the clerk's office of the County Court, and it was feared that the prosecution of the defaulters would be frustrated. James Lyle, deputy of Col. McClanahan, clerk of the court, had been removed in October, 1790; but before leaving the office, delivered the papers to Col. McClanahan, in the presence of four witnesses. Matthew Gamble succeeded Lyle as deputy, and while he was on a visit to Winchester, the papers were taken from the office.

Gabriel Jones wrote to the Governor, March 20, 1792, explaining why he could not aid in the prosecution, as requested—He had accepted a fee from the accused parties, but descanted at length upon "the enormity of the crime."

John Breckinridge, afterwards Attorney-General of the United States, at the solicitation of Governor Lee, who had come into office by April, 1792, agreed to assist in the prosecution at Staunton.

James Jones, Attorney-General of Virginia, wrote to the Governor, August 30, 1792.—He thinks the prosecution will be defeated in consequence of the loss of papers. "From Mr. Stuart's representations, the conduct of the clerk of Augusta wears a suspicious aspect." He ought to be removed from office, if he has connived at, or been accessory to, the secreting or destruction of the papers.

Colonel McClanahan had, however, resigned. At a court held August 21, 1792, he tendered his resignation provided the court would appoint Jacob Kinney clerk in his stead (!) The resignation was accepted as tendered, and Kinney was immediately installed as clerk. Four members of the court entered their dissent from the proceeding.

Mr. Stuart wrote to the Governor, August 31, 1792, for instructions; and on the 7th of September Mr. Innes replied, advising suits against the High Sheriffs of Augusta on their official bonds "for the default and mal-practices of their deputies."

The "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," gives us no further information in reference to this affair. It is refreshing, however, to see the phrensy into which Governors and attorneys were thrown by de-

falcations, which in these latter times are almost of daily occurrence and attract little notice.

We go back now to pick up one or two scraps of history.

At a District Court held at Staunton, September 9, 1791, Elizabeth Hazel, "late of the county of Rockingham, spinster," was sentenced to be hung, for the crime of murder, by the Sheriff of Augusta, on Friday, October 21st. Whether hung or not, we cannot say. There is no tradition on the subject.

Zachariah Johnston wrote to the Governor, March 28, 1792, in reference to an accusation he apprehended would be made against his son, James, and others, who were said to have threatened to use force in opposition to the Federal excise law. He begs the Governor to call on Mr. St. Clair for information touching the matter. Major Porterfield had spoken publicly in reprobation of the young man's conduct, and the father was apprehensive of a prosecution instigated by "private rancour." James Johnston was then a captain of militia. There is nothing further on this subject.

The Staunton Academy, a high school for boys, was incorporated by act of the Legislature, December 4, 1792. The first trustees were the Rev. John McCue, Rev. William Wilson, Rev. Archibald Scott, Gabriel Jones, Alexander St. Clair, Sampson Mathews, Sr., Archibald Stuart, Robert Gamble, William Bowyer, Alexander Humphreys, David Stephenson, Robert Porterfield, James Powell Cocke, Alexander Nelson, John Steel, James Lyle, Robert Grattan, William Lewis, and John Tate.

At a meeting of the trustees of the academy, held May 23, 1793, Dr. Humphreys was appointed president of the board. The Rev. Charles O'Neal was elected principal, and the tuition fees were fixed as follows: for the learned languages or mathematics, one guinea the quarter; writing, arithmetic, and rudiments of English, 10 shillings; teaching English grammatically, £1.

In November, 1795, William Sterret offered himself as teacher of Latin and Greek, and the Rev. John McCue, John Coalter, Dr. Humphreys, and Archibald Stuart, were appointed a committee to examine him. The Rev. Hugh White, however, was "authorized to teach," August 27, 1796. Next, in 1800 and 1801, James Clarke and John McCausland taught in separate rooms under the auspices of the trustees. As yet no building had been erected for the academy, and rooms were provided by the trustees in the town.

An act of the Legislature was passed December 22, 1792, which, among other things, organized the militia regiments of Augusta, Rockingham, and Shenandoah as the Seventh brigade.

A post-office was first established at Staunton in 1793. Previous to that date all letters received here were brought by travelers. As described of the "mail facilities" of east Tennessee in 1796, every horseman had in his saddle-bags, or portmanteau, a wallet, in which he carried letters. This was carefully opened and examined at the several places where the traveler lodged, and the letters delivered or forwarded as the case required. The inhabitants cheerfully performed the duty of forwarding letters thus brought into their possession. An endorsement "on the public service," secured the transmission of a letter by a volunteer express with the utmost fidelity.

The first postmaster at Staunton was Robert Douthat, whose accounts with the government began March 20, 1793. He was succeeded by William Chambers, who held the office from January 1, 1795, till October 1, 1796. At the latter date, Vincent Tapp became the postmaster, and he was succeeded July 1, 1798, by Lawrence Tremper. Mr. Tremper was postmaster nearly forty-three years. He died in January, 1841, and Norborne C. Brooks was appointed in his place, February 4, 1841. In 1789, the number of post-offices in the whole United States was only seventy-five.*

The tide of Indian warfare had rolled back from Augusta county as white settlers located in the west, but it did not cease on the frontier till 1794. In August of that year, General Anthony Wayne, at the head of a considerable force, encountered and routed a large body of Indians at the rapids of the great Maumee river in Ohio. General Wayne had been distinguished during the Revolutionary war, but his last achievement made him a popular hero. He escaped becoming President of the United States by dying in 1796. He, however, had the honor of giving his name to divers and sundry places. Waynesborough, in Augusta county, which was founded about that time, was called for him. The Wayne Tavern, in Staunton, was another of his namesakes. This tavern, which stood at the northwest corner of Beverley and New streets, invited travelers to take shelter there by its old-fashioned swinging sign, on which a native artist exhausted his skill in trying to paint a likeness of "Mad Anthony." The Washington Tavern stood on the site of the present Virginia

*In 1800 the number was 903, and in 1884, 50,017, of which 45 were in Augusta county.

Hotel, and displayed on its sign a portrait of the Father of his Country on horseback.

John Wise, a soldier under Wayne at the Maumee, settled in Staunton before the close of the century. He was originally a printer, and at one time published a newspaper here.

While General Wayne was on his expedition against the Indians, the Whiskey Insurrection in Western Pennsylvania culminated. Not being able to transport their grain to market, the people of that region, as many others then and since, converted the products of their farms into whiskey. A horse could not transport more than four bushels of grain, but it could carry the product of twenty-four bushels in the shape of "high wines." By means of this article the people obtained the other necessities of life. Whiskey was then considered indispensable. Everybody used it more or less, and, as was remarked, "a man could not be born, married, or buried without it." Congress, however, passed an act laying a duty on distilled spirits, and the people of Western Pennsylvania rose in rebellion against the tax as unjust and oppressive. Politicians of the Republican party throughout the country sympathized to some extent with the insurgents, while Federalists supported the government. A military force of 14,000 men was raised, and under command of General Henry Lee, Governor of Virginia, marched into the disturbed district. These troops were from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia. There was no fighting, however, and most of the soldiers returned home in a short time.

A company of cavalry, or mounted infantry, from this section, composed a part of Lee's army. It was commanded by Robert Grattan, then a merchant of Staunton, afterwards Major Grattan, of Rockingham. In all probability Grattan's company were the soldiers referred to in the following anecdote related by the Rev. Dr. Ruffner in his *History of Washington College*. Alluding to the Rev. William Graham, founder of that institution, Dr. Ruffner says:

"Another illustration of Mr. Graham's bold and independent spirit was a scene which occurred at Harrisonburg at a meeting of the Synod of Virginia, in the year 1794, when a company of soldiers arrived there on their way to put down the whiskey insurgents of Pennsylvania. The Rev. Moses Hoge, warm with patriotic zeal, moved that the Synod should adopt an address to the people, inculcating obedience to the laws. Mr. Graham opposed all Synodical action on the subject, and boldly avowed that the 'whiskey boys,' as they were usually called, were not rebels, but a suffering people, whose

grievances ought to be redressed. Other members also opposed the motion, either because they sympathized with the 'whiskey boys' —whiskey being at that time a chief staple of the Valley, and the tax upon its manufacture was felt as a grievance. The address was carried by a small majority. The soldiers were exasperated against Mr. Graham and his party, and threatened violence against him, insomuch that he found it expedient to retire privately from the scene of tumult."

Captain Grattan's company performed another service, on the occasion of the Captain's return to Staunton after his marriage, which is worth mentioning. Colonel John G. Gamble, in his unpublished account of the Grattan family, says: "I accompanied his troop of cavalry, which went out some eight or ten miles to meet their captain and escort his young bride to town."

The court-martial of the Thirty-second regiment of militia was held in Staunton, December 12, 1794. Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Anderson presided, and Robert Doak was present as a captain. Smith Thompson was elected provost marshal. Joseph Bell, of Captain Turk's company, "charged with not performing his tour of duty against the insurgents when called upon," appeared and was acquitted. For the offence mentioned, however, John Armstrong was fined $36, and Benjamin Grove, $15. Other militiamen were tried on the same charge, some being acquitted and others convicted and fined.

Mr. Jefferson, while residing at Monticello, previous to his election to the presidency, turned his attention, among his various projects, to the manufacture of nails, and wished to establish an agency in Staunton. In June, 1795, he wrote to Archibald Stuart, his former pupil and personal and political friend, inclosing some "nail cards," which he wished put into the hands of a substantial and punctual merchant. He suggested a Mr. Stuart, Mr. St. Clair, or Gamble & Grattan. The next year, in January, he wrote again on the same subject. The nail business was not prospering, evidently; but we are gratified to find that even at that early day Staunton was considered a better market, at least for nails, than Warren or Warminster. In February following, the price of nails had gone up in Philadelphia, and the "Sage of Monticello" was encouraged. He advised his Staunton correspondent to embark in the manufacture of potash, and assured him there were "millions in it." The tradesmanlike way he wrote about "penny brads," and the profits of potash, remind one of Dr. Johnston playing the business man at the sale of Thrale's brewery. From a letter, written at Philadelphia, June 8,

1798, Mr. Jefferson being Vice-President, it seems that John McDowell was then the agent at Staunton. Mr. Jefferson was anxious for a remittance, as for six months he had been advancing money for nail rods. McDowell threw up the agency in 1799, and by that time it appears the "nailery" was near its end.

Before the close of the century some attempts were made to establish factories in the county. In 1790 an act was passed by the Legislature authorizing Alexander St. Clair, William Chambers, John Boys, Robert Grattan, Robert Gamble, and others, to raise by lottery three hundred pounds, to be applied by them in erecting a paper mill near Staunton, "for the use of Gideon Morgan and Peter Burkhart." And, in 1791, another act authorized trustees to raise four thousand dollars by lottery for repairing and completing Smith Tandy's "bleaching mill" near Staunton.

In the year 1796, Staunton was visited by Isaac Weld, an English traveler, whose book of *Travels through the States of North America*, etc., was published in London in 1799. In his pages we find some description of Staunton and the surrounding country at the date of the visit. He says: "As I passed along it," (the road traversing the Valley), "I met with great numbers of people from Kentucky* and the new State of Tennessee, going towards Philadelphia and Baltimore, and with many others going in a contrary direction, 'to explore,' as they call it, that is, to search for lands conveniently situated for new settlements in the western country. These people all travel on horseback, with pistols or swords, and a large blanket folded up under their saddles, which last they use for sleeping in when obliged to pass the night in the woods. * * * Thirty miles further on,") from

* As already stated, from the date of the first settlement of Kentucky, till near the close of the century, the most frequented route of travel from the Northeastern States to Kentucky was called the "Wilderness road," which traversed the Valley of Virginia, passing through Staunton, Fincastle, and Cumberland Gap. A northern route was also traveled to some extent, but it was exceedingly dangerous on account of the hostility of the Indians on the north bank of the Ohio river. In 1790, Mr. Charles Johnston started with Mr. John May, of Petersburg, on a business trip to Kentucky. They went through the wilderness from Lewisburg to the Kanawha, and about where Charleston now stands, embarked with others in a flat boat to go down the Kanawha and Ohio rivers. When near the mouth of the Sciota the party was decoyed to the northern shore and assailed by Indians. Mr. May and a woman were killed, and the others captured. After several months young Johnston was redeemed by British traders at Detroit, and retured home. He was the father of Frederick Johnston, Esq., long clerk of the courts of Roanoke county, and grand-father of the Rev. Lewis B. Johnston, pastor of Hebron church, Augusta county.

Lexington), "stands Staunton. This town carries on a considerable trade with the back country, and contains nearly two hundred dwellings, mostly built of stone, together with a church. This was the first place on the entire road from Lynchburg, one hundred and fifty miles distant, and which I was about ten days in traveling, where I was able to get a bit of fresh meat, excepting indeed on passing the Blue Mountains, where they brought me some venison that had been just killed. I went on fifty miles further from Staunton before I got any again. * * "In every part of America a European is surprised at finding so many men with military titles, * * * but nowhere, I believe, is there such a superfluity of these military personages as in the town of Staunton; there is hardly a decent person in it, excepting lawyers and medical men, but what is a colonel, a major, or captain. * * * In Staunton there are two or three corps," (volunteer military companies), "one of cavalry, the other of artillery. These are formed chiefly of men who find a certain degree of amusement in exercising as soldiers, and who are also induced to associate by the vanity of appearing in regimentals."

Weld relates that when he was in Staunton a party of Creek Indians arrived there on their way to Philadelphia, then the seat of the United States Government. The next morning half of the Indians set off without the others, who did not follow till some hours afterwards. When the latter started, several of the townspeople on horseback escorted them part of the way. After proceeding along the road for some miles they all at once turned off into the woods, though there was no path. The people who accompanied them, surprised at the movement, informed them that they were quitting the road to Philadelphia and would miss their companions who had gone on before. The Indians persisted, however, asserting that they knew the way and the route taken by the others. Curiosity led some of the horsemen to go on, and to their surprise the first party of Indians was overtaken in the thickest part of the wood. Moreover, the route taken, as well as could be ascertained, was on an air-line to Philadelphia. This anecdote is quoted, in a note to Campbell's *Gertrude of Wyoming*, as an instance of Indian sagacity.

Rochefoucault, the French philanthropist, visited Staunton in 1797. He does not give a flattering picture of the place, but as a faithful annalist we reproduce it, protesting, however, that Staunton and its people are very different now-a-days. He says there were eight inns here, fifteen to eighteen stores, and about eight hundred inhabitants. Two market days were kept weekly, but badly furnished with

provisions. Fresh meat sold at six pence per pound (eight cents), flour at eleven dollars per barrel. A newspaper was published twice a week (?). The inhabitants, like the generality of Virginians, were fond of gambling and betting. The traveler witnessed here two miserable horse races. Manners were much like those of Richmond, nor were the people "actuated by a superior desire to discharge the debts which they contracted." During his stay at the inn he "saw great numbers of travelers pass by, merchants or sellers of land, going to Greenbrier and Carolina, or persons on their way to the medicinal springs." The goods sold by the storekeepers were brought from Baltimore or Philadelphia.

Rochefoucault states that at the time of his visit a Presbyterian church was going up in Staunton. He is clearly mistaken as to the denomination, as the Presbyterians had no building till twenty years afterwards, and it was no doubt the first house of worship erected by the Methodists that attracted his attention.

At the time the French traveler was in Staunton, Bob Bailey, the noted gambler, made his headquarters here. He was an elegant gentleman, very insinuating, and very likely sought the acquaintance of the stranger. A few years afterwards he was in the hands of the District Court upon the charge of "exhibiting faro," but fled to escape the penalty of the law.

In 1797, William Blount of Tennessee, being detected in a conspiracy to invade the Spanish possessions, was expelled from the United States Senate. On his way home from Philadelphia, he was arrested near Staunton as a fugitive from justice and detained till information came that he had been released on bail. [McMaster, Vol. 2, p. 342.]

In the same year (1797) the County Court was much occupied by business brought before it by an individual who constituted himself censor of public morals. At March court, the Grand Jury, on the information of the person referred to, presented many people for various offences—profane cursing and swearing, keeping disorderly houses, and other immoralities. Counter-charges were preferred against the informer, but he was finally let off on the ground that he was "occasionally subject to be disordered in his understanding."

Archibald Stuart, of Staunton, was elected a Judge of the General Court in 1799, and for some years presided, with an associate, in the District Courts. At the time of his election he was a member of the Legislature.

A hill about a mile south of the village of Greenville, on the main road from Staunton to Lexington, is called "Staley's Hill," from a tragedy which occurred there at sometime near the year 1800. Several children going to school one morning, saw a traveler on horseback moving northward, who was overtaken by a man walking and carrying a gun. The two proceeded together for a while, and then the footman fell behind and deliberately shot and killed the other. Taking the traveler's saddlebags and mounting his horse, the murderer fled, and was never heard of afterwards. The victim proved to be a merchant from East Tennessee, named Staley, who was going to Baltimore to purchase goods.

Jacob Warwick.

The *Southern Historical Magazine* for August, 1892, contains an article by the Rev. William T. Price, entitled "Pioneer History," from which we have obtained most of the following facts in regard to Jacob Warwick and his family.

The father of Jacob Warwick came to Augusta county from Williamsburg probably about the year 1740. He was a Lieutenant in the service of the British Government, and was employed in surveying and locating land grants in Augusta. His Christian name is not given, but we find a deed on record, from James Gay to John Warwick, dated March 21, 1759, and presume that the grantee was the same as Lieutenant Warwick, so called. According to the article referred to, he married Elizabeth Dunlap, who lived near the present village of Middlebrook; but another account says his wife was a Miss Gay. He obtained for himself a tract of land called Dunmore, in the present county of Pocahontas, then a part of Augusta. After the birth of four children,—Charles, Elizabeth, Jacob and John—and settling his family on the Dunmore estate [at the great risk of being murdered by Indians,] Lieut. Warwick concluded to visit England. He was never heard of after his departure, and being given up for dead, his widow subsequently married Robert Sitlington. In the mean while she had managed to have the Dunmore estate settled upon her son, Jacob. It is said that Joseph Bell became the guardian of Jacob and John Warwick, but of this there is no record proof. Nor, as far as the archives of Augusta show, was there any administration on the estate of Lieut. Warwick.

Jacob Warwick married a Miss Vance, daughter of Col. John Vance of North Carolina. For a number of years he lived at Dunmore, and there all his children were born. Afterwards he removed to land he had acquired in what is now Bath county. He was a man of great enterprise and considerable wealth in land and cattle. But he seems to have been unambitious, and during his life held no conspicuous

public office. Like all frontiersmen, he was of necessity an Indian fighter. He was never sure, however, that he had ever killed more than one savage. This was in a hand-to-hand fight, and the tree at which it occurred was remembered by people living in 1891. It was always a grief to him that he had caused the death of one human being.

It is related that on one occasion a scout from Millborough warned Warwick that a large party of Indians were returning from the east, and that he and about twenty men waited in ambush for them, on the mountain south of Clover Lick. The white men fired, and with such precision that every shot killed or wounded an Indian, causing the survivors hastily to retire. Mrs. Warwick with servants followed her husband and friends, carrying provisions to them. The date of this occurrence is not given.

On another occasion Warwick went to the region of Randolph county, with a party of land agents and surveyors, and as they apprehended no danger, on account of the inclemency of the season, they went unarmed, [very improbable.] They, however, encountered a band of Shawnees, who fired upon and killed three of them. Warwick's horse was wounded and fell, but recovered himself and bore his master and another man safely home, thirty miles off, in one day.

Elsewhere we have stated that Jacob Warwick redeemed and brought back the boy John Gilmore, who was carried off by the Indians from Kerr's Creek in 1764. Mr. Price says the rescue occurred soon after the battle of Point Pleasant, in 1774, when Warwick was on a trading expedition among the Indians, and that the boy was stolen from the Indians at Fort Pitt, without their consent. He is undoubtedly mistaken as to the date and place. The Indians were compelled by Col. Bouquet, in the latter part of 1764, to deliver up their white captives, and it is hardly possible that they detained the boy named for ten years longer, and then brought him to Fort Pitt, still holding him a prisoner.

It is supposed that Warwick was a member of Capt. George Mathews' company at the battle of Point Pleasant, and unless tradition is entirely unreliable, he contributed materially to the success of the whites in that memorable conflict. When the battle began he, with others, was remote from the camp securing a supply of meat. Hearing the firing, he and his party hastened to rejoin the army, arriving at a critical moment, and the Indians mistaking them for a reinforcement under Col. Christian, who was known to be approaching, abandoned the conflict.

Jacob Warwick was actively engaged during the Revolutionary war, but we do not know the extent of his services. All that is certainly known is, that he was Lieutenant of Capt. William Kincaid's company which served in lower Virginia, in the early part of 1781. When Bath county was organized in 1791, he was one of the Justices of the Peace.

His death occurred in January, 1826, in the 83rd year of his age. He was buried on the west branch of Jackson's river, six miles from

the Warm Springs, and his descendant, Mr. Price, says pathetically: "Were it the grave of Campbell's 'Last Man,' it could not be in a much less frequented place."

Mrs. Warwick died in 1823, when she was 80 years of age. She is described as eminent for piety and many excellencies.

The children of Jacob Warwick and wife were one son, (Andrew), and six daughters. One of the daughters was the wife of Charles Cameron.

Charles Cameron.

From an account of the Cameron family, by Mrs. Maria Boys Cochran Sterrett, a great-grand-daughter of Col. Charles Cameron, we have obtained most of the information embraced in the following sketch.

The first of the family who came to America, from Scotland, was Dr. John Cameron, who is said to have been a nephew of Cameron of Lochiel, chief of the clan. Dr. Cameron was one of the men who, following Lochiel, took up arms in behalf of Charles Edward, the young Pretender, in 1745. After the disastrous battle of Culloden, in 1746, he made his escape to Spain, coming from that country to the West Indies, and from thence to New York. In New York, he met and married a widow, Mrs. Margaret Murray, a native of Ireland, of Scotch descent, who had two daughters, Sarah and Mary Murray.

From New York Dr. Cameron came to Norfolk, Virginia, and there his two children were born. The older of the two, called Charles Edward, was born February 22, 1753, and the younger, George Hugh, several years afterwards.

When Charles Cameron was six years of age his father with his family removed to Staunton. After that, but exactly when is not known, it being safe for him to return to Scotland, Dr. Cameron embarked for that country, hoping to recover his property, but was lost at sea.

Charles Cameron found employment in a store in Staunton, and a few years later went to the Mossy Creek Iron Works to act as clerk for Henry Miller. When only nineteen years of age he married Mr. Miller's daughter, Nancy, who died about six months after her marriage.

Col. Charles Lewis' wife was Sarah Murray, the half sister of Charles Cameron, and the latter and his brother George were members of Col. Lewis' regiment in the expedition to Point Pleasant in 1774. Charles and others were sent out to hunt for game, and when he returned he found the battle over and both his brother and brother-in-law slain.

On the 3rd of December, 1776, the Court Martial of Augusta county met at the court-house, and proceeded to choose by ballot officers "to raise two companies of regulars according to act of assem-

bly." John Syme was chosen Captain of the first company, and Charles Cameron First Lieutenant. At a meeting of the Court held February 1, 1777, it was reported that Capt. Syme had recruited 28 men and Lieut. Cameron 20. The company was a part of the 10th Virginia regiment, commanded by Col. Stevens, and participated in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. On the 3rd of January, 1778, Lieut. Cameron resigned his commission in the regular army, and retired to private life. What his occupation was, we are not informed; probably he was a farmer and grazier. Early in 1781, he was in the military service again as Captain of Augusta militia under Col. Sampson Mathews, in lower Virginia, for a tour of three months. In the summer of 1781, he was in the field again as Captain, and was present at the battle of Jamestown, or Green Spring, in June, serving at this time for two months. His last military service was as commissary of the district composed of Augusta, Rockbridge and Rockingham counties, for furnishing supplies to the stations in Western Virginia and aiding in recruiting for the regular army. After the war he became Colonel of militia.

In 1790, Col. Cameron was a Justice of the Peace for Augusta county. At this time he probably lived in the part of Augusta which is now Bath county; and when the latter county was organized, early in 1791, he was one of the first Justices commissioned by the Governor. He was, however, appointed Clerk of the County Court, and his office of Justice was vacated. His nephew, Charles L. Francisco, whose mother was Mary Murray, succeeded him as clerk, and held the office many years.

In 1793, Col. Cameron married his second wife, Rachel, daughter of Jacob Warwick, who, like her mother, was distinguished for her piety. She was the mother of three children, two of whom died in infancy. The third, Andrew Warwick Cameron, was born June 6, 1806.

Col. Cameron died July 14, 1829. His widow survived till 1858, when she was 86 years of age.

Col. Andrew W. Cameron, only son of Charles Cameron, removed from Bath county to the vicinity of Lexington, in 1840. During the late war between the States, he had four sons in the Confederate army, and on the 18th of July, 1861, rode to Lexington to enquire the news. The stage coach from Staunton arrived at the Lexington hotel, and was surrounded by a crowd of people anxious to hear from the army, Col. Cameron being among them. One of the passengers carried a a loaded minnie rifle, which was accidentally discharged, and the ball striking Col. Cameron he was instantly killed. Young William McClung was mortally wounded by the same ball, and a third person was somewhat hurt.

The Rev. WILLIAM GRAHAM, resigned the office of Rector of Liberty Hall, September 25, 1796, and immediately set out on a journey to the western part of the State, in pursuance of a plan he had

long contemplated. He purchased a large tract of land on the Ohio, to which he proposed to invite chosen families who "might live retired, in abundance, in Christian intercourse, in the worship of God," and rear religious and patriotic offspring. He embarked all his means in the enterprise, and removed his family to his land of Canaan in the wilderness. But he encountered one difficulty after another. People whom he most wished to accompany him declined to emigrate, and he became involved in litigation. In the course of his business he traveled from the Ohio to Richmond on horseback, suffered much from exposure on the way, was taken sick, and died at the house of Colonel Gamble, in Richmond, June 8, 1799. He was buried in old St. John's church yard.

Mr. Graham had six children,—the eldest, Jahab, became a Presbyterian peacher, and died early, in Staunton, at the house of his father-in-law, Mr. Peter Heiskell, leaving no child. The youngest of Mr. Graham's children, William, became a physician, settled in Georgia and left a family. His daughters were Mrs. Murdock and Mrs. Braken, of Pennsylvania, and Mrs. Riel, of Kentucky.

Alexander Nelson was born in Ireland, January 14, 1749. He came to America when a boy of probably ten years of age, and lived first in Philadelphia, where he was patronized by the celebrated Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution. From Philadelphia he came to Richmond, and there engaged extensively in merchandising. It is not known at what date he came to Augusta. Here his business was that of a farmer, owning and living on a large plantation on Lewis' creek, six miles from Staunton. From the frequent mention of him in the county archives, it is evident that he was a prominent and influential citizen. He died January 2, 1834. His wife was a daughter of Sampson Mathews, of Staunton. Their children were: Dr. Thomas Nelson, of Richmond; John M. Nelson, of Ohio; James Nelson, long one of the commissioners of the revenue for the county; Alexander Franklin Nelson, a highly respectable farmer; Lockhart Nelson, who died in Paris while a medical student there; Mrs. Mary Ann Bell, wife of Joseph Bell; and Mrs. Elizabeth Montgomery, wife of John Montgomery.

James Lyle, the first clerk of the District Court at Staunton, was a member of the Rockbridge family of that name, and a brother of Capt. William Lyle, long a prominent citizen of Rockbridge. His wife was Margaret Baker, from the lower Valley, a cousin of Mrs. Judge Stuart, and aunt of Mrs. Judge L. P. Thompson. He died in 1793, and his wife survived him about forty years. The only child of Mr. and Mrs. Lyle was a daughter named Juliet, who became the wife of Abram Smith, of Rockingham. The second wife of Robert S. Brooke, of Staunton, was a daughter of Abram and Juliet Smith.

CHAPTER XIV.

MADE UP OF SUNDRIES.

We again go back to relate several events of more or less interest.

All Staunton people know of a cave in the hill formerly called "Abney's Hill," along the northern base of which the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad passes. The entrance to the cave is near the top of the hill, immediately opposite the southern termination of New Street, and above the Virginia Hotel, where the Washington Tavern once stood. It is very rugged and precipitous, and comparatively few persons have made the descent and attempted to explore the cavern. Marvelous accounts have sometimes been given of the interior of the cave, but the settled belief is that there is nothing there worth going to see. In the year 1788, however, the cave became famous as the recepticle of the body of a supposed murdered man. Several reputable citizens of the town were suspected of the crime, and groundless as the imputation undoubtedly was, it followed the accused all their subsequent lives. Intelligent and unprejudiced people generally regarded the suspicion as the offspring of misconception or malice, and unworthy of credence.

On May 19, 1788, an inquest was held by Joseph Bell, Coroner, over the body of a human being found in the cave. The body was discovered by Michael Grove, John Robinson and Robert Jacob, probably adventurous boys. The jury was composed of seventeen men. John Griffin was foreman, and among the members was Michael Garber, [doubtless the senior of that name], Samuel Merrit, William and Hugh McDowell, Francis Huff and John Gorden. The body was "much consumed," but the jury found that it was the corpse of a white man named William R. Watson, who was an "inhabitant of Staunton" in November previous, and that he was wilfully murdered by some person or persons unknown.

On the 9th of June, 1788, a majority of the jury were called before the coroner to consider the matter further, upon the testimony of Dr. Alexander Humphreys and William Wardlaw. These witnesses testified that in the previous March, Wardlaw and James McPheeters, students of Dr. Humphreys, took up the body of a negro for dissec-

tion, and when done with it sewed it in a bag and put it in the cave. Wardlaw stated that the body "appeared of an ash color," and Dr. Humphreys is reported as saying that "after a negro lies some time in his grave, the odds cannot be known between him and a white person as to color, and in the state the negro was then, being a state of putrescence."

Michael Garber and two other members of the jury published the record of proceedings of the jury on both occasions, in the *Winchester Advertiser*, alleging in their note to the editor that many of the country people desired to see the testimony and verdict.

Thereupon, Dr. Humphreys sued Garber for defamation. The writ was issued August 8, 1788, and Garber was arrested and went to jail, but was released on paying a fee of fifteen shillings. The suit was not prosecuted, and, on August 20, 1789, was discontinued at the cost of the plaintiff.

In September, 1790, Garber brought suit against Humphreys for sending him to jail, etc., without legal cause of action. In the course of this suit the testimony of Zachariah Taliaferro, a deputy sheriff, was taken. He stated that before the suit of Humphreys against Garber a report was current that a person had been murdered, whose supposed remains were found in a cave near Staunton, and hints were thrown out that Dr. Humphreys was privy to the transaction; that he had reason to believe the report originated with, or was propagated by Michael Garber; that he believed Dr. Humphreys instituted the suit to put a stop to the report, but discontinued it through the persuasion of his friends; and that Garber went to jail "to take an advantage of the Doctor." The case was decided, September 7, 1791, the jury rendering a verdict in favor of Dr. Humphreys.

It was impossible, however, to stop the report. The rumor went afar that a man had been murdered in the Washington Tavern and his body thrown into the cave. Certain splotches on the floor of one of the chambers, including the impression of a naked human foot, were supposed to have been made by the blood of the victim. They remained visible to all comers as long as the house stood; and till the tavern was taken down, in 1847, it was common for travellers stopping to spend a night, to stipulate that they should not be put in "the haunted chamber." The discoloration of the floor is believed to have been made by a slovenly painter or servant.

The gossips never agreed as to who the murdered man was. Some said he was a Kentucky drover returning from the eastern market; others that he was a pedler; and others that he was a dissolute young

Englishman. The last-mentioned person is probably the William R. Watson named by the coroner's jury. According to the tradition, he had been a common loafer in Staunton, but going to England and returning with a large sum of money, was last seen in the Washington Tavern. Or a peddler may have been named Watson. No one knows who or what the supposed victim was.

Dr. Humphreys was an intelligent and learned man, and his immediate connections were the first people in the country. He could not have used the language attributed to him by the clerk of the inquest. Nor would he have ventured to say that the body brought out of the cave was that of a negro if the evidence of the hair had been against that supposition. Possibly the cranium of the corpse was entirely bare, and the jury neither saw nor sought for any hair. One tradition has it, however, that the body was headless, just what might have been expected in regard to the "subject" of young medical students. But Watson had disappeared and here are human remains, so the jury hasten to declare that the latter are all that can be found of the missing man. The "blood-stained" floor of the tavern chamber of course indicated the scene of the murder, confirming the belief of the credulous and malignant, and inspiring the superstitious with a great dread of that particular room.

Within the memory of the writer, the town was thrown into an excitement by the discovery by boys of human bones in the cave; but by that time the community was prepared to believe that they were thrown in by medical students, of whom there were always some in town in the first forty years of the century.

During the last decade of the 18th century,—how long before and how long after we have not inquired,—horse-stealing was a capital offence in Virginia, and many persons convicted of the crime were sentenced to death. It would seem from documents printed in the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, that in every case the sentence was followed by a petition, more or less numerously signed, asking the Governor to pardon the condemned, which shows that popular sentiment was not in favor of inflicting the death penalty.* At any rate we know of only one hanging for horse-stealing, and that was at Staunton.

The name of the unhappy man was John Bullitt, the "black sheep" of a most respectable family. He was arrested in Rockingham county. At that time, and for long afterwards, white persons

* The State penitentiary was not opened till March, 1800.

accused of felony were arraigned before a Court of five Justices of the Peace, who heard the testimony and either discharged the accused or held him for trial before a higher tribunal, first the District Court, and afterwards the Superior Court for the county. The "Examining Court" of Rockingham sent Bullitt on for trial before the District Court, and in October, 1790, he was committed to jail in Staunton. He lay in jail the following winter, "without a spark of fire and but little bed covering," as stated in the petition for his pardon. At April term, 1791, of the District Court, only one Judge attended, and the prisoner claimed a continuance till the next term. By the time the September term arrived, the Commonwealth's Attorney had discovered that the crime was committed in Augusta, and therefore that the Justices of Rockingham had not jurisdiction of the case. The indictment which had been found was dismissed, and the prisoner re-committed for re-examination in Augusta.

With the prospect of another cold winter before him, to say nothing of the gallows in prospect, Bullitt broke jail and fled. We next hear of him under arrest in Fauquier county, in May, 1793. It would seem that after his escape from jail he enlisted, or was believed to have enlisted, as a soldier in the United States army, and was arrested in Fauquier as a deserter. He was about to be discharged, however, when Mr. Archibald Stuart, the Commonwealth's Attorney for Augusta, hearing of his arrest, sent for him by a man named Rhodes. Mr. Stuart said, in a letter to the Governor, dated May 23rd, that he was anxious for Bullitt to be brought to trial as there was "an illiberal suspicion among ye people," that his escape from the Staunton jail "was favored by all concerned, being ye brother of a Judge.*

The Examining Court of Augusta sat on the 26th of August, 1793, and consisted of Alexander Robertson, Alexander St. Clair, Robert Douthat, William Moffett and Alexander Humphreys, "Gentlemen Justices." Bullitt was charged with "feloniously stealing and carrying away from the plantation of John Nichols, Sr., on the 18th day of September, 1790, a gray horse of the price of thirty pounds, and other property belonging to said Nichols of the value of five pounds. Total value of the stolen property $116.66⅔. Upon the testimony of John Nichols, Sr., John Nichols, Jr., Jesse Atkinson and

* It has been stated in print that the brother was holding court in Bath county at the time of Bullitt's conviction or execution. This is a mistake. No court presided over by "a Judge" was held in Bath till years afterwards. But Cuthbert Bullitt, of Prince William county, who died in 1790, was a Judge of the Supreme Court of Virginia.

George Sea, the prisoner was sent on for trial before the District Court "to be holden at Staunton, on the 2nd day of September next."

When the District Court met, the Commonwealth's Attorney filed an indictment against Bullitt, and he was tried by the following jury: Hugh Gilkeson, Edward Rutledge, John Emmet, Gabriel Alexander, Samuel Long, John Young, Samuel McCutchen, Robert Hanna, Walter Davis, John Poage, Daniel Finland, and William Chambers. The jury found the prisoner guilty, and on the 12th of September he was sentenced by the Court to be hung on Friday, October 18, 1793, between 10 A. M. and 2 P. M. The order book of the court has disappeared, and we cannot tell which of the Judges presided, and what lawyer defended the prisoner.

Popular sympathy was slow in moving. It was not till the 12th of October that Robert Gamble wrote to Governor Lee, enclosing a petition for Bullitt's pardon. The petition was signed by eighty-eight citizens, among them Alexander McClanahan, Jacob Kinney, William Breckinridge, Vincent Tapp, M. Garber, Sr. and Jr., William Abney, Moses McCue, Alexander St. Clair, John McDowell, Robert Bailey, Alexander Nelson, Robert McClanahan, Smith Thompson, and James Bowyer. Tradition says that Bullitt was feeble-minded; that young Nichols loaned him the horse, but feared to avow it to his father, a harsh man; and that the condemned man was returning with the horse when first arrested. The petition makes no such statements. It admits Bullitt's guilt, and says he was a man of bad character; but pleads that he has suffered much, part of the time in irons, was "extremely penitent," and promised reformation. The Governor was inexorable.

The County Court, at its session on October 16th, ordered the sheriff to erect a gallows "at the fork of the roads leading from Staunton to Miller's iron works and to Peter Hanger's," and that, the order says, "shall be considered as the place of execution of all condemned persons in future, which may by law be executed by the sheriff of Augusta." Evidently the court anticipated a brisk business in that line. The fork of the roads alluded to is the point in the northern part of the town where Augusta and New streets unite. The spot was then in the woods, and a log house built there afterwards was long occupied by the Gorden family. There Bullitt paid the penalty of his life for a paltry offence on the 18th of October.

It is related that the Rev. John McCue was present at the execution, and betrayed great emotion. The popular feeling was long expressed by a saying often repeated to puzzle children: "That if a

person would go to John Gorden's house and say, 'John Bullitt, what were you hung for?' he would say nothing."

The gallows at the place described gave to all the northern part of Staunton the name of Gallowstown.

The late James Bell, a young man of twenty-one in 1793, was deputy sheriff that year, and officiated at the execution.

The County Court, on October 15, 1793, ordered their clerk (Jacob Kinney) to purchase a bell for the courthouse, which, we believe, is the one still in use.

The main incidents in the life of George Mathews have been given already. He is one of the most unique and interesting of the natives of Augusta county. The life of his second wife is also full of interest.

The maiden name of Mrs. Mathews was Margaret Cunningham. She was the daughter of John Cunningham, who owned, and probably lived in, the low wooden house which formerly stood on the southwest corner of Augusta street and Spring Lane, (Irish Alley.) Until taken down to make way for the present brick structure, it was said to be the oldest house in Staunton. The lot was designated as No. 1, in the original plan of the town, in 1747. The wife of John Cunningham and mother of Margaret is believed to have been a Miss Davis, sister of the first Walter Davis. The other children of John Cunningham and wife were, Mrs. Burns, wife of Major Robert Burns, and mother of Mrs. Dr. Waterman of Rockingham; Mrs. Smith, wife of Capt. John Smith, and mother of Mrs. Michael Garber and Mrs. Moses McCue; and Capt. Walter Cunningham, who removed to Kentucky in 1788.

Margaret Cunningham was born in, or a little before, 1747, having been baptized by the Rev. John Craig in that year. Nothing is known of her early life, except that, according to tradition, on one occasion of an alarm about Indians, she mounted a horse, and, doubtless with others, fled across the Blue Ridge.

After attaining womanhood, she became the wife of Robert Reed, at what date is not known, but it was after 1765. Mr. Reed was the son of "John Reed of the Kingdom of Ireland," as he is described in the papers of an old suit to be mentioned. Like many other residents of Staunton in his day, he was a tavern keeper. He was also the owner of 740 acres of land adjoining the town and a house and lot in town. In the evening of the first Sunday in December, 1775, the

young preacher McMillan rode from the Stone church to town with Mrs. Reed, and lodged at her house.

Mr. Reed died in October, 1787, intestate and without issue. Having no heirs-at-law capable of inheriting his real estate, it escheated to the Commonwealth, subject to the widow's dower interest; but in 1789, the Legislature passed an act granting the property to Mrs. Reed. Mr. Reed, however, had a brother John and two half-sisters, Mrs. William Reed and Mrs. William Buchanan, and the descendants of one or more of these relatives, after Mrs. Reed's second marriage, instituted proceedings to obtain the property, but did not succeed.

Up to the time of her second marriage, Mrs. Reed seems to have led a quiet and happy life. Her troubles began when she became the wife of Gen. George Mathews. At the time of the marriage, General Mathews was a member of Congress, then holding its sessions in Philadelphia. He had been Governor of Georgia, and afterwards held that office for another term. The marriage took place in Staunton, September 29, 1790, the ceremony being performed by the Rev. Archibald Scott.

When married the second time, Mrs. Mathews was at least 43 years of age. She accompanied the General to Philadelphia, and from there to Georgia; and by the year 1793, serious trouble had arisen between the couple. The General was notoriously irritable and imperious, and his wife was probably not without a will of her own. There is incidental proof that General Mathews got up some feeling of jealousy, but from Mrs. Mathews' well-known high character, there was, doubtless, no just cause for it. Col. John Stuart, of Greenbrier, was a half-brother of General Mathews' first wife, and in a letter written by him to his sister, Mrs. Woods, of Albemarle, he speaks of trouble brewing in Georgia,—says that Richard Mathews had been down there, and alludes vaguely to other admirers of Mrs. Mathews. Richard Mathews was a bachelor, who lived near Union church, Augusta county, a great dandy in his day, very pedantic, and probably a cousin of George Mathews.

In September, 1793, Mrs. Mathews, her two step-daughters, and a step-son, came to Staunton on a visit. One of the daughters was Mrs. Ann Blackburn, who was married, in Staunton, to Gen. Samuel Blackburn,* by Mr. Scott, August 28, 1785. The party traveled in a carriage, and while passing through Botetourt county, one of Mrs. Mathews' ribs was broken by a jolt. For many weeks she was laid

* Gen. Blackburn got his title in Georgia. He was called General before he returned to Virginia to live.

up at the house of her sister, Mrs. Smith, in Augusta. When able to travel she went to the house of her niece, Mrs. Waterman, in Harrisonburg, mainly to receive attention from Dr. Waterman as a physician, and there she was confined to her bed for several months. During all this time no letter passed between her and her husband, although he had written to various friends in Augusta. He had assumed control of all her property, collecting rents through his agent, Major Grattan, a merchant in Staunton. He, however, instructed Major Grattan to supply his wife with whatever necessaries she might need.

The long silence between the husband and wife was broken by a notice served on her that he intended to apply to the Legislature of Georgia for an act of divorce. Then the letters between Staunton and Georgia flew fast and thick. They almost rivaled in number and style of composition the letters of Governor Dinwiddie. Whether any charge other than desertion was preferred, is not stated in any of the letters or papers on file. The General required her to return, acknowledge her error, and perform her duties as his wife; and, thereupon, he would not press his application for divorce. She charged him with cruelty, and was not willing to trust her life in his hands. He subscribed himself, "Your persecuted husband," and she styled herself, "Your afflicted wife." He reminded her of her marriage vow and the love she professed for him the night he escorted her "from the ball at the courthouse;" and over and over protested his innocence of any wrong. He charged that she, while living in Georgia, had poisoned the minds of his servants, so that he was afraid to take food from their hands. She intimated that he wished to get rid of her in order to marry another woman. Many other persons were drawn into the correspondence, and letters were written to and by Mr. St. Clair, Colonel Gamble, Major Grattan and others.

Mrs. Mathews employed John Coalter, afterwards the Judge, as her counsel. By his advice, she applied to Major Grattan for money to defend herself, but he was not authorized to furnish her money "to prosecute a suit against her husband," and refused her request. By the benevolence of friends, she procured means to send Mr. Coalter to Georgia to protect her interests. He had interviews with General Mathews, who refused to appoint any time for bringing the matter before the Legislature. Thereupon, Mr. Coalter petitioned the Legislature, as a court having jurisdiction, to require the General to furnish alimony to his wife. What came of this application, and whether,

indeed, a divorce was actually granted by the Legislature, we do not know.* At one time Mrs. Blackburn called on her step-mother, in Staunton, and by her father's direction demanded and received a pair of silver spoons and a breastpin Mrs. Mathews had brought from Georgia. She complained that his children had not treated her with respect, and he, that she had neglected the children. One letter from Georgia is written in good style. It purported to be from a female slave who professed ardent love for "Miss Margaret," and entreated her to return—that "master" was very melancholy and very amiable; but threatened, if she did not come back, to rent the plantation, hire out the slaves, and join the army. † She added that her master never would return the property, as it was a small compensation for all he had suffered. General Blackburn was sent in a carriage to escort Mrs. Mathews to Georgia, but she refused to go. Col. Gamble assured her by letter that money to take her home, was at her command. In one of his letters, General Mathews wrote that she knew why he could not come to Virginia, implying a physical disability. He suggested that she get her uncle Davis to come with her as her friend and adviser. She replied that "uncle Davis" was too old, and she had no friend she could ask to accompany her. He charged in several letters that his wife's sister, Mrs. Burns, was at the bottom of the trouble, her motive being to secure for her own children, Mrs. Mathews' estate. Instead of going "home," Mrs. Mathews went to the Sweet Springs, then in Botetourt county, to recruit her health, friends having furnished money, etc., for the purpose.

Finally, Mrs. Mathews brought suit in the County Court of Augusta to obtain possession of her estate, and from papers filed in the cause, (Mathews vs. Mathews,) we have obtained most of the foregoing facts. The depositions of many witnesses were taken, chiefly

*An act divorcing the couple was passed by the Georgia Legislature, February 13, 1797.

†On the 7th of March, 1796, General Mathews wrote to President Washington, expressing a desire to leave the country, and requesting a testimonial "of character and conduct in public appointments." He wrote another letter on the 19th of August following, in which he acknowledged the President's reply, and stated that he had yielded to the protest of his friends against his scheme of expatriation. From the proceedings of the Senate, however, he learned that a Governor was to be appointed "for the Natchez district on the Mississippi," and solicited the appointment for himself. Washington went out of office before any appointment was made, but his successor, President John Adams, nominated General Mathews for the office, as we have seen in the sketch of him elsewhere. The letters referred to are on file in the State Department at Washington.

to show that Mrs. Mathews could not have returned to Georgia, on account of the condition of her health. Among the witnesses was Mrs. Ann Nelson, a daughter of Sampson Mathews, and niece of General Mathews, who testified that she had heard her cousin, Ann Blackburn, declare that her step-mother was "capable of any wickedness." On the other hand, a paper was filed, signed by thirty persons, including all the Presbyterian ministers in the county, testifying that Mrs. Mathews was, and always had been, eminently respectable. The ministers were, Archibald Scott, John McCue, William Wilson and John Brown, each of whom appended to his signature the initials V. D. M. (*Verbi Dei Minister.*) Among other signers were Mr. St. Clair, Judge Stuart, Jacob Kinney and Samuel Clarke, the last of whom married a daughter of Sampson Mathews. Evidently, the sympathy of the community was in behalf of the lady. But as far as the correspondence goes, General Mathews cannot be convicted of wrong-doing. She misconstrued some of his expressions, and in one or two instances unjustly accused him. He charged that she had excited the hostility of his servants against him, and yet, strangely, wished her to return and resume her proper relations with him.

It would seem that General Mathews did not defend the suit. At any rate, a judgment or decree was entered in her favor, in 1796. She resumed her former name and lived till 1827, her will being proved in the County Court at December term of that year. She resided in a long wooden house, one and a half stories high, on the south side of Beverley street, near Water street, where the "Crowle Building" now stands (1892).

No one was more respected by the best people of Staunton than Mrs. Reed. Many persons not related to her testified their respect and affection by calling her "Aunt Reed."

The Stuarts.

In former times this name was often written Stewart, in accordance with the original Scotch mode.

Five or more persons of the name were among the early settlers of Augusta county. One of these (James Stuart) died intestate in 1758. He was probably the father of John Stuart, "of the Middle River of Shenandoe," whose will was admitted to record August 21, 1771, whose wife was Mary, and whose children were John, James,

Jane, Mary, and Elizabeth. Another John Stuart died in 1790, probably son of the former, and in his will mention is made of his wife (Frances) and children—Mary, Margaret, and Samuel. Dr. Peachy R. Harrison, of Rockingham, married Jane, daughter of John Stuart of the Stone Church, or Middle River neighborhood, and of no other member of this particular family have we any account.

Three other early settlers named Stuart—Archibald, David, and John—are believed to have been brothers, and of these and their descendants we have the following information:

Archibald Stuart, a native of Ireland, having been engaged in some disturbance in his native country, fled to America, leaving his family behind. After living in Pennsylvania for some time, he was relieved by a general amnesty, and sending for his family came with them to Augusta in 1738. His wife was Janet Brown, a sister of the Rev. John Brown, of New Providence. He died in 1759. His children were three sons, Thomas, Alexander and Benjamin, and a daughter, Eleanor.

I. *Thomas Stuart* married Elizabeth Moore, and had nine children. His sons were—

1. James, who settled in Tennessee.
2. Thomas, an officer in the United States army.
3. Robert, who settled in Botetourt.

Among his daughters were—

1. Miss Jenny Stuart, baptized by the Rev. John Craig in 1747, lived in Staunton to a great age, and left a considerable estate which she had managed with masculine energy and skill. She owned and resided on the lot at the southeast corner of Beverley and Augusta streets. She also owned the lot at the northeast corner of Frederick and Lewis streets, where her barn and stable were, and many acres near the town. In early life she recovered heavy damages from her cousin, Dr. Isaac Hall, the first of that name and title, in a suit for breach of marriage contract, which was the foundation of her fortune.

2. Julia, first wife of Captain William Lyle, of Rockbridge, and mother of the late Mrs. Dr. Henry Ruffner, of Lexington, and others.

3. Mary, wife of James Moffett, of Augusta, and mother of (1) John Moffett, (2) William Moffett, (3) Betsy, wife of John McClanahan, (4) Robert S. Moffett, (5) Jane, wife of Dr. John K. Moore, (6) Mary, wife of Alexander T. Barclay, (7) Thomas Moffett, and (8) Julia, wife of William Paxton.

4. Elizabeth, wife of Captain William Paxton, of Rockbridge, had five children among them the late Mrs. Alexander S. Hall, of Staunton.

II. *Alexander Stuart*—the Major Stuart of the Revolution. He died when nearly ninety years of age. His first wife was Mary Patterson, whose children were—

1. Archibald, the Judge, whose wife was Eleanor Briscoe, of Maryland.

2. Robert, of Rockbridge, whose wife was Elizabeth McClung. He was the father of the late Major Alexander B. Stuart, and died in 1827.

3. Frances, wife of John Lyle, of Rockbridge, and mother of Mrs. John McDowell, who for many years lived near Staunton.

4. Jane, wife of Alexander Walker.

5. Mary, wife of Alexander Hall, and mother of the late Alexander S. Hall, of Staunton, Dr. Isaac Hall, Jr., and others.

6. Elizabeth.

7. Eleanor.

Major Stuart's second wife was Mrs. Mary Paxton, widow of Samuel Paxton, by whom she had a son named Samuel. Her maiden name was Mary Moore, and she was an aunt of the Mary Moore who is known as "the Captive of Abb's Valley." Her Stuart children were James, Priscilla, (wife of Benjamin Hall), Alexander and Benjamin. Alexander was Judge of the United States Court in Missouri, father of Hon. Archibald Stuart, of Patrick county, and grandfather of General J. E. B. Stuart of Confederate fame.

III. *Benjamin Stuart*, whose children were—

1. Major Archibald Stuart, the Captain Stuart of the war of 1812. His sons were Andrew and Benjamin.

2. John, who removed to Indiana.

3. Mrs. Nancy Alexander, mother of Dr. Cyrus Alexander.

4. Mrs. Mary McClung.

5. Mrs. Bettie Allen, second wife of Dr. James Allen.

IV. *Eleanor*, daughter of Archibald and Janet Stuart, married Edward Hall, a native of North Ireland, who came to the Valley in 1736, and settled on South river, six miles above Waynesborough. They were married April 24, 1744, and had ten children, several of whom died young. Those who lived to maturity were—

1. Isaac Hall, Sr., born May 12, 1747, and studied medicine in Scotland. He jilted his cousin, Miss Jenny Stuart, and suffered the penalty, as stated. His wife was Martha Everard, of Petersburg, where he resided.

2. Sally Hall, born December 19, 1751, and married Captain James Tate, who was killed in the battle of Guilford. She afterwards married Hugh Fulton.

3. Thomas Hall, born August 31, 1754.—twice married.

4. Elizabeth Hall, born December 27, 1756, married Colonel Andrew Fulton. Judge Andrew Fulton, of Wythe, and John H. Fulton, M. C., of the Wythe District, were sons of Andrew and Elizabeth Fulton.

5. Alexander Hall, born May 24, 1759, inherited his father's homestead. Married his cousin, Mary Patterson Stuart, daughter of Major Alexander Stuart, and sister of Judge Archibald Stuart. Among his children were Mrs. Eleanor Douglass, Alexander S. Hall, Dr. Isaac Hall, Jr., and others.

6. Benjamin Hall, born February 17, 1765, married his cousin, Priscilla Stuart, and removed to Missouri.

7. John Hall, born May 31, 1767, settled in North Carolina, and was a Judge of the Supreme Court of that State.

DAVID STUART.—Withers states in his *Border Warfare* that a John Stuart married the widow of John Paul, and came to Virginia in 1752, with Governor Dinwiddie. It was David Stuart, however, Captain and Colonel Stuart of the Indian wars, who married the widow Paul. It is stated that John Paul was killed during the rebellion in Scotland, in 1745. He left two sons, one of whom was a Catholic priest in Maryland, and the other Capt. Audley Paul; and two daughters, Ann and Mary. According to tradition, David Stuart and the widow Paul were married in Wales, and her children came with her to America.

If David Stuart ever was a protege of Dinwiddie, he soon lost the Governor's good-will, as many of the Dinwiddie letters express great dislike to Stuart. The probability is that Stuart had no personal connection with Governor Dinwiddie. He certainly settled in the Valley long before Dinwiddie became Governor of the Colony. A David Stuart, an adult, was baptized by Mr. Craig January 21, 1747, "after profession of faith and obedience." Colonel Stuart is said to have lost his life by drowning in the Shenandoah river.

The will of David Stuart was admitted to record March 19, 1767. It was written by himself, and its meaning is doubtful in several particulars. The testator mentioned his wife Margaret, his son John, his daughters "Sebing" [Sabina] and Elizabeth, and his wife's daughter, Mary "Pall" [Paul]. The will appointed William Lewis and George Mathews executors; but the former declining to serve, Mathews and Andrew Lewis qualified as administrators with the will annexed.

Ann Paul was the wife of George Mathews. Her sister, Mary, did not marry.

I. *John Stuart*, son of David, is well known as Colonel John Stuart, of Greenbrier. He was born in Augusta, March 27, 1749, [Johnston's *Old Clerks*]. If the date of his birth is correctly given, he was only twenty years of age when he, with Robert McClanahan, Thomas Renick and William Hamilton, went to Greenbrier, in 1769, and made the first permanent settlement in that region. McClanahan was only a few months older. Stuart was a Captain in Colonel Fleming's regiment at Point Pleasant, in 1774. In 1778, a party of Indians assailed Fort Donnally, eight miles north of the site of Lewisburg, then called Fort Union. Stuart was at the latter place, and organizing a force, went to the relief of Donnally. The Indians were defeated, and never again invaded that region.

After the organization of Greenbrier county Colonel Stuart was appointed Clerk of the County Court, and held the office from 1780 until 1807. At the end of the first deed-book he copied his "Memoir,"

from which we have made copious extracts. His wife was Agatha, daughter of Thomas Lewis, and widow of Captain John Frogg, who was killed at Point Pleasant, to whom he was married in 1778. His death occurred August 23, 1823. He had four children, viz:

1. Margaret, wife of Andrew Lewis, of Mason county, a son of Colonel Charles Lewis.

2. Jane, wife of Robert Crockett, of Wythe county, and mother of the late Charles S. Crockett and of the first wife of Judge James E. Brown, of Wythe. [Judge Brown was a son of Judge John Brown, the first Chancellor of the Staunton District, and was reared at Staunton. His second wife was a daughter of Judge Alexander Stuart. Her only son (Alexander Stuart Brown), who died early, was a young man of brilliant promise.]

3. Charles A. Stuart, whose wife was Elizabeth Robinson.

4. Lewis Stuart, married Sarah Lewis, of Bath county, a granddaughter of Colonel Charles Lewis. He succeeded his father as clerk in 1807, and died in 1837. His children were five sons—John, Charles A., Lewis, Henry, and John—and four daughters. One of his daughters was the wife of the late Samuel Price, at one time Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, and afterwards United States Senator from West Virginia. The others were Mrs. A. W. G. Davis, Mrs. Charles L. Peyton, and Mrs. James W. Davis.

II. *Sabina Stuart*, daughter of David Stuart, married first a Wilson, and secondly a Williams. Her daughter, Margaret Lynn Williams, married Thomas Creigh, and was the mother of (1) David Creigh, (2) Dr. Thomas Creigh, (3) Mrs. Watson, wife of Judge Watson, of Charlottesville, (4) Mrs. John R. Woods, (5) Mrs. Preston, wife of the Rev. David Preston.

III. *Elizabeth Stuart*, daughter of David Stuart, married Colonel Richard Woods, of Albemarle.

JOHN STUART.—The Rev. Robert Stuart, of Kentucky, in a brief memoir found among his papers after his death, states that his grand-parents came from the north of Ireland and settled on Walker's Creek, in Borden's tract. Mr. Stuart was born in 1772 and distinctly remembered his grandmother. He does not mention the names of his grand-parents. They brought with them to America an infant son named John. Another son was born here, but died young, and there were no other children.

We find from old deeds that John Stuart and Robert Stuart were among the early settlers in "Borden's tract," and that their lands were contiguous. Of Robert we have no other information. He may have been the father of the John Stuart just mentioned and grandfather of the Rev. Robert Stuart, but the descendants of the latter think the grandfather was named John.

Benjamin Borden, Sr., who died in 1742, sold several tracts of land to John Stuart. One of these was not conveyed till Benjamin

Borden, Jr., made the deed, in 1752. The tract is described as 313 acres, being a part of Borden's "large grant of 92,100 acres." A John Stuart—no doubt the person just mentioned—was one of the signers to the "call" to the Rev. John Brown, in 1752, to become pastor of Timber Ridge and New Providence churches.

Next we find that Joseph Mays conveyed to John Stuart a half acre lot in Staunton in 1757, lot No. 3 at southwest corner of Beverley and Augusta streets. On September 6, 1762, John Stuart and Sarah, his wife, conveyed one-half of the lot to Thomas Lewis, Andrew Lewis and William Preston. Stuart then lived on the other half, as appears from the deed. The part retained in 1762 was conveyed by Stuart and wife, in 1764, to Israel Christian. In 1765 John Stuart executed to David Stuart a bill of sale for a negro woman and child and four feather beds.

The John Stuart, who was a party to the various deeds referred to, is presumed to have been the same person who settled in Borden's tract, and the reputed brother of Archibald and David Stuart. His permanent home was on Walker's Creek, six miles west of Brownsburg. During Indian times his dwelling was fortified to resist attacks, and several Lochaber-axes and other ancient weapons are still preserved by his descendants. It would seem that, feeling insecure on Walker's Creek, he removed to Staunton in or about the year 1757, and remained there till 1764 or 1765, when the Indian wars of that period were over.

John Stuart, only child of his parents, was born in 1740 and succeeded to his father's estate. He married Elizabeth Walker and lived and died on Walker's Creek. During the Revolutionary war he served as a soldier, and at the battle of Guilford was an officer. According to a family tradition, he visited Ireland in 1786 and brought back with him a considerable sum of money. He died in 1831, when fully ninety years of age. His children were—

1. James Stuart, who when a youth served in the American army at Yorktown. He settled at Orangeburg, S. C., and became wealthy. Marrying a widow lady, originally Miss Ann Sabb, he had one child, who became the wife of William L. Lewis, a grandson of Colonel William Lewis and great-grandson of John Lewis. His grandson, Dr. James Stuart Lewis, lives in Florida.

2. Mary Stuart, daughter of John and Elizabeth, married William Walker and had three sons and two daughters. Her descendants are Walkers, Rowans, Browns, Stricklers, etc.

3. John Stuart, married Virginia Wardlaw and removed to Missouri.

4. Robert Stuart, D. D., born in 1772, educated at Liberty Hall Academy and Washington College, licensed as a Presbyterian minister in 1795, and went to Kentucky before the year 1800. For some years he was a professor in Transylvania University. He died in 1856. His wife was Hannah Todd, daughter of General Levi Todd. Among his children were John Todd Stuart, a distinguished citizen of Illinois; Robert Stuart, of Missouri; the Rev. David Stuart, one of

whose sons, (Rev. John T. Stuart, is a missionary in China; and the Rev. S. D. Stuart, of Abingdon, Virginia. The only son of the last named (Addison Waddell Stuart), a noble youth, died in the Confederate army in 1863, in the eighteenth year of his age.

5. Joseph Stuart, died of yellow fever in Charleston, S. C., unmarried.

6. Hugh Stuart, married Betsy Walker and lived on Walker's Creek. He was the father of Mrs. Andrew Patterson.

7. Alexander Stuart, married a Miss Walker and lived on Walker's Creek. He had no children.

8. Walker Stuart, married Mary McClure and lived at the ancestral home. He had four sons, (John H., William W., Alexander and James J.); and one daughter, Mary, wife of James Brown. W. C. Stuart, of Lexington, is a son of James J. Stuart; and the Rev. C. G. Brown, a missionary in Japan, is a son of James and Mary Stuart Brown.

The male descendants of Judge Archibald Stuart are nearly extinct. His oldest son, Thomas Jefferson Stuart, had two sons, both of whom died young. The elder of the two, Colonel William D. Stuart, was mortally wounded at the battle of Gettysburg.

The Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart, Judge Stuart's fourth and youngest son, had three sons, all of whom were cut off in the prime of life and unmarried. The eldest, Briscoe Baldwin Stuart, called for his maternal grandfather, Judge Briscoe G. Baldwin, was a lawyer of great promise. He was about to marry a young lady of Louisiana, and in 1859, while on his way to consummate the engagement, the Mississippi steamboat, on which he was a passenger, was blown up, and he was so badly scalded that he died in a short time. His age was only twenty-three. The next son, Alexander H. H., Jr., (called Sandy), while a cadet at the Virginia Military Institute, participated in the battle of New Market and continued in the military service till the war ended. He then entered the University of Virginia as a student and pursued his studies with great success; but at the close of the session of 1867, he contracted fever and died in July following, aged twenty-one years. The third son, Archibald Gerard, a talented young lawyer, died in 1885, aged twenty-seven, after a protracted period of ill-health. While a student at the University, he achieved great distinction, being awarded "the debater's medal" by the Jefferson Society.

John A. Stuart, a highly respectable farmer of Augusta county, who also was with the cadets at New Market, is a son of Archibald P. Stuart, Judge Stuart's second son.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM 1800 TO 1812.

Before the year 1800, Staunton was thronged every summer and fall with people going to and returning from "The Springs." The Warm and Sweet Springs were then much frequented by invalids and pleasure seekers.

Dr. William Boys, long a prominent physician in Staunton, and the first physician of the Western Lunatic Asylum, came here from Philadelphia about the beginning of the last century, having received his professional education in Edinburgh, Scotland. He was a cousin of John Boys, heretofore mentioned, and their wives were sisters, daughters of Alexander St. Clair.*

From the books of the commissioners of the revenue for the year 1800, we obtain some interesting facts. The number of tithables in the county, including Staunton, was 3,236. The number of horses was 6,088. The cattle were not listed. Four-wheeled riding carriages were taxed, but gigs were not; and the number of the former in the county was exactly two, viz: Thomas Martin's "stage," and Archibald Stuart's "chariot." The total tax was $1,557.78.

Twenty-five merchants doing business in the county, paid license tax the same year, and among them appear the still familiar names of John McDowell, Jacob Swoope, Andrew Barry, John Wayt, Joseph Cowan, Alexander St. Clair, Peter Hanger and others.

Joseph Cowan was a conspicuous citizen of the county for many years, although he never held any public office, except that of treasurer of the Western Lunatic Asylum. He was a native of the north of Ireland, and possessed all the characteristics of his race in a prominent degree. There was no bank in Staunton during his time, and he acted as banker for many citizens of the county. His store was a

* Another daughter of Alexander St. Clair was the wife of Captain Robert Williamson, a sea captain in the mercantile service, and by birth a Scotchman. Captain Williamson spent most of his life on the ocean, voyaging to and from China, Archangel, and other foreign countries. His family resided in Philadelphia till the war of 1812 banished trading vessels from the sea. He then removed to Staunton and engaged in merchandising, in partnership, at different times, with Mr. Cowan and Captain John C. Sowers. He is described as a man of vigorous mind, exemplary character, and ardently religious. His death occurred in 1823.

favorite place of resort for elderly men. He was an elder in the Presbyterian church, and very rigid in his observance of the Sabbath day.

Dr. Alexander Humphreys, who died in Staunton, in 1802, and whose family afterwards removed to Kentucky, seems to have been the solitary practising physician in the county in 1800. Still the lawyers were not listed by Commissioners of the Revenue. General Samuel Blackburn was living here, and was at the zenith of his fame as an advocate. He afterwards removed to his estate, called the Wilderness, in Bath county, where he spent the latter years of his life.

Another citizen of the county, in 1800, must not be omitted. The Rev. John Glendy, D. D., was born in Londonderry, Ireland, June 24, 1755, and educated at the University of Glasgow. For several years he was pastor of a Presbyterian church at Londonderry. When the rebellion of 1798 occurred, his course was obnoxious to the government, and an order was issued for his arrest. After concealing himself in various places, he gave himself up for trial. He always declared that he had taken no active part in the rebellion, but, nevertheless, he was convicted, and sentenced to perpetual banishment. He and his wife were compelled to embark for America in an old vessel, which, in distress, put in at Norfolk. This was in 1799. Mr. Glendy preached at Norfolk, and attracted much attention by his oratory. The climate of lower Virginia proved unfavorable to Mrs. Glendy's health, and by advice of a physician he came to Staunton. Here he was employed by the Presbyterians of the town and of Bethel congregation to minister to them temporarily. On the 22d of February, 1800, he delivered in Staunton a eulogy of Washington, of which two editions were printed. By invitation of President Jefferson, he visited Washington city, and there delivered an address in the Capitol, which excited much admiration. Soon afterwards he became pastor of a church in Baltimore. He was chosen chaplain to the lower house of Congress in 1806, and to the Senate in 1815. About the year 1822, the University of Maryland conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. His style of oratory is said to have indicated his common nationality with Curran and Philips. His popular address and talents, in connection with the important places he occupied, and the fact of his being an exile from his native land, gave him easy access to the highest classes of society. He died October 4, 1832.*

* The late Robert J. Glendy, of Bath, and Capt. Robert Guy and William Guy, of Augusta, were nephews of Dr. Glendy. The father of Robert and William Guy, whose wife was a Miss Glendy, was implicated in the Irish Rebellion of 1798, and settled in Augusta in 1804.

At a County Court held July 30, 1800, the "Rates" for ordinaries were fixed as follows: Breakfast or supper, 25 cents; dinner, 42 cents; lodging per night, 12½ cents; servant's diet, 16 cents; Madeira wine per quart, $1.25; Port wine, 83 cents; Sherry, $1; whiskey per gill, 4 cents; corn or oats per gallon, 12½ cents.

In the year 1802, another change was made in the judiciary system of the State. Four chancery districts were then constituted, and John Brown was elected by the Legislature "judge of the court of chancery for the upper district." At the time of his election, Judge Brown resided in Hardy county, but he immediately removed to Staunton, where he was required to hold terms of his court. He sat also in Lewisburg and Wytheville. The first Chancery Court was held in Staunton, July 1, 1802. Henry J. Peyton was the first clerk of this court, and William S. Eskridge was the second and last. William Kinney, Sr., was its "sergeant-at-arms." Among the lawyers who qualified to practice in the court, on the day it opened, were Edmund Randolph, James Breckinridge, Daniel Sheffey, Chapman Johnson and Edward Graham. Of these, only Mr. Johnson resided in Staunton. Mr. Sheffey lived at that time in Wythe, and did not remove to Staunton till some twenty years afterwards.

Judge Brown died in 1826. His successor was Judge Allen Taylor of Botetourt, who presided in the court till 1831, when another change was made in the judiciary system.

In connection with the foregoing, we may state here that, in 1809, circuit courts of law, instead of district courts, were established by act of assembly. The counties of the State were arranged in circuits, and one of the judges of the general court was required to hold terms in every county. Judge Stuart then became sole judge of the circuit of which Augusta was a part. Chesley Kinney, by appointment of the Judge, was Clerk of the Circuit Court of law for Augusta county, till 1828, when his son, Nicholas C. Kinney, was appointed.

The system of two distinct courts, one of law and the other of chancery, continued till the year 1831.

From the year 1800 to the year 1860, emigration and immigration were the order of the day in Augusta county. The sons of farmers and others, descendants of early settlers, were enticed away by the low prices of rich lands in the west, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. Often whole families sold out their lands here, and left in search of new homes near the frontier of civilization; and sometimes several families, neighbors and friends, went together to form a congenial settlement elsewhere. The emigrants packed in wagons their

provisions, clothing, bedding, and such cherished articles as they could not leave behind, and spent weeks on the road, camping out at night. The descendants of Augusta people in the States just named, must number many thousands. Some forty years ago, a citizen of Augusta was visiting relations in central Illinois, when two other citizens of the county arrived on horseback. The latter stated that after crossing the Ohio river, they had spent every night at the house of an Augusta man.

The places of the emigrants were taken by immigrants from Pennsylvania and the lower valley, generally people of German descent—the most thrifty of farmers—and thus the country suffered no loss in population.

For some years Mississippi was the Eldorado which attracted young men who desired to embark in business—lawyers, doctors and clerks; many of these, however, drifted back to their old homes. Our farming and grazing population were never much inclined towards the cotton growing States and Territories.

Until the year 1802, Staunton was governed by trustees, like other villages. Early in that year, however, the freeholders and housekeepers of the town met at the county courthouse and elected twelve freeholders to act as Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen and Common Councilmen, pursuant to an act of the State Legislature passed December 23, 1801; and on March 20, 1802, the persons so elected met and organized the town government. The first Mayor was Jacob Swoope; Recorder, John Bowyer; Aldermen, John McDowell, Walter Herron, Jacob Lease and Michael Garber; Councilmen, David Greiner, William Chambers, Samuel Blackburn, Michael Harman, Andrew Harouff, and Philip Hopkins; Clerk of Council, Vincent Tapp. None of those officers, except the clerk, received pay.

The Aldermen, with either the Mayor or Recorder, constituted the Hustings Court, which had the same jurisdiction in town that the County Court had over county officers, except that the Common Council levied taxes, passed police ordinances etc.

On the 29th of April, 1802, the council appointed a committee in regard to the erection of a market house, to furnish rooms for the District Court of Chancery, for the common hall, clerk's offices, etc. The contract for building the house was awarded to Jacob Swoope. In October, 1802, the town council gave up the building to the county, on condition that the county finish it so as to furnish the apartments mentioned. This was the brick house which stood till 1835, on Courthouse alley, next to Augusta street.

On May 1, 1802, the council passed an ordinance requiring persons living on Augusta, New and Courthouse streets, and on Beverley "as far as the bridge," to erect railings on the street, in front of their premises, to enclose the sidewalks.

On the same day, an ordinance was passed prohibiting the passage of wagons, carts and drays through the town on the Sabbath day, under the penalty of $3.50 for each offence, but it was repealed the next year.

In the fall of 1803 the people of Staunton and Augusta county were thrown into a hubbub of excitement in regard to a notorious character called Bob Bailey. A brief sketch of this man will be read with interest, and is not out of place here. He was born, according to his own account, in Culpeper county, in 1773. His father having been killed at the battle of the Cowpens, and his mother being poor, he was thrown upon his own resources at an early age. But he was industrious and enterprising, and got along remarkably well, with very little education, however. In 1791, when he was eighteen years old, he was employed as overseer by Major John Hays, of Hays' Creek, Rockbridge He was sent to Staunton for Dr. Humphreys, and the conversation, during his ride back with the doctor, determined him to come to Staunton, possibly to study medicine. To Staunton he came, and, attending a 22d of February ball, had the Widow Bosang as a partner in the dance.* As we have seen, John Bosang was one of the five ordinary keepers in Staunton in 1787. His tavern was on the northwest corner of Main and Lewis streets, near the Methodist church, where a brick house now stands. After his death his widow, who appears to have been a matron of good repute, continued the business at the old stand. In an evil hour for her she encountered the handsome young stranger, was captivated, and after a short courtship agreed to marry him, he being about nineteen years of age, and she twenty-eight or thirty. For a time the youthful husband devoted himself to tavern-keeping and prospered. He then concluded to become a merchant also, and went to Philadelphia with a lot of horses to barter for goods. There he was introduced to the gaming-table, was fascinated, and soon became an adept at card-playing. For about twenty years he pursued that nefarious business.

While he was living in Staunton, or claiming a residence here, the fall term of the district court, 1802, came on. The court opened

*The anniversary of General Washington's birth began to be celebrated during his life, as appears above. The first celebration of the sort is said to have been in Alexandria, and the General attended the ball.

on the 1st day of September, Judges St. George Tucker and Joseph Jones presiding. John Coalter, afterwards judge, was clerk of the court. Philip Grymes resigned the office of prosecuting attorney on an early day of the term and Hugh Nelson was appointed in his place. Chapman Johnson, who had just settled in Staunton, qualified to practice as an attorney. A grand jury was impanelled, and among the members were Alexander Nelson, James Cochran, Robert Doak, Andrew Anderson, Henry McClung, and James Moffett. On the next day the jury brought in a presentment charging that Robert Bailey, at the house of William Chambers, in Staunton, (the Wayne Tavern), "was the keeper and exhibitor of a certain unlawful gaming table called Pharaoh, or Pharaoh Bank." The case having been continued at April term, 1803, came on for trial in September of that year. General Blackburn appeared as counsel for the accused, who kept out of sight in another county. On the 2d of September the petit jury, John Poage, foreman, brought in a verdict of guilty. General Blackburn moved an arrest of judgment, and the court took time to consider. Finally, on the 6th, the motion was overruled, and judgment was rendered that Robert Bailey be deemed and treated as a vagrant; that he be delivered by the sheriff to the overseers of the poor, to be by them hired out for three months for the best wages that could be procured, for the use of the poor; and that he give security in the penalty of five hundred dollars for his good behavior for three years. A *capias* for the arrest of Bailey was awarded, returnable on the first day of the next term.

Bailey was astounded when, at his hiding place in Bath county, he heard the news from Staunton. What a punishment for a gentleman! He says he almost became a lunatic. He did not come forward to be hired out for the use of the poor, and evidently there was no particular desire to capture and detain him for three months in the community. Having, when flush of money, purchased a farm in Botetourt, his family removed there, and for a time he claimed a residence in that county. Wishing to obtain a writ of error he sought to employ Philip Grymes to appear for him in the Court of Appeals. In a letter to that gentleman, he charged that Judge Tucker had offered to compromise the prosecution against him in consideration of a hundred guineas. Mr. Grymes communicated the accusation to the Judge, and he brought it to the attention of the Legislature, with a view to an investigation of his official conduct. Thus the charge became public, and all Augusta was aroused. Many citizens sent down written testimonials as to the respective reputations of Judge Tucker and Bailey,—

General Blackburn, Judge Stuart, Alexander St. Clair, John Wayt, Sr., General Porterfield, Chesley and Jacob Kinney, Jacob Swoope, John McDowell, Joseph Bell, Sr., Judge Brown and others. Bailey, on the other hand, in person or by his friends, got up counter testimonials signed by two or three hundred respectable citizens,—Major Joseph Bell, Jr., Captain Samuel Steele, William Moffett, Jacob Lease, Peter Hanger, John Tate, William Gilkeson, Lawrence Tremper, etc., etc. He showed also that he was Captain of the Staunton Light Infantry Blues, "the finest uniformed company west of the Blue Ridge," and that having been a candidate for the House of Delegates in April, 1803, he was voted for by two hundred and fifty-nine freeholders out of five hundred and sixty-four who voted. Many people evidently rather liked the man,—his utterly reprobate character had not then been fully developed. He was free-handed with his money, and profuse in acts of kindness, and a large number of his acquaintances could not refuse to certify that as tavern-keeper, merchant, and private citizen he was just and fair in his dealings. They all admitted, however, that he was fond of gaming. Bailey published a pamphlet, in which he retorted upon his assailants, saying many hard things about some of them. Of some, such as General Blackburn and Mr. St. Clair, the worst he could say was that they had accepted his hospitality and received him as their guest. Judge Stuart and Judge Brown he affected to brush aside with supreme contempt. Daniel Sheffey, a member of the Legislature from Wythe at the time, was scouted as "a little cobbler." A committee of the Legislature investigated the matter, and Judge Tucker was exonerated, of course.

Bailey gained what was no doubt highly valued by him—increased notoriety. He entered now fully upon his career as a "sportsman"—a gambler he says he never was. A gambler cheats and he always played fair. He was a frequenter of various Virginia summer resorts, especially the Sweet Springs, and extended his operations to Richmond, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Charleston, and New Orleans. He claimed to have visited London and Paris on the same business, but his contemporaries believed he had never been in Europe. At times he rolled in wealth, and moved about with such splendid equipage as to attract general attention. He was then munificent in his benefactions. At other times he was penniless, and depended upon his boon companions for another start in the world. He offered himself as a candidate for Congress in the Botetourt district, and, if he tells the truth, came within three votes of being elected. Although a most amiable man in his own estima-

tion, he was often involved in broils. While living in Staunton he had a fight with Adam Bickle, Sr., and another with Jacob Peck. At the Sweet Springs he fought a duel and wounded his antagonist, but confesses that he was very much frightened. In Washington city he had a street fight with Colonel Isaac Coles, of Albemarle, President Jefferson's private secretary, Coles having ordered him out of the President's mansion at a levee. His fortunes waned when he was still in the prime of life. He had abandoned his family many years before, and at the age of forty-eight he wrote his *Life and Adventures* in a cabin, the best abode he could then command. From a mutilated copy of this book we have taken most of his history as here related. It is as candid as the *Confessions of Rousseau*, giving many details too unchaste for these pages. He warns young men, with apparent sincerity, against ever playing cards. His life, as related by himself, is another proof of the Bible declaration that "the way of the transgressor is hard."

About the year 1818, Bailey was traveling about the country soliciting subscribers for his proposed publication, and came to Staunton, the first time for fifteen years. He ventured into the courthouse, and Judge Stuart, who was on the bench, recognized him and ordered his arrest on account of the affair of 1803. He hurried away, going to the tavern of the widow Mitchell, on the old Winchester road, and she aided him to escape by way of Rockfish Gap, while the sheriff was in search of him down the Valley. He remarks in his book that he did not obtain many subscribers in Augusta.

In 1807, the Common Council of Staunton passed an ordinance prohibiting smoking in the streets, and in 1808 ordered that no fire be kept in the chimney of Philip Clonigee!

Between the years 1800 and 1812, the county received important accessions of professional and business men from abroad. Most of these located in Staunton, and became part and parcel of the county. John C. Sowers, the merchant, Briscoe G. Baldwin, Erasmus Stribling, and the Eskridge brothers came from Frederick county, or thereabouts. Chapman Johnson, came from Louisa county, and the Waddells from the same section. John H. Peyton, the lawyer, and John Randolph, the Middlebrook merchant, came from Stafford county. James A. Frazier, a native of Ireland, was employed as a store boy at Jennings' Gap by Robert McDowell, who afterwards failed in business. Young Frazier held the position, and in the course of time built up an extensive business and one of the largest fortunes ever accumulated in the county. During the earlier part of his

career, Augusta merchants dealt almost exclusively in Philadelphia. They generally made the trip to market, or "below," as the phrase went, twice a year, on horseback, two or more traveling together, carrying Mexican dollars in their saddle-bags.

For several years during the first decade of the present century, Jacob D. Dietrick published a newspaper in Staunton called the *Staunton Eagle*. We know of no complete file of this paper in existence, but several isolated numbers have fallen into our hands. It is almost provoking to find in them so little of local interest. There is hardly ever a line of editorial, and no attempt whatever to report the county and town news. We, however, extract an item here and there from advertisements, communications, or marriage and death announcements. The wars of Napoleon were then in full blast, and the troubles between the United States and Great Britain, which led to the war of 1812, were brewing; and these matters of course occupied much space in the columns; but the editor had no idea of condensing a long article, and two or three dreary documents often occupied all the space devoted to news. The editor was classic and mythological in his taste, and the "make up" of the paper was fanciful and unique. He announced marriages under the head of "Hall of Hymen," and deaths under that of "Repository of Death." The poetry column was styled "Temple of the Muses," and the joke column "Temple of Hilarity." A wide circulation was sought for the paper, and a long list of agents was published, in nearly all the Valley counties in Virginia, and in the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, and South Carolina. Oh, for a file of the *Eagle* or the *Republican Farmer*, got up in the style of our present Staunton newspapers! But we will not be ungrateful, and thanking Mr. Dietrick for the few small favors he has granted us, we regret that more of his issues, such as they were, have not come to our hands.

We learn from an advertisement in the *Eagle* that in October, 1807, James Miller had a paper mill near Staunton. Lots in the town of New York, (Albemarle county), were advertised for sale. Advertisements in the German language appeared in the paper. Miss Smith advertised her "Young Ladies' Academy," at Lexington,—board for five month, $50; tuition, $10. In one issue, under the head "Hall of Hymen," appeared the marriage, by the Rev. Mr. Calhoon, of Mr. Abraham Smith to Miss Juliet Lyle, and of Lieutenant G. W. Sevier, of Tennessee, to Miss Catharine Chambers. In October, 1807, a friend of the editor, "traveling through this place," favored him "with a

copy of the official return of members of the General Assembly for Washington county, Maryland." But not a word of Augusta county news in the issue.

In January, 1808, Mr. Dietrick began to issue a paper in German. In March, the same year, the town authorities were elected, viz: Chapman Johnson, Mayor; John McDowell, Recorder; and Jacob Lease, John C. Sowers, John D. Greiner, and Michael Garber, Aldermen. John Coalter,* then a Staunton lawyer, afterwards Judge of the Court of Appeals, published a communication advocating the election of Mr. Johnson to the House of Delegates, and answering the objection that he was an attorney. Madison and Monroe were then rival candidates for the Presidency of the United States. The Republican politicians of the county were divided, and each faction had a committee of correspondence. The Madison committee were John Coalter, Chapman Johnson, and General John Brown, the chancellor. The Monroe committee consisted of Chesley Kinney, James Cochran, David Parry, Micajah Coalter, and a fifth whose name has been torn out of the newspaper.

The *Eagle* was Republican in politics, and supported the administration of Mr. Jefferson, as far as a newspaper so edited could support any side. It, however, did not survive long in the soil and climate of "Old Federal Augusta."

William G. Lyford started another newspaper, the *Republican Farmer*, in 1808, but soon sold out to Isaac Collett. In his first issue, Collett announced that he was "decidedly a Federal character." His paper was edited on the same plan as the *Eagle*, but survived, in his hands, for twelve or thirteen years.

* Judge Coalter, the son of Michael Coalter, was born a little north of New Providence church, now Rockbridge county. While a young lawyer living at Staunton, Judge Coalter resided at the place then called Elm Grove, on Lewis' creek, half a mile east of town. His circumstances were so poor, that he had to return home every day in time to cut wood for family use; and not being able to keep or hire a horse, he walked to his courts, carrying his clothes and papers in a bag on his shoulders. Afterwards, when a distinguished Judge of the Court of Appeals, he was in the habit of referring to this period as the happiest of his life. His last residence was a handsome seat, called Chatham, on the Rappahannock river, opposite Fredericksburg. He was married four times. His first wife was a Miss Rind, and his second Miss Davenport, both of whom died soon without children. His third wife, the mother of his children, was a daughter of Judge St. George Tucker, and half-sister of John Randolph of Roanoke. His last wife was originally a Miss Jones of Spotsylvania, but a widow when she married Judge Coalter, whom she long survived.

In 1809, General Blackburn was put on trial before the County Court, upon a charge which would now be considered very preposterous. On the 28th of August, the Grand Jury, on the information of George Bittle, presented the General "for exacting illegal fees, to wit: $3 for an opinion when no suit was brought, and $6 for fee in an Inferior Court." James Allen was foreman of the jury, and among the members were Jacob Bumgardner, James Tate, James A. McCue, James Bell and Peter Heiskell. The trial came off October 23, 1809, and "the merits of this presentment being fully argued and considered," the case was dismissed at the cost of Bittle.

Jacob Swoope, of Staunton, was the member of Congress from the Augusta district in the years 1809–1811. Party spirit ran high in those days. Mr. Swoope was leader of the Federalists, and Judge Stuart of the Republicans. Both parties had balls in Staunton, to which their adherents in the county were invited, with their wives and children. Each had also street processions, headed by its chief. Mr. Swoope's competitor, when he was elected, was Daniel Smith, then a young lawyer in Rockingham. Swoope could speak German, while Smith could not, and the German people of the district generally voted for the former.

Mr. Swoope declined a re-election, and General Samuel Blackburn, then of Bath, was announced as the Federalist candidate. William McCoy, of Pendleton, came forward as the Republican candidate. The election was held on April court day, 1811. At that time, and for long afterwards, elections were not held as now, on the same day, throughout the State, or even district, but the people of each county voted at their April court. Augusta, Bath and Hardy, gave majorities for Blackburn, but Pendleton and Rockingham, the other two counties of the district, carried the day for McCoy, who was elected by a majority of one hundred and thirty-five votes. At the same time Chapman Johnson was elected to represent Augusta in the State Senate, and A. Fulton and A. Anderson were elected delegates. The whole vote cast in Augusta at the election was seven hundred and eighty-five, the right of suffrage being restricted to freeholders.

William McCoy held the seat in Congress till 1833. Daniel Sheffey represented the Wythe district in the House of Representatives from 1809 to 1817, and afterwards removed to Staunton. In due time he presented himself as the Federalist candidate against McCoy, but in vain. On election day in Pendleton, he was there to confront his adversary at home, but on his return reported that "it was

nothing but Hiner, Greiner and McCoy," the first two being candidates for the Legislature.

Although the trustees of the Staunton Academy were incorporated in 1792, their school-house seems not to have been completed till about 1810. Judge Stuart gave the lot. A part of the funds employed was raised by general subscription in the county, and a part was donated by the State out of proceeds of sale of glebe lands. The Masonic fraternity also had an interest in the building, occupying an upper room as their hall. In the year last named, the principals of the academy were James G. Waddell and Bartholomew Fuller. The former taught the classics, and the latter mathematics.

For nearly seventy years—until the building was turned over to the trustees of public free schools—a succession of teachers had charge of the academy. In 1833, Lyttleton Waddell and William D. Cooke became joint principals. The latter continued for a short time only, but the former conducted the school for more than twenty years. During most of that time, the institution was highly prosperous, attracting many pupils from abroad.

Colonel Robert Porterfield was elected Brigadier-General of State troops in 1810, and appointed Mr. John H. Peyton his chief of staff.

There is some uncertainty in regard to the date of Colonel Porterfield's election to the office of Brigadier-General. He was called General in 1808, as we learn from a letter written by John Coalter, afterwards Judge, and published in the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. X, p. 24. The facts in connection with this letter are interesting.

It seems that, on the 17th of September, 1808, a meeting of citizens of Augusta county was held at Chambers' tavern, in Staunton, to consider the state of the country. From 130 to 150 persons attended. General Porterfield was called to the chair, and an address and series of resolutions, prepared by Carter Beverley, were adopted and ordered to be published. The purport of the address and resolutions appears to have been a severe denunciation of the Federal authorities on account of their relations with Great Britain. Mr. Jefferson was President, and John Tyler, Sr., was Governor of Virginia.

The State Executive in council wrote to Mr. Coalter, a practising lawyer, requesting him to enquire as to the connection of General Porterfield with the address, to ascertain the facts by regular affidavits, and transmit them to the Executive. The object must have been to arraign the General before some tribunal, probably a court-martial.

Mr. Coalter declined to make the inquiry. He regretted that any portion of the people should entertain such opinions of our National Government as those contained in the address and resolutions referred to. "Yet," he said, "if such are their honest opinions, ought they to conceal them, or ought their patriotism and love of country be drawn in question on that ground?" He had long known the chairman and a number of the men who voted for the address and resolutions, and believed they would be as far from knowingly opposing the Government in any improper way as any people." He earnestly believed that no sin of disloyalty to the Government would be committed by any man in the county of Augusta.

We have no further information in regard to the matter. As will appear hereafter, General Porterfield was actively engaged during the war of 1812–15 in organizing troops and sending them to the field. He did not lose the confidence of the State authorities. In July, 1812, Governor Barbour appointed him one of the commissioners from the State for ascertaining and establishing the line between the lands reserved for Revolutionary soldiers of the Virginia line, west of the Ohio river, and he recommended Samuel Clarke, of Staunton, as surveyor to run the line. While attending to this business, he had the misfortune to break one of his legs by a fall from his horse. In 1814, he was appointed by the Governor to explore the grounds where the enemy might attempt to land on York and James Rivers, and the country over which they would probably march on their route to Richmond. He performed this service, and his report is published in Vol. X of the Calendar, p. 382.

The population of the county in 1810 was 14,338; Staunton, 1,225; Waynesborough, 250; Greenville, 162; and Middlebrook, 66. The number of slaves in the county was 2,880.

The Fourth of July* was celebrated with much enthusiasm during the earlier years of the century. In 1810 William Clarke delivered the annual oration. From the *Republican Farmer* we extract the following account of the celebration in 1811: "The day was announced by one discharge from the artillery of Captain McCue's company at daybreak, and seventeen at sunrise. About 12 o'clock the artillery company and Captain Poage's troop of cavalry paraded the streets of Staunton, and marched to Mr. Peter Heiskell's spring, about a mile from town, when, after hearing a short address suitable

* The celebration of the Fourth of July began before the close of the Revolutionary war. Capt. Davis of Wayne's Pennsylvania continentals, mentions in his Diary, the celebration by the army, in lower Virginia, July 4th, 1781.

to the occasion, delivered by Briscoe G. Baldwin, a soldier of the artillery company, they dined on an excellent barbecue." Then follow the toasts. In the evening the military returned to town, and performed "several interesting evolutions." "Seventeen discharges from the cannon," continues the *Farmer*, "closed the celebration of the day. The citizens who did not belong to the military companies, enjoyed a barbecue feast at Mr. John McDowell's spring. At night a large and respectable company formed a dancing party at Mrs. Chambers' tavern. It was observed by a polite and intelligent stranger that he had never seen such a collection of beautiful ladies."

The *Farmer* of August 16, 1811, announced that the mail stage would leave Winchester every Friday at 7 A. M., and arrive at Staunton on Sunday at 4 P. M.; and leave Staunton every Monday at 4 A. M., and arrive at Winchester on Tuesday by 10 P. M.

In the *Farmer* of September 6, 1811, we find an advertisement by General Porterfield in regard to the training of officers, and regimental musters of the various regiments of his brigade. James Brown was the brigade inspector.

Henry Miller, the founder of Miller's Iron Works, having died, his administrators, Samuel Miller and John M. Estell, advertised for sale, September 6, 1811, the furnace and forge, with eight thousand acres of land, "supposed to be the most valuable property of the kind in Virginia."

"A matter of common concern," was advertised in September, 1811. Robert Porterfield, William Boys, John Coalter, Erasmus Stribling and John Brown, managers, invited subscriptions to the stock of a company to construct a road from Rockfish Gap to Scott's landing, on James river. The capital of the company was $60,000, shares $25 each, dividends anticipated fifteen per cent! This scheme came to naught. Many years before, the justices of Augusta and Rockbridge counties were authorized by act of assembly to appropriate money for repairing the road over the Blue Ridge at Rockfish Gap.

George Alfred advertised his "Universal Spelling-Book" in 1811.*

* George Alfred was a famous "Old Field School-master" in his day. The writer knew him well ("and every truant knew") many years after 1811, when he kept his school in an ancient building on Lewis street, called "The Wash-house."

"Yet he was kind, or if severe in aught,
The love he bore to learning was his fault."

He was a large and venerable-looking man. One 4th of July is vividly remembered. Devoted to his calling, Mr. Alfred made no announcement before-

The market prices at Richmond were as follows: October 10, 1811, wheat $1.09, superfine flour $7.50, bacon 12¾ cents, whiskey 54 cents; October 24th, wheat $1.50, flour $8.25, whiskey 44 cents.

The *Republican Farmer* of November 8, 1811, contained an editorial! It advocated the "Augusta Society for the Promotion of Agriculture."

The first number of the paper issued by Collett, published an extract from a speech by Daniel Sheffey, then a member of Congress from the Wytheville district, in opposition to the threatened war with Great Britain. But the war came on, notwithstanding. The militia of Rockbridge were full of patriotism and military ardor. One whole regiment of twelve hundred men, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel James McDowell, convened at Lexington, November 14, 1811, and offered their services to the President of the United States.

The Common Council of Staunton passed an ordinance, July 14, 1813, for "establishing a market." It provided for holding a market twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and prescribed the "market limits," around the court-house and jail. The only house was an open shed below the jail, in which stalls were erected in 1818. The Rev. William King was elected "clerk of the market."

Chancellor John Brown.

From a sketch of Judge Brown, published in "Historical Papers, No. 3, 1893," Washington & Lee University, we extract most of the following facts in regard to that prominent gentleman:

He was born, October 5, 1762, and spent his boyhood, not far from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

In the years 1782 and 1783, he was a student at Liberty Hall Academy, at Lexington, which afterwards became Washington College, and finally Washington & Lee University. He was doubtless attracted to Liberty Hall by the rector, the Rev. William Graham, who was probably an early acquaintance in Pennsylvania. Long afterwards, while residing at Staunton, Judge Brown was a trustee of the college.

Among his associates at the Academy were Col. James McDowell, Judge Archibald Stuart, Rev. Archibald Alexander, and Judge

hand of the usual holiday, and the boys conspired to "bar him out." Getting into the house before he arrived, and fastening all the doors and windows, they prevented his entrance. He took it in good part, however, and there was no school that day. When quite an old man he issued an arithmetic.

John Coalter. With one of his school-mates, Henry J. Peyton, he spent part of a vacation at the home of the latter, near Winchester, and there became acquainted with Miss Frances Peyton, of Westmoreland county, also a guest and niece of the host. Her attractions soon charmed him; but she at first made light of the attentions of the somewhat unpolished Scotch-Irish youth. Afterwards, however, she was won by his sterling merit, and they were married February 21, 1784.

After his marriage, young Brown studied law and located in Moorefield, Hardy county, to practice his profession. Having acquired distinction as a lawyer, he was elected chancellor of "the upper district," in 1802, and removed to Staunton. His residence was called Spring Farm, now embraced in Gypsy Hill Park. He died on October 6, 1826. His widow survived till May 14, 1851, and was the first person interred in Thornrose Cemetery.

Judge Brown's children were, Margaret, wife of William S. Eskridge; Martha, wife of Judge Briscoe G. Baldwin; and James Ewell Brown, long a Judge of the Circuit Court, whose residence was at Wytheville.

CHAPTER XVI.

FROM THE YEAR 1812 TO THE YEAR 1825.

A majority of the voters of Augusta county no doubt sympathized with Daniel Sheffey and other statesmen of the same school in their opposition to the measures which brought on the war of 1812; but when the war arose, no unpatriotic spirit was exhibited in the county. General Porterfield, Colonel Doak, and other officers, although staunch Federalists, exerted themselves to the utmost to prepare the Augusta militia for the field. The war, however, did not approach our borders, and very few of our people actually participated in the conflict. Nicholas C. Kinney and George Eskridge, young lieutenants in the regular army, served for a time on the northern frontier.

We quote from the files of the *Republican Farmer*, as far as we have them:

William Patrick, one of the overseers of the poor of Augusta county, published a card, stating that the glebe land was sold in 1802 for £800; that the money had been loaned out, and in January, 1812, amounted to £1,200, and asking the people of the county to decide what use should be made of the money, whether for the poor or the Staunton Academy.

As we learn from published military notices, in March, 1812, Christopher Morris was Captain of the Staunton Light Infantry Blues, Moses McCue of the Staunton Artillery, and Briscoe G. Baldwin of the Staunton Infantry Company. We shall hereafter have a brief notice of Captain Morris' company. John C. Sowers was First Lieutenant of the Staunton Artillery, and soon became the Captain. This company and Captain Baldwin's will appear again.

"A gentleman, direct from Washington city," informed the editor, in April, 1812, that an embargo had been laid for ninety days. This important news was received at that day, no doubt, "in advance of the mails."

Lieutenant Allison, of the Fifth United States infantry, recruiting in Staunton, advertised a reward of $10 for the apprehension of a deserter.

On April court day, 1812, Colonel Andrew Anderson and Colonel Robert Doak were elected to represent Augusta in the House of Delegates. Claudius Buster, another Federalist, was also a candidate, as was Captain William Abney, a Democrat, or Republican. Anderson received 535 votes, and Abney 299, which probably shows the relative strength of the two political parties in the county.

On the 19th of April, 1812, the *Republican Farmer* published Governor Barbour's general orders, calling for Virginia's quota of troops, twelve thousand men, to be organized and ready to march at a moment's warning. The Seventh Brigade of militia was required to furnish seven hundred and thirty-five men. Five companies already organized, however,—two in Augusta, two in Rockingham, and one in Shenandoah,—of fifty men each, were credited to the quota called for from the brigade, leaving four hundred and eighty-five infantry of the line to be raised. The Augusta companies referred to were: Captain Steele's rifle company, and Captain McCue's artillery. Captain Steele was a nephew of the Revolutionary soldier of the same name, heretofore mentioned.

Major McCue's, (as the Captain was then and afterwards called), stable was burnt, in May, 1812, and the editor was aroused to write a few lines about it, showing that he could write if he only chose to do so. See what he said: "It is to be hoped that the avenging spirit of unerring justice, will yet drag from his covert the fiend-like incendiary, and immolate him upon the altar of violated rights."

Fortification and gunnery were taught at this time at the Staunton Academy.

General Porterfield issued brigade orders, May 20, 1812, for raising the quota of the Seventh Brigade. The Thirty-second regiment was required to furnish ninety men, with two captains, one lieutenant and one ensign; and the Ninety-third, ninety-four men, with one captain, two lieutenants, and two ensigns. Major William Bell, commanding the Thirty-second, ordered a regimental muster at Hanger's on the 2d of June. If the editor of the *Farmer* ever knew what took place at that muster, he kept it a profound secret. His readers could never learn from his columns.

All this while war had not been declared. But on the 25th of June, 1812, the *Farmer* published, in large type, the act of Congress, passed on the 18th, declaring that war existed between the United States and Great Britain.

During the month of June an effort was made to establish a military school at Staunton, but it did not succeed. Captain George Turner, however, taught military tactics here.

The Fourth of July was celebrated at Staunton by a salute in the morning from the field pieces of the artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Sowers, and a dinner at McDowell's spring ; and at Greenville by a parade of Captain Abney's and Captain Doak's infantry companies, and Captain Dold's cavalry, and a barbecue on Thomas Jackson's land.

The recruiting officers of the United States army seem to have had a hard time of it. In July, Captain Page, of the Twelfth infantry advertised a reward of $10 each for the arrest of two deserters from the station in Pendleton county ; and in August, Lieutenant Camp, also of the Twelfth infantry, advertised a reward of $40 for the arrest of four men who deserted between Lexington and Brownsburg, while on the march from Abingdon to Winchester. Captain Henry, of the Twelfth, advertised other deserters in September.

On the 21st of September, 1812, a State convention of the Federal party was held in Staunton, "for the purpose of recommending to the freeholders of Virginia twenty-five fit and suitable characters to serve as electors at the approaching election of President of the United States." The Convention continued in session three days. Only sixteen counties, however, were represented. No doubt the Federalists of Augusta enjoyed the implicit confidence of their political brethren throughout the State, and the latter did not think it necessary to attend here in any large number. Robert Porterfield and Jacob Swoope were the delegates from Augusta. The former was made president of the convention, and the latter headed the electoral ticket. Rufus King, of New York, was nominated for President, and William R. Davie, of North Carolina, for Vice-President. A State central committee was appointed, consisting of General Porterfield, Jacob Swoope, Dr. William Boys, Samuel Clarke, and Charles A. Stuart.

The presidential election took place November 2d, and the vote of Augusta stood : Federal, 396 ; Democratic, 244. The editor bemoaned that about four hundred voters stayed away from the polls.

On the 13th of November, the celebrated Petersburg Volunteers arrived in Staunton, being received near town and escorted by some local military under Captain Turner. On the next day the company partook of a barbecue prepared for the occasion, and on Sunday, the 15th, resumed their march to the northwest. The company consisted of one hundred and seventeen young men. They remained in service one year, and highly distinguished themselves at the battle of Fort Meigs on the 5th of May, 1813.

On Friday, December 11, 1812, a negro girl was hung near Staunton for the murder, by drowning, of her master's infant child. She was duly tried and convicted by the County Court, October 29th,

Mr. Peyton prosecuting, and General Blackburn defending the accused. The circumstance would not deserve mention in a history of the county, but an incident connected with it is somewhat interesting. Much sympathy was excited in the community in behalf of the miserable girl, many persons doubting whether she intended to drown the child. At any rate there was a feverish state of feeling on the subject.

During the night after the execution the people of Staunton were aroused from their slumber by a most unearthly noise. Loud and apparently supernatural groans resounded through the town. The people generally rushed into the streets to ascertain the cause, and some of the more superstitious sort professed to have seen the girl alluded to sitting on the steps of the jail.

It was years before the cause of alarm was ascertained. At the time of the occurrence and for many years afterwards, a large two-story frame building stood on the northwest corner of New and Courthouse streets, opposite the Washington Tavern, and in this building Ben. Morris, a prosperous merchant, had his store. He had in his employment a mischievous clerk, or salesman, who confessed, when it was safe to do so, that he had climbed upon the roof of the store-house through the trap-door, and aroused the town by means of a speaking-trumpet.

In March, 1813, the central committee appointed by the "Friends of Peace, Commerce, and no Foreign Alliance," nominated General Blackburn for Congress, and he accepted, but William McCoy was elected as before and afterwards. The committee consisted of Dr. Boys, Alexander Nelson, Moses McCue, and Samuel Clarke.

Colonel Robert Doak, who had commanded the Ninety-third regiment of militia for some years, and had recently been active in raising troops, expecting to go with them to the field, resigned his commission in March, 1813, the brigade commander having designated a junior colonel (Koontz) to command the force detached for service. No doubt the fact that Colonel Koontz was a younger man, led to his appointment by General Porterfield, instead of Colonel Doak. But the veteran of the Revolutionary war was unconscious of approaching age and infirmity, and, panting for renown on new fields, felt offended at the act of the general.

A ludicrous incident occurred in Staunton, in connection with the war preparations, in or about 1812. The captain of one of the town companies, who was a man of strict sobriety, felt it incumbent on him to "treat" his men, in accordance with the custom of the times. His

wife, then confined to her chamber, had on hand a large supply of brandied cherries, which the captain appropriated and distributed liberally to his company. Of course, he had to partake of them himself, and being unaccustomed to the use of liquor, a very few made him very jubilant and very affectionate to everybody, his wife especially. Hurrying home, he quite overwhelmed the lady with caresses, and she soon discovered the cause of the unusual demonstration. Calling a servant, she ordered that the remaining cherries be emptied into the street gutter. Pigs running at large fell upon the dainties, and after devouring them became drunk and went reeling through the streets like any other topers, to the great amusement of the town people. As far as known, this was the Captain's first and last spree.*

An issue of the *Republican Farmer* in April, 1813, announced that Captain Samuel Steele's company of riflemen had been ordered to Richmond immediately. This was the first company called from the county.

And here we are constrained to take leave of Editor Collett, for while he continued to publish his paper for some ten years, we have not been able to find a single copy of later date than the above. During the subsequent years, the series of essays written mainly by Dr. Speece, and republished afterwards in a volume called *The Mountaineer*, appeared in the columns of the *Farmer*.

Some time after the war began, barracks were established on the place now known as McAleer's, two miles east of Staunton, on the Waynesborough road. For many years this place was called the "Old Barracks," and it is still so called by some of our older people. Here the various companies raised in the county, and perhaps others, rendezvoused, and were drilled when called into service, and before being ordered off.

We have no account of the departure of any of the companies, and only such limited information as the muster and pay-rolls afford.

The first company called into service from the county, as stated, was Captain SAMUEL STEELE'S infantry or riflemen, from the Ninety-third militia regiment. The subordinate officers were: Lieutenant, John Humphrey; Ensign, Jacob Bumgardner; Sergeants, James Boyd, William King, Edward Mulhollen and Jacob Hatton. Including corporals, the rank and file consisted of fifty-six men. Among the privates, the only familiar name is that of Jacob Vanlear.

* The Captain was John C. Sowers. The incident was related to me by one of his daughters.

The company was in the service of the United States at Camp Holly, under the command first of Major William Armistead, and afterwards of Colonel John H. Cocke, from March 28th to August 21st, 1813. Camp Holly was ten miles below Richmond, on the north of the Chickahominy, between that river and the Seven Pines.

The next call upon the county took four companies,—Captains Baldwin, Baskin and Stuart, and Lieutenant Todd. These companies were in service from July 6 to September 28, 1813. Baskin's and Todd's companies were, however, broken up August 16, and most of the men enrolled in other companies. The pay-rolls state that they were at the "Flying Camp," commanded by Colonel James McDowell (of Rockbridge). The name "Flying Camp," which looks like a misnomer, implies that the command was on the wing; and we know only that it hovered somewhere in lower Virginia. Many years afterwards, when some allusion was made in a public debate to General Baldwin's military services, he replied that his company had made assaults on oyster beds, but no enemy, from which it appears they were on tide-water. The officers of these companies were:

1. Captain, BRISCOE G. BALDWIN, (afterwards General, and finally Judge Baldwin); Lieutenant, Joseph Houston; Ensign, Mustoe Chambers; and Sergeants, Alexander Douglas, Henry H. Crump, Edward Fulton and Thomas Harris. Among the privates, were John Guy, George Imboden, Henry McCadden, Joseph Peck, Bailey Shumate, James Mills and John Young. The number of men, including corporals, was seventy-one. They were enrolled at home in the Thirty-second and Ninety-third militia regiments.

2. Captain, JOHN C. BASKIN; Lieutenant, William Brown; and Sergeants, Ralph A. Loftus, John Yorkshire and James Black. The number of men, including corporals and drummer, was twenty, and they belonged at home to the Thirty-second regiment of militia.

3. Captain, ARCHIBALD STUART, (afterwards Major Stuart); Lieutenant, William Brown, (transferred from Baskin's company); Ensigns, John Steele and Frederick Golladay; and Sergeants, William Brooks, James Russell, John Yorkshire, (transferred from Baskin's company), William Ashford and John Shannon. The men were drawn from the Ninety-third regiment, and the number of rank and file was seventy-one, including corporals.

4. Lieutenant, JAMES TODD; and Sergeants, William Lacoste, William H. Younger and Daniel McCutcheson. Including corporals, the rank and file numbered seventy-two, and they were from the Ninety-third regiment. Why so large a company did not have a full

complement of officers is not explained. A note on the company pay-roll says: "Most of these names appear on other pay-rolls of the 'Flying Camp.'"

Other companies at the "Flying Camp," and under command of Colonel McDowell, were as follows: From Frederick, two companies; Botetourt, four; Shenandoah, one; Rockbridge, four; Rockingham, four; Cumberland, one, and Bath, one.

The Staunton Artillery was the next company from the county called into service. The officers of this company were:

Captain, JOHN C. SOWERS; Lieutenants, William Young and Benjamin Brady; and Sergeants, Robert W. Carr, Thomas Sperry, James Coalter, John Temple and Alexander Shields; Musicians, Samuel Cupps, David Hiller, William Miller and Henry Snyder. Including corporals and musicians, the company consisted of fifty-four rank and file. Among the privates were Adam Bickle, James Bickle, John L. Cowardin, Peter Kurtz, Abraham Laywell, John Merritt, John A. North, Joseph Points, Eli Parrant, Alexander Paris, Daniel Trayer, Joseph Trout and Anthony Weiford. They were in service, at or about Norfolk, from January 4th to April 13, 1814, being attached to a battalion of United States artillery. The men belonged to the Thirty-second regiment of militia.

Next four companies were called out from the county at the same time, viz: Link's, Givens' and Lange's infantry, and Dold's cavalry. We give such particulars as we have been able to obtain:

1. Captain, JOHN LINK; Lieutenants, Jacob Burger and David Ross; Ensign, Peter Hughes; Sergeants, John Bush, Joseph Butler, William Johnson, Michael Coiner, Christopher Balsley and William Trotter. The number of men, including corporals, was seventy-six, and among them were Dalhouses, Fishers, McCunes, Patterson and Turk. They served from August 29th to December 28, 1814, as a part of the "Second Corps D'Elite, commanded by Colonel Moses Green, at Camp Charles City Courthouse."

2. Captain, ALEXANDER R. GIVENS; Lieutenants, Samuel Crawford and Jonathan Eagle; Ensigns, Philip Coyner and Jacob Coyner; Sergeants (at different times), L. G. Bell, David E. Orr, Charles Dickerson, Alexander L. Saunders, John Gregory, James Coursey, David Miller and Abraham Eversole. The number of privates on the roll is one hundred and sixteen; but many of the men obtained substitutes, and the names of principals and substitutes being kept on the roll, the list was swelled accordingly. Several deserters from the company are reported, but no one now known in the county. Among the privates were Charles Batis, Hatch Clark, Samuel Cline

(who never joined the company and obtained a substitute), Conrad Doom, Henry Imboden, Franklin McCue, John McCue, James Patterson, Lyttelton Waddell and Ephraim Woodward.

The company served under Lieutenant-Colonel James McDowell, from August 30th, to ——— 30, 1814. The scruple of the Treasury Department at Washington, from which we obtained the muster-roll, or of a clerk who copied the roll, prevents our stating at what date the company was discharged, or where it was stationed. We are quite sure, however, that the time of service was from August 30th to November 30th, as Lange's company, which went in with Givens', was discharged at the latter date. Both companies were no doubt discharged in Maryland, as Lange's was. It will be observed that the commander of the regiment or battalion to which the company was attached is here styled Lieutenant-Colonel McDowell, while in 1813 he was styled Colonel.

It is related that when the company was organized, Captain George C. Robertson (afterwards well known as Colonel Robertson, of the Thirty-second regiment) was designated to command it. But Captain Givens (afterwards Colonel) having returned home after a temporary absence, claimed his right to command as senior captain, and accordingly went with the men to the field.

Colonel Givens, as many persons still living remember, was very soldier-like in his appearance and bearing. But while noted for his kindliness to the poor, he had a masterful spirit and was not likely to fill a subordinate position anywhere with comfort to himself or those above him in office. Tradition says he was under arrest all the time in camp upon the charge of insubordination, and therefore the muster-roll has it: "company of infantry," etc., "commanded by Lieutenant Samuel Crawford."

3. Captain, ABRAHAM LANGE; Lieutenants, Jacob Bear and Thomas Ruddle; Ensigns, James Gardner and John A. Douglass; Sergeants, Samuel Patton and Gilbert Ray. The number of privates on the roll is one hundred and twenty-four, including principals and substitutes. Among the privates were, James Guthrie, David Gilkeson, William C. McCamey, John McDowell, Andrew Thompson, Thomas Thompson, William Thompson, John Thompson, John Tate, John Christian, George Wilson, and Thomas Young. The company served as a part of the Fifth Virginia regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel James McDowell, from September 1st to November 30, 1814; and was mustered out "at Camp Cross-roads, near Ellicot's Mills," Maryland, by Major John Alexander, of Rockbridge.

4. Captain, JESSE DOLD, (cavalry); Lieutenants, Matthew Link, Robert Brown and Jacob Clingenpeel; Sword-master, J. F. Whitcomb; Sergeants, Jacob Beard, Andrew Grove, John Tate and Robert Guy. The company was in service at Norfolk from September 1st to November 12th, 1814. It numbered ninety-three men, including all officers, and the men when at home belonged to the Ninety-third regiment of militia. William McComb, of Barterbrook, who was a member of Captain Dold's company, died July 21, 1886, aged ninety-two years. He was the last survivor in Augusta of the soldiers of the war of 1812.

Capt. Christopher Morris' company was called into service in July, 1814, as we learn from testimony produced before the County Court, January 27, 1817, by the widows of Garland Eubank and Jacob Grove, members of the company. They marched from Staunton to Norfolk, and were there mustered into service under Brig. Gen. Porter. In October, Eubank was permitted to return home on sick furlough, but died on the way, at Sandy Point. Grove died in service, December 31, 1814.

As far as we can learn, no other company from the county was in the service of the United States during the war, although other companies were organized.

On the 12th of March, 1813, the Governor commissioned James Fuller of Staunton, Ensign in a regiment authorized by an act of the Legislature, for the defence of the State. James Maurice of Norfolk, was Colonel of the regiment, and Charles Fenton Mercer of Loudoun, Lt. Colonel. The Ensign was a son of Bartholomew Fuller, the school teacher, and afterwards removed to Tennessee, where he died 1876.

In the summer of 1813, fifty-four men, principally residents of Staunton and vicinity, formed a company for military service. More than forty of them were mounted. They elected Chapman Johnson, Captain, and proceeded to Richmond without waiting for orders, as the enemy was supposed to threaten the State. Mr. Johnson wrote to the Governor, July 9, after arriving at Richmond, tendering the service of the compay; but it was not needed at the time, and the men returned home. The late John Cochran, of Charlottesville, then a youth living in Staunton, was a member of the company.

We cannot learn the character and extent of the services of General Porterfield and his staff during the war. Mr. John Howe Peyton, the eminent lawyer, was General Porterfield's aide-de-camp, and his services were recognized by the Government; a warrant for eighty acres of public land having been issued in 1852, after his death, to his minor children.

Captain Henry McClung, long a citizen of Staunton, but a resident in Rockbridge during the war, commanded a company of artillery from that county, which was in service at Norfolk.

None of the Augusta soldiers were called upon to face the enemy. Therefore we have no account to give of the killed and wounded. But they faced a more insidious danger. In the lowlands of Virginia many of them fell victims to deadly disease. We have sought in vain for a letter from some soldier to his family at home, relating his experience in the army. Nothing of the kind from an Augusta man can be found. But we are not without some light on the subject. William Wirt, in command of an artillery company, was stationed, in September, 1814, at Warrenigh church, on York river. He was famous as a letter-writer, as well as in other respects, and many of his letters were preserved and have been published. In several, written in camp, he gives descriptions of military life at the time, and from them we take a few extracts.

Writing, September 9, 1814, Wirt says: "Your most seasonable supply, under convoy of our man Randal, came in last evening. The starving Israelites were not more gladdened by the arrival of quails and manna than we were by the salutation of Randal. The fish would have been a superb treat had there been such an article as a potato in this poverty-stricken land. And yet the parish, according to the old inscriptions, is called 'Blissland.' The church was built in 1709."

On September 12th, he wrote: "Your kindness and thoughtfulness have filled my camp with luxury. I fear we shall have no opportunity to become memorable for anything but our good living,—for I begin to believe that the enemy will not attempt Richmond. They are said to have gone up the bay on some enterprise. If they are hardy enough to make an attempt on Baltimore, there is no knowing what they may not attempt. We are training twice a day, which doesn't well agree with our poor horses. We have a bad camping-ground,—on a flat which extends two miles to the river,—the water is not good, and the men are sickly."

The companies of Captains Givens and Lange were, probably, at the date of the above letter, on the upper Potomac, or in Maryland, for the defence of Baltimore.

On the 19th of September, Wirt wrote: "Our volunteers are becoming disorderly for want of an enemy to cope with. Quarrels, arrests, courts-martial, are beginning to abound. I have had several reprimands to pronounce at the head of my company, in compliance with the sentence of the courts. To one of these, James, our man, held the candle,—it being dark at the time,—and when I finished and

turned around, the black rascal was in a broad grin of delight. I was near laughing myself at so unexpected a spectacle. My men are all anxious to return home—constant applications for furloughs, in which Colonel Randolph indulges them liberally. At present I have not more than men enough to man two guns. One of my sergeants deserted this morning ; another will be put under arrest presently. So much grumbling about rations,—about the want of clothes,—about their wives,—their business, debts, sick children, etc., etc."

Again, on September 26th, Wirt wrote: "Still at Warrenigh, and less probability of an enemy than ever. We are doing nothing but drilling, firing national salutes for recent victories, listening to the everlasting and growing discontents of the men, and trying their quarrels before courts-martial. I have endeavored to give satisfaction to my company, so far as I could, compatibly with discipline. My success, I fear, has been limited. In addition to their rations, which have been very good and abundant, I have distributed to the sick, with a liberal hand, the comforts which your kindness had supplied. The company is well provided with tents and cooking utensils, yet they murmur incessantly. Such are volunteer militia when taken from their homes and put on camp duty. One source of their inquietude is, that they thought they were coming down merely for a fight, and then to return. Being kept on the ground after the expectation of a battle has vanished, and not knowing how long they are to remain,—looking every day for their discharge,—they are enduring the pain of hope deferred, and manifest their disquiet in every form."

Our last extract is from Wirt's last letter in camp, dated September 28th: "The Blues at Montpelier are suffering much from sickness. Murphy, your brother John" [Gamble] "and his friend Blair are all down. The other companies are almost unofficered,—the men very sickly. I strongly suspect that if we are kept much longer hovering over these marshes, our soldiers will fall like the grass that now covers them. We hope to be ordered in a few days to Richmond. It is believed on every hand that the British, with their mutinous and deserting troops, will not attempt a march on Richmond through the many defiles, swamps, thickets and forests that line the road, where, besides the abundant opportunities for desertion, nature has formed so many covers for our riflemen and infantry."

"This little piece of history," says Wirt's biographer, "is a faithful transcript of some of the most characteristic incidents of militia warfare in nearly all the service of the war of 1812."—[*Kennedy's Memoir of William Wirt*, Vol. I, pages 335-6-7 and 8.]

The privations during the war of 1812 were similar to those experienced in the late war. The mothers of our community were wont to tell how the price of common calico went up to a dollar a yard, and how at their tea-parties they had no tea and no cake, because sugar could not be obtained.

Peace was proclaimed by the President of the United States on the 18th of February, 1815, and was received with universal joy. People of all parties united in bonfires, illuminations, and every manifestation of delight. The victory at New Orleans on the 8th of January was some compensation for the disasters of the early period of the war, and gave a feeling of triumph at its close. Dr. John K. Moore, afterwards for many years a citizen of the county, was present at the battle, but he then resided in Tennessee.

For many years there were two relics of the war left at Staunton. Captain Sowers' field pieces—six pounders—remained here until long after the gun-carriages had rotted away, but the town boys managed to load and discharge them every Fourth of July and Christmas day. It was not uncommon to find, just when the guns were required for action, that the enemy, in the shape of some mischievous urchin, had driven nails into the touch holes. The spikes were withdrawn, however, whatever the labor might be, just as the pieces were shifted from Garber's Hill to Green Hill, whenever the occasion made a change of position necessary. At length an extremely particular governor came into office, and by his order the guns were seized and taken to the State arsenal at Lexington. Many old Staunton boys must remember our feelings of bereavement and indignation at the ruthless act. But there was no help for it. Staunton was left defenceless, as far as artillery was concerned, and from that day there has been here hardly any observance of the Fourth of July.

By the year 1815, many of the elements of wealth in the county had increased very considerably, compared with 1800. Some of the statistics of that time strike us now as rather curious. In the year 1802 property in the town of Staunton was separately assessed for taxation for the first time, but the following figures of 1815 embrace the town as well as the two country revenue districts: The number of horses was 7,544; cattle, 17,987; ice-houses, 10; carpets over $20 in value, 19; cut-glass decanters, 102; pianos, 17; Venetian blinds, 23; two-wheeled riding carriages, 50; and four-wheeled riding carriages, 13. There were five four-wheeled riding carriages in the first revenue district of the county, and the aristocratic owners of these vehicles were William Black, Sr., Rev. William Calhoon, Mrs. Nancy Kinney, James McNutt, and Edward Valentine. In the next year

John McDowell appears as the owner of a "phæton." The owners of carriages and chairs (gigs) in the second district, the same year (1816), were Joseph Bell, Sr., Joseph Bell, Jr., Andrew Barry, Charles Dickenson, James A. Frazier, David Golladay, John Harman, Peter Hanger, John Lawrence, James Marshall, and Rev. John McCue.

The number of merchants in Staunton in 1815 was thirteen, and the number of ordinaries, five.

The lawyers at the same time were Briscoe G. Baldwin, James Crawford, Samuel Clarke, William Clarke, Chapman Johnson, William Kinney, Jr., John H. Peyton, and Lyttleton Waddell. The town doctors were William Boys, Thomas Clarke, Edmund Edrington, William King, George C. McIntosh,* and Addison Waddell. The country doctors who paid license tax were James Allen and James Wilson.

We anticipate our narrative so far as to give some of the statistics of 1883, for the sake of comparison with the foregoing. The following figures embrace the whole county, including Staunton: In the year 1883, the number of horses, mules, etc., was 8,688; cattle, 19,359; carriages of all descriptions, wagons, and carts, 4,432; and the value of pianos, organs, etc., as assessed for taxation, was $41,359. The first cost of the musical instruments was probably $80,000 to $90,000.

For some time after the war the country enjoyed "flush times." Property of all kinds was readily salable at high prices, and every interest seemed to prosper. Political animosities were allayed. It was the "era of good feeling," when, it was said, "all were Federalists and all Republicans." A fall in prices and depression in trade came in due time.

In 1816 quite an imposing convention met in Staunton. The object was to devise measures for obtaining a State convention to amend the Constitution. Every county was entitled to two delegates, but only thirty-five were represented in the convention. It was called, doubtless, in the manner of the political conventions of the present day, but appeared to regard itself as clothed with higher authority than such bodies now assume. Among the members were William F. Gordon, of Albemarle; General Porterfield and Chapman Johnson, of Augusta; General Blackburn, of Bath; James Breckinridge and Allen Taylor, of Botetourt; James Marshall, of Brooke; William H. Fitzhugh, of Fairfax; Henry St. G. Tucker, of Frederick;

*Dr. McIntosh was a native of Scotland. His wife was a sister of Mrs. Peter Heiskell. He, or his family after his death, moved to Tennessee, and many years afterwards a grand-daughter, Miss Matilda Morgan, came to Staunton on a visit.

James Pindall, of Harrison; William C. Rives, of Nelson; George Tucker, of Pittsylvania, etc., etc.

General Breckinridge was elected president and Erasmus Stribling secretary. John Clarke was appointed door-keeper, and Henry Cease and Michael Forbes assistants.

The convention met Monday, August 19th, and sat from day to day for a week, not adjourning finally till Saturday, the 24th. Its proceedings were conducted with all the formalities of a legally constituted assembly. The contingent expenses were defrayed by the people of Staunton.

The particular matter complained of at that time was the basis of representation in the Legislature. A memorial was adopted by a vote of 61 to 7 in favor of a State convention to amend the Constitution. The memorial stated that the country west of the Blue Ridge, containing a white population of 212,036 had only four senators, while the district on Tide-water, containing a white population of only 162,717, had thirteen senators.

A protest against the action of the convention, presented by Mr. Johnson and signed by six of the minority, was ordered to be spread upon the journal. The minority objected to the action of the convention only because it proposed to open the way for a general revision of the Constitution, while they wished an amendment only in respect to the basis of representation. General Blackburn was one of the minority, but did not sign the protest. The contest between "white basis" and "mixed basis" (counting negroes as well as whites) was not settled till 1850.

From 1816 to 1824–'5, nothing of interest occurred in the history of the county. Farmers delved, lawyers and doctors pursued their professions, mechanics toiled, and the ministers of religion were faithful to their calling.

In the year 1818, the Rev. John McCue, who had filled a large space in the county, was thrown from his horse and killed one Sabbath morning, while on his way to Tinkling Spring church.

Dr. Ruffner, in his *History of Washington College*, alluding to Mr. McCue, says: "He was a good man. When he chose,—which was not often,—he could tell comic stories in a manner irresistibly ludicrous."*

* Mr. McCue's sons were James A., John and Franklin, long prominent citizens of Augusta; Dr. William McCue, of Lexington, and Cyrus, a lawyer, who died young. His daughters were Mrs. Mathews, Mrs. Porterfield, Mrs. Barry, Mrs. McDowell and Mrs. Miller. Major Moses McCue was a brother of the minister, and father of Moses H. McCue, the first sheriff under the Constitution of 1850.

In the same year, (1818), the Presbyterians of Staunton erected their first church building. The Methodists had long before had a church of their own. The Episcopalians, about 1811, re-occupied the old parish church, but had no regular rector till 1820, when the Rev. Dr. Stephens located here. For some fourteen or fifteen years the parish church was occupied by Episcopalians and Presbyterians on alternate Sundays.

The Presbyterian Synod of Virginia met in Staunton, in October, 1818. The Rev. Dr. John H. Rice, a member of the body, states in his diary, that he arrived in Staunton October 15th, and says :

"While in Staunton, I experienced the kindness of the people of that place, and had the pleasure of observing that they were in a great degree attentive to the preaching of the gospel by the members of the Synod. The Presbyterians have a large and very decent house of worship in the town, in a state of considerable forwardness. If completed in the style in which it is begun, it will do great credit to the public spirit of the citizens."

Upon the erection of the New Presbyterian church, in 1870, the old building was turned over to the Augusta Female Seminary. The sessions of the Synod, 1818, were no doubt held in the old parish church.

During the time alluded to above, and for long afterward, the Presbyterian congregations of the county were served by a number of able and venerable ministers, such as are seldom found in close proximity. We can do little more than name some of them.

The Rev. William Calhoon came to the county in 1805, and till 1823 was pastor of the united congregations of Staunton and Hebron. Afterward, for many years, he was pastor of Hebron alone.

The Rev. Conrad Speece, D. D., a native of Campbell county, was pastor of Augusta church from 1813 to 1836. He cultivated general literature and wrote on a variety of subjects. He was eminent as a preacher, a public-spirited citizen, and no mean poet. The hymn beginning, "Blest Jesus, when thy cross I view," found in most church collections, was written by him.*

*The first school Conrad Speece attended when a boy was the New London Academy. At first he could not understand the Latin grammar, complaining to his teacher (Mr. Edward Graham) that he could never learn "that thing." Soon, however, he showed great aptness at acquiring knowledge. From New London he went to Lexington, and graduated there in 1796. After acting as tutor at Lexington for a year and a half, he studied theology, and was licensed as a preacher by Hanover Presbytery. In the course of time Princeton College conferred upon him the degree of D. D. He chewed tobacco excessively, even sleeping with a quid in his mouth. His figure was tall, heavy and ungraceful,

The Rev. John Hendren, D. D., pastor of Mossy Creek and Union churches, was born in Ireland, but reared and educated in Lexington. He conducted a classical school at his residence in this county for many years, of wide-spread reputation, at which many prominent men were educated.

The Rev. Francis McFarland, D. D., pastor of Bethel church, was also a native of Ireland, reared and educated in Western Pennsylvania.

The Rev. James C. Wilson, pastor of Tinkling Spring and Waynesborough, was a native of Rockbridge county.

All the ministers named were buried in the fields of their labor. Other denominations had ministers who were men of mark and influence, but none of them remained here long enough to become identified with the county.

The Rev. John A. Van Lear, a native of the county, was for some years pastor of Mossy Creek church, and a cotemporary of several of the ministers just named.

In 1823 Kenton Harper, a young printer from Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, bought the establishment of Isaac Collett, and converted the *Republican Farmer* into the *Staunton Spectator*, which he continued to publish until 1849. Some time before the arrival of Harper, Thomas J. Michie settled here to practise law, and in the course of time became widely known and distinguished as a lawyer.

On March 8, 1824, the Legislature passed an act chartering the "Staunton and James River Turnpike Company," with a capital of $200,000, for the construction of a turnpike from Staunton to Scottsville, in Albemarle. The company was formed, and the road was made in due time. This was the first graded road in the county, and was doubtless a valuable improvement. Previously, Augusta farmers wagoned their produce to Richmond, the trip requiring at least two weeks. Now Scottsville became the market town, and for a large part of every year the road leading to it was lined with Augusta wagons. The trip was shortened, and time was therefore saved; but the labor was hardly less than before. The road, especially in Albemarle, was often impassable, being cut into deep ruts by the wagons after every rain; and sometimes being through its whole extent a "Slough of Despond." The broken parts of wagons scattered along

and his clothes, always much too large for his burly frame, hung loosely on him. His voice was loud, deep and unmusical. He was very sociable, and full of droll humor and curious phrases. While a most able and interesting speaker, he did not excel as a prose writer. He never married.

the route were like the *debris* of a battle field. Over this road, or not at all, the Augusta farmer transported his flour, etc., to market. In order to concentrate the product, and aid transportation, much grain was sent to market in the shape of whiskey. The "Temperance Reformation" had not then arisen, and there was a distillery on nearly every large farm in the county.

The wagons used for transporting produce to market have almost gone out of fashion, at least in this section of country, and a brief description of them is appropriate here. The "running gear" was very strong and heavy. The body was shaped somewhat like a boat, higher at the bow and stern than "mid-ship," and was spanned by hickory bows for supporting the covering of coarse canvas. An "end-gate" at the stern could be taken off for loading and unloading. The feed-trough was swung at the stern, and when in use was supported on the tongue by a simple arrangement. Every wagon was drawn by not less than four horses, and often six were employed, the horses being arranged two abreast. There was hardly any limit to the capacity of the wagon-body, and the loading was regulated by the strength of the horses and the condition of the roads. With good roads four horses were required to draw "forty hundred" pounds, including forage for the trip, and six horses "sixty hundred" pounds. The usual load for four horses was about sixteen barrels of flour, (three thousand, four hundred and twenty-four pounds). A train of these wagons, from five to twenty in a line, creeping along a public road, the white canvas covers conspicuous at a distance, was always an interesting spectacle. The teamsters made themselves as jolly as possible around their camp-fires at night, and on the road many of them betrayed much pride in their horses and equipments. The sight of one of the Kellers of Augusta, driving his team through the streets of Richmond, as most of our farmers did, suggested to St. Leger Carter, a member of the Legislature, his lines called "The Mountain Wagoner." The first stanza is as follows:

I've often thought if I were asked
  Whose lot I envied most,
Which one I thought mostly lightly tasked
  Of man's unnumbered host;
I'd say I'd be a mountain boy,
  And drive a noble team—Wo hoy!
Wo hoy! I'd cry, and lightly fly
  Into my saddle seat;
My rein I'd slack, my whip I'd crack,
  What Music is so sweet?

But the life of the wagoner was not without its temptations, as well as hardships. The undue use of liquor often caused trouble. Dr. Speece was accustomed to say that some men who were staid church-members at home, left their religion on the Blue Ridge when they went east with their produce.

Probably three-fourths of the Augusta farmers drove their own teams to market. In Eastern Virginia the teamsters were always negro slaves, and the people of that section, associating something servile with the employment, imagined that the Cohees were generally rude and illiterate. But some of the Augusta wagoners were college-bred, many others were more or less educated, and most of them were men of sharp intellect. Moreover, they were accustomed to hear good sermons on Sunday, and good speeches at the bar on court days, and profited accordingly.

There was a marked difference between the speech and manners of the people of the two sections. The Tuckahoe carried himself rather pompously, and pronounced many words as his English forefathers did in the days of Queen Elizabeth.* The Cohee was plain and even blunt in his manners, and every now and then gave utterance to words which had come down to him from his Scotch-Irish ancestors, and which the Tuckahoe did not understand. Each thought the other spoke a mere jargon.†

* Such as *whar* and *thar* for where and there, and *stars* for stairs.

† An anecdote is told of Capt. John Bowyer, of Rockbridge, which illustrates the feeling of the people of the two sections. Capt. Bowyer was a man of wealth and aristocratic manners, but nevertheless was elected a member of the Legislature for many successive years. In reply to the inquiry how such a man received the popular support, a plain Rockbridge voter said: "We send him to Richmond to *sass* the Tuckahoes."

Samuel Blackburn was born about the year 1758, and, it is presumed, somewhere in the bounds of Augusta county; possibly, however, in the lower Valley. His parents probably removed to the Holston region, near the Tennessee line, at an early day. He was educated at Lexington, and in 1785, some years after he left Liberty Hall, the degree of A. B. was conferred upon him by that institution, along with Moses Hoge, John McCue, William Wilson and others. He served more or less as a soldier in the Revolutionary war, and was at the battle of Guilford Courthouse. At the close of the war he became the principal teacher of an academy in Washington, Georgia. While thus employed, he prepared himself for the practice of law. In August, 1785, he married Ann Mathews, the oldest daughter of

Governor Mathews. During Governor Mathews' second term, in 1795, General Blackburn was a member of the Georgia Legislature. He voted against the famous "Yazoo Act," but was accused of otherwise promoting its passage, and was therefore bitterly assailed in the popular clamor which arose. It is not believed that there was any just ground for the assault upon his integrity ; but he quitted Georgia in disgust, and removed to Staunton. While residing here, he lived in the house on the west side of New street, north of Frederick, and opposite the Augusta Female Seminary. Some years afterwards he removed to a farm in Bath county, called the Wilderness. He was several times a candidate for Congress in the Augusta and Bath district, but never elected. He, however, repeatedly represented Bath in the Virginia Legislature. He was the author of the anti-duelling law of the State, said to be the first law of the kind passed in the country.

General Blackburn was one of the most successful orators and criminal lawyers of his time in Virginia. Governor Gilmer says of him : "His fine voice, expressive features, noble person, perfect self-possession, keen wit and forcible language, directed by a well-cultivated and powerful intellect, made him one of the most eloquent men of his time. He was a Federalist in politics. His strong abusive denunciations of the Republicans, when he was a member of the Virginia Legislature, made him long remembered by the parties of the State."

Many anecdotes in regard to him are still current. The late William H. Terrill, of Bath, related that when he settled in that county Judge Stuart was on the bench of the Superior Court, and General Blackburn was at the bar. The Judge presided with much more formality and ceremony than are observed at the present day. Term after term, the grand jury, after being instructed by the court, retired, but speedily returned with the report that they had no presentments to make. This became almost a matter of course, and a part of the performance consisted in General Blackburn, with a most devout manner and voice, exclaiming aloud : "Thank God, we live in so well-ordered a community !" One night, however, the judge was kept awake by the card-playing members of the bar assembled in an adjoining chamber, and when the jury came in the next day with their usual report, he administered to them a stern rebuke for their failure to present the gamblers. The general's thanksgiving was, of course, a sarcasm upon the jury.

Judge Stuart and General Blackburn were antipodes in politics. Both were men of strong convictions and ardent feelings, and very likely some degree of mutual dislike grew up between them. But not long before Judge Stuart's death, General Blackburn paid him a visit, and was cordially received. They were both visibly affected by the interview, and the general, in his emotion, forgot his hat and went out bareheaded.

Governor Gilmer states that on one occasion he met General Blackburn at Rockingham court, and heard him defend with great

power a criminal eighty years old, who had, when in the county poor-house, killed another inmate of about the same age in a fight about a cucumber, the only witness being a man ninety years old. He says: "The trial of such a criminal for such an offence, proved by such a witness, and advocated by such a lawyer, made a strong impression upon my memory."

General Blackburn, by his will, liberated his slaves, about forty in number, on condition that they would emigrate to Liberia, and they were taken to that country at the expense of his estate. He also left five hundred dollars to the Staunton Bible Society. He said in his will: "I die, as I trust, a Christian, believing as I must in the doctrine of the atonement by the death, the suffering and mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ, as delivered to us in the gospel by his evangelists and apostles, into whose hands I wish with humble confidence to commit my soul and body with all their vast concerns till it shall please Him to reanimate them in a new and I trust highly improved mode of existence." He goes on to declare himself a Presbyterian, but to express the utmost charity for all professed Christians. He died March 2, 1835, his mind and physical powers having been impaired for some years previously. His widow survived him about five years, and died in Staunton. He had no posterity, and an adopted son, George M. Barry, died before attaining manhood. His nephew, Samuel Blackburn, Jr., lived with him for many years. Another nephew was the eminent preacher, Gideon Blackburn, D. D., of Tennessee, who was greatly admired by his uncle. General Blackburn's handwriting was so illegible that his correspondents sometimes repaired to him with his letters to learn their contents, and he could not always read them himself. He obtained his title from service in the militia, in Georgia.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM THE YEAR 1825 TO THE YEAR 1833.

The subject we now approach demands a new chapter, if not a whole chapter. But yet an apology, or at least a precedent, is required for introducing it. Therefore, we shall first give a brief account of some wonderful occurrences a hundred and ten years earlier, in England, citing Southey's Life of Wesley as our authority.

The Rev. Samuel Wesley was a minister of the church of England. His son, John, the founder of the Methodist church, was, at the time referred to, a boy at school, away from home.

On the night of December 2, 1715, Mr. Wesley's servants in the dining room, were frightened by dismal groans as of a person at the point of death. Strange noises were shortly heard over the house, and outside as well as in,—rapping with a stick, rattling among bottles, footsteps of a man going up and down stairs, the rocking of a cradle, and gobbling of a turkey cock. Every time the noises began, the house dog appeared more terrified than any of the children. For two weeks Mr. Wesley did not hear the noises, and when his wife told him of them he was angry and said: "Suky, I am ashamed of you: these boys and girls frighten one another; but you are a woman of sense, and should know better. Let me hear of it no more." That evening, however, at family prayer, when Mr. Wesley began the prayer for the King, a knocking began all around the room, and a thundering knock attended the Amen. "The Ghost" was evidently a Jacobite, and so was Mrs. Wesley.—She never would say Amen to the prayer for King William.

On one occasion, while the noise was going on, Mr. Wesley sternly addressed "the spirit," saying: "Thou deaf and dumb devil, why dost thou frighten these children that cannot answer for themselves? Come to me in my study, that am a man!" Instantly there was a knocking as if it would shiver a board in pieces. The Rev. Mr. Toole, another minister of the church of England, was present at the time. The next evening, as Mr. Wesley attempted to go into his study, the door was thrust back with such violence as almost to throw him down. At another time, his trencher (a wooden plate) danced upon the table without anybody touching it.

Finding that the unseen agent of the disturbance inflicted no bodily injury, the children finally made merry over it. A man named Jeffery had died in the house, and "the ghost" was nicknamed "Old Jeffery." Night after night a gentle tapping at the head of the bed in which the girls lay, began between 9 and 10 o'clock; and they then commonly said to each other, "Jeffery is coming: it is time to go to sleep."

These disturbances continued till the end of January, 1716, and then ceased. During the latter part of the time they occurred by day as well as at night. No solution of the mystery was ever discovered.

Southey remarks that "An author who in this age relates such a story, and treats it as not utterly incredible and absurd, must expect to be ridiculed; but the testimony upon which it rests is far too strong to be set aside because of the strangeness of the relation." So we say in regard to the following narrative.

Dr. John McChesney, an intelligent physician, lived on his farm, about a mile north of the village of Newport, Augusta county, and the same distance west of the main road leading from Staunton to Lexington, by way of Middlebrook and Brownsburg. His wife was a sister of Thomas Steele, who lived on the main road, a mile from Dr. McChesney's. Mrs. Mary Steele, widow of Capt. William Steele and mother of Thomas and Mrs. McChesney, lived in Rockbridge, two miles west of Midway.

William Steele, a son of Thomas, is now (1889) one of the few surviving witnesses of the occurrences to be related, and to him we are indebted for all our detailed statements. He was a child at the time, six years of age, but distinctly remembers what he saw and heard; and, we may add, his veracity is unquestionable. His testimony before any tribunal in Augusta county would be implicitly believed.

In 1825, Dr. McChesney's family consisted of his wife, four young children, and sundry negro servants, one of the latter a girl named Maria, probably eight years of age. One evening in January or February, while the white family were at supper, Maria came in from the kitchen, which was 20 or 30 feet from the dwelling, very much frightened apparently, and saying that an old woman with her head tied up had chased her. Little or no attention, however, was given to this incident. But Maria continued for some days to complain of being frightened when by herself, and other circumstances connected with the girl attracted the attention of the family. Soon after this, vollies of stones began to descend upon the roof of the dwelling house, and continued to fall at intervals, in day-time and also

at night. The stones averaged about the size of a man's fist, and some of them were too large to be thrown by a person of ordinary strength. Occasionally, some of the stones were hot, and scorched the dry grass on which they fell.

Reports of the stone-throwing circulated through the country, and hundreds of people from miles around came to witness the spectacle. On some days the yard was full of people, on all sides of the house, eagerly watching to see where the stones came from ; but all retired without making any discovery. The descent of stones did not occur every day, and visitors on the off-days generally went away incredulous about the whole matter. During the whole time Maria complained of being chased and frightened.

As Maria seemed to be the centre of the disturbance, Dr. McChesney concluded to send her away, and ordered her to go to the residence of his brother-in-law, Mr. Thomas Steele. While she was on the way across the hills, Mrs. Steele and her children (including her son William), a young white woman, and a negro woman and her children were under a tree in the yard. Mrs. Steele was knitting, and the negro woman was engaged in washing. Mr. Steele was not at home. Suddenly a loud noise was heard in the house, as if it were full of frightened and stamping horses. The white woman ran first to the house, and called to Mrs. Steele to come. In the centre of the large room all the movable furniture was piled up promiscuously,—bed, bureau, chairs, andirons etc. While the spectators were looking on and wondering, stones began to fall on the house, and then Maria was seen approaching. She stated, as usual, that she had been chased by an old woman, and her evident terror was distressing to behold.

Maria was sent home, but the fall of stones continued at Mr. Steele's. The missiles entered the house, how and from whence no one could discover, and broke the glass in the cupboard doors and many of the plates and dishes. The furniture was severely pelted, and some articles still preserved show the marks to this day.

There was no cessation of the occurrences at Dr. McChesney's. One day in the spring, the weather still cool, the family were sitting around the fire. The persons present were, Dr. and Mrs. McChesney, Mrs. Mary Steele, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Steele, their son, William, and others. The doors were closed and the window sashes were down, when a stone, seeming to come from a corner of the room, near the ceiling, struck Mrs. Thomas Steele on the head. She was the only person struck at any time. A lock of her hair was severed as if by scissors, and her scalp was cut to the bone, causing profuse

bleeding. Mr. Steele became enraged, and denounced the invisible agent for "taking its spite on a woman," and not on him. He then took his seat in the front door, and immediately was pelted with clods of sod and earth, coming from the inside of the house. He sat there till the missiles were piled around him, and then, at the earnest solicitation of his mother, who cried that "the thing" would kill him, left the spot and was not pursued. The reader will observe the similarity of this occurrence to that related of the Rev. Samuel Wesley.

Wishing to remove the McChesney and Steele children out of the way, they were sent to their grand-mother's near Midway; but Maria was sent also. Soon the disturbances began at Mrs. Steele's,—stones flew about, furniture in the kitchen moved of its own accord, etc., etc. One day a large kitchen bench pranced over the floor like a horse. The children present were at first amused, as the Wesley children had been with their ghost; and young John M. Steele (afterwards Dr. Steele, now dead,) proposed to bridle the steed and ride him. They did so, but became so much alarmed at the antics of the bench that young Steele fainted. During this time, Mrs. Steele's farm servants found that food and tools taken by them to the fields, disappeared and turned up at the house.

While at Mrs. Steele's, Maria frequently complained of being beaten. Mrs. Steele took her between her knees, drew her skirt about her, and with a stick struck around as if to beat off an invisible foe. Maria continued to cry out that she was beaten and pricked with pins. The "slaps," says William Steele, were distinctly heard, but no one could see the vindictive enemy. At last the victim fell upon the floor, exhausted and apparently dead, but soon revived. She continued to be punished as described for many weeks.

Worn out with these troubles, Dr. McChesney, as a last resort, sold Maria, and she was taken South. As soon as she left the disturbances ceased and they never followed her in her new home.

An old negro woman lived in Dr. McChesney's neighborhood, who was reputed to be a witch. William Steele says "she walked with a stick and chewed tobacco," and that in his boyhood he was always careful to give her the road when they met. It was said that this old woman received some impudence from Maria, who had an evil tongue, and threatened her with punishment. Of course, readers who believe in witches understand now why and from whom the troubles came! We have no explanation or theory to advance. We cannot, however, refuse to believe that many strange things happened, as related, without repudiating all human testimony.

Similar occurrences have taken place in Rockingham, Albemarle and Culpeper counties, the last in September, 1889.

In the year 1825, January 22nd, the Legislature passed an act establishing the Western Lunatic Asylum. Five commissioners were appointed to select the site, General B. G. Baldwin being one of them, and after considering other places, the asylum was finally located at Staunton. The act provided for only four acres of land, and restricted the expenditure for lands and buildings to $10,000. A further appropriation was made in 1827. As stated heretofore, the first physician was Dr. William Boys; but during his term of service the appropriations were small, and the asylum was kept on a very moderate scale. Afterward the Legislature became more liberal, and during the incumbency of Dr. F. T. Stribling* as superintendent, the institution was greatly enlarged and improved.

The 4th of July, 1825, was celebrated by the firing of cannon, by the Staunton Artillery, a dinner at Rocky Spring (afterwards called "Buttermilk Spring"), etc., etc. George Geiger, proprietor of the Eagle Tavern, prepared the dinner. Major Daniel Sheffey acted as President, and John H. Peyton, Esq., as Vice-President. Colonel Briscoe G. Baldwin read the Declaration of Independence. Ladies as well as gentlemen attended the dinner.

One improvement generally leads to another; and the Scottsville turnpike having been made, the people thought it desirable to extend the road westward. Accordingly, in 1827, an act of the Legislature was procured authorizing a company to raise $50,000 by lottery to construct a road from Staunton "to the State road between the waters of the James and Kanawha rivers." L. L. Stevenson and James Points were the agents of the company for conducting the lottery. Such schemes are now wisely prohibited by law, but the country had not then waked up to the evils attending them. Some years earlier a lottery was announced in Staunton, to be superintended by two Presbyterian elders, who, before they died, considered the lottery a deadly sin. The road was made only from Staunton to Buffalo Gap, and those ten miles afterward became a part of the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike.

On October 5, 1829, a convention of delegates to revise the State Constitution, assembled in Richmond. The delegates were elected by districts, and those from the district including Augusta were Chap-

* Dr. Francis T. Stribling was born in Staunton, January 20, 1810. As Superintendent of the Western Lunatic Asylum for many years, he became widely known and highly distinguished. He died July 23, 1874.

man Johnson, Briscoe G. Baldwin, Samuel McD. Moore and William McCoy. Mr. Johnson had then removed to Richmond, but during his life he was identified with Augusta county. The convention adjourned January 15, 1830, and the new Constitution was afterward ratified by the vote of the people. The right of suffrage was extended to housekeepers and heads of families who had duly paid their taxes, but the number of voters was not thereby greatly increased.

The Constitution of 1829–'30, made another change in the judiciary system of the State. The district courts of chancery were abolished, and law and chancery jurisdiction were vested in the same judge. The first session of the "Circuit Superior Court of law and chancery for Augusta county" was held May 20, 1831, Judge Lucas P. Thompson, of Amherst county, presiding. John H. Peyton was appointed prosecuting attorney (which office he had previously held), and Nicholas C. Kinney clerk. Samuel Clarke and Thomas J. Michie were appointed commissioners in chancery. Judge Thompson removed to Staunton some ten years after his elevation to the bench, and spent the remainder of his life here.

The Harrisonburg and Warm Springs Turnpike Company was chartered by the Legislature January 29, 1830. This road passes through the northwest part of Augusta, and the charter provided that it should pass through Jennings' Gap and by Miller's iron works. By some means, however, Jennings' Gap was left out of the line of improvement.

The subjects which chiefly interested the people of Augusta in 1831, were the proposed Valley railroad and the abolition of slavery.

The agitation in regard to the railroad was kept up for several years, and, in 1836, was vigorously renewed, but the scheme came to naught.

The people of the county seem to have been ripe, in 1831–'32, for the gradual abolition of slavery. John McCue, one of the delegates from Augusta, presented a memorial to the Legislature in December, 1831, signed by two hundred and fifteen ladies, praying for emancipation. Similar petitions, numerously signed, were gotten up in the county. In presenting the memorial of the ladies, Mr. McCue delivered a vigorous speech in opposition to slavery. The contrary sentiment prevailed in the State; but at the next election, April court-day, 1832, John McCue was returned to the Legislature from Augusta. His colleague was Thomas Jefferson Stuart.

The institution of slavery never had a strong hold upon the people of Augusta. The Scotch-Irish race had no love for it, and the

German people were generally averse to it. Most farmers cultivated their own lands with the assistance of their sons. In 1840, out of a total population of 19,628, the number of slaves in the county was 4,135. In 1860, the last census year before emancipation, the number of negroes, slave and free, was 6,202, while the total population was 27,749. The institution, as it existed in the county, was as mild and beneficent as possible. The slaves seemed contented and happy. Many privileges were granted to them here which were denied to those of the same class elsewhere. Every farmer who owned slaves had a headman, who was next to his master in authority on the plantation. He wagoned the produce to market, sold it, and received the money, acting generally as confidential agent. The holidays and pastimes of the slaves were numerous and hilarious. A corn-shucking at night was an occasion to be enjoyed by participants and spectators alike. Scores of hands attended from far and near, and a large crop of corn was usually shucked in a few hours. The work was enlivened by songs, and at the close there was a bountiful supper.

Early in 1832 politics were very lively in Augusta. The followers of Henry Clay took steps to bring him forward as a candidate for the presidency. Among the active Clay men in the county were Judge Stuart and his sons, General Porterfield, Samuel Clarke, General Baldwin, the Kinneys, Waddells, Bells, Eskridges, Crawfords, McCues, Guys, Pattersons, Cochrans, Sowers, Michie, Harnsberger, and others. The supporters of General Jackson, though less numerous, were equally active. Among them were some who afterwards became Whigs, such as Mr. Peyton, W. W. Donaghe, Colonel Robertson, and Captain Sterrett. But some of those who proved lifelong adherents to the Democratic party were then on hand in behalf of Old Hickory. A few of them were Michael Garber, John Randolph, William A. Abney, L. L. Stevenson, Lewis Harman, James Points, the Baylors and the Heiskells. Dr. Speece was a Jackson man, as far as he meddled in politics, and some of the other party sought to weaken his influence by attributing his partiality to the fact that Jackson was a Presbyterian. The Jackson men held a meeting February 8, 1832, and passed resolutions denouncing Clay and Calhoun for voting in the Senate to reject the nomination of Van Buren as a minister to England "as a most disgraceful attempt to overthrow a patriotic rival."

General Jackson's route from the Hermitage to Washington was through Augusta, but he is said to have avoided Staunton because of the popular opposition to him here.

General Jackson was depicted by his co-temporaries who were hostile to him as passionate, rude and illiterate. He was no doubt a man of quick and violent temper, but his manners were habitually gentlemanly and refined. He certainly possessed the art of winning friends. On his trips between the Hermitage and Washington city, he sometimes passed, in his private carriage drawn by four gray horses, through the eastern part of Rockingham county, and would make it convenient to spend a night at the house of Mr. Tobias McGahey, one of his personal and political admirers. Arriving there one evening, the family were in some trouble, and he went on to Mr. Jere Harnsberger's to obtain shelter for the night. He was hospitably entertained, although Mr. Harnsberger had been up to that time an earnest anti-Jackson man. The result of this casual visit was, that ever after the host and all his sons and retainers were zealous partisans of Old Hickory.*

Colonel Robert Doak, a soldier of the Revolution, long a delegate in the Legislature from Augusta, a justice of the peace and high sheriff of the county, and elder in Bethel church, died March 12, 1832.

In the summer of 1832, a breeze of excitement was caused in Staunton by the passage through the town of a detachment of United States troops, returning to Fort Monroe from the "Black Hawk War," in northwestern Illinois. The detachment consisted of six companies of artillery, serving as infantry, taken, two each, from the First, Third and Fourth regiments, and was commanded by Captain John Munroe. The commissary was Lieutenant W. A. Thornton, and one of the lieutenants was Joseph E. Johnston, who became the distinguished Confederate General. The troops marched through Main street from the west in military array, and rested in the meadow where the freight depot of the Valley Railroad now stands, to take their midday meal. Arms were stacked and knapsacks unslung, and the soldiers, producing from the latter bread and bacon, partook of their dinner on the grass. The officers dined at the Washington Tavern, then kept by Lewis Harman. In the afternoon the command went on towards Waynesborough.

Major Robert Anderson, who commanded at Fort Sumter in 1861, was a lieutenant of the Third artillery in 1832; but whether he was with the detachment which came through Staunton, we do not know.

A political convention met in Staunton July 15, 1832, which was regarded as very imposing and influential. It was largely attended, by young men especially, from every part of the State. Charles James

* This circumstance was related to me by Richard Mauzy, who was reared in the neighborhood.

Faulkner, of Berkeley county, presided. The members called themselves "National Republicans." Resolutions offered by Lyttelton Waddell, of Augusta, recommending Mr. Clay for the presidency, were adopted.

Samuel Miller, of Augusta, was on the electoral ticket nominated by the convention. Smith Thompson was door-keeper of the convention, with George D. Lancaster, David Brown, William Carroll and Jacob Carroll as assistants.

General Jackson, then President, lodged at Waynesborough Friday night, July 27th, on his way to Tennessee. As usual, he avoided Staunton. His custom was to arrange his trips so as to spend a Sunday at Lexington. He always attended church, and was particular to sit in the pew of James McDowell, afterwards the governor.

Mr. Clay, on his way to Kentucky, arrived in Staunton Sunday evening, July 29th, and remaining till noon on Monday, was called upon by many citizens. At the presidential election in November he was defeated, General Jackson being elected a second time.

The venerable Judge Stuart died in 1832. When quite a young man, he was elected Professor of Mathematics in William and Mary College, but declined the position. He was one of three commissioners appointed by the Legislature to run the dividing line between Virginia and Kentucky. From 1808 to 1828, inclusive, on six occasions, he acted as presidential elector. As a Judge, he maintained much of the ancient etiquette in the court-room. At the beginning of his judicial service, it was customary for the high sheriff, carrying a drawn sword, to escort the judges from their lodgings to the court-house at the opening of each term. Judge Stuart never entirely laid aside the dress worn by gentlemen in the early days of the Republic. His hair was usually combed back from his forehead, and ended in a queue, and till a short time before his death he wore breeches that buckled at the knee, and fair-top boots. His children were four sons,—Thomas Jefferson, Archibald P., Gerard B., and Alexander H. H. Stuart.

Every town has amongst its population one or more odd people, who are well known by all the other inhabitants, and, like gnarled shrubbery in a park, though not attractive to look upon singly, often enhance the general picturesqueness of the place. During the decade from 1830 to 1840, Staunton had several persons of the sort referred to. Lawrence Tremper, the postmaster, was one of the eccentric men of the time. He was long a childless widower, and for many years

there was no one with him in his dwelling except his colored servant, a mulatto named Remus, and the wife of the latter. He was generally surly and unaccommodating, at least the children who went on errands to the postoffice thought so; and only now and then he relaxed into a smile, or gave expression to a good-humored remark. Nobody ever thought of complaining of him to the department. He had been appointed in the administration of Washington,—it was so generally supposed, but he was appointed during the administration of John Adams,—that gave a sort of sanctity to his right of possession, and the postoffice was conceded to him as his private property, to do as he pleased with it. Remus was his prominent assistant in the office as well as in all domestic affairs. Strange to say, Mr. Tremper seemed to feel no pride in the fact that he had been a Revolutionary soldier. He never took part in Fourth of July celebrations, and was unknown in street processions, except of the Masonic fraternity.

Another old man, a bachelor, taller and stouter than Mr. Tremper, was known as James Berry Hill, although his name originally was James Berryhill. He was born in Rockbridge while it was a part of Augusta, but spent most of his life in Staunton as the keeper of a retail liquor shop on Main street, a door or two west of Augusta street. At the northwest corner of those streets was a deep well with a pump in it, which supplied many families with water. Mr. Hill constituted himself the Cerberus of the pump, and many times a day did he order off servants and children who tarried at the corner to play or gossip. He always looked remarkably clean in a light drab suit, and until late in life wore the old-fashioned costume. His shoes were kept polished, and to escape the mud in our unpaved streets he sometimes carried chips to throw down and step on.

Michael Puffenbarger lived on the west side of New street, about midway between Frederick and Main, and had an open well in his back yard. He was a patron of Hill's shop, or some similar establishment, and very often was overcome by his potations. On one of these occasions he fell into his well. The news flew through town, and in a short time nearly the whole population assembled in the yard. With much trouble the half-drowned man was brought to the surface, dripping wet but somewhat sobered. Seeing the crowd of people on his premises he fell into a rage, and declared that things had come to a pretty pass when a man could not fall into his own well without stirring up a mob. He was a potter by trade.

Smith Thompson was by birth a Scotchman, and in his vigorous manhood a barber by trade. During the Revolution he was at the battle of Guilford and the "siege of York." Unlike Mr. Tremper, he was fond of "shouldering his crutch," etc., etc. After he became too feeble to walk in procession, nothing pleased him better than to be drawn about the town in a carriage on the Fourth of July. Having been reared in the goodly town of Glasgow, he, of course, knew all

the people of the place, and is said to have claimed a particular acquaintance with Bailie Nicol Jarvie, of Rob Roy fame.

In our catalogue of notable people we must not omit to mention a certain female resident of Staunton. An Irishman and his wife, named McCausland, but called Macaslin, lived here for many years, and conducted a school for small children. After the husband's death his wife continued the school, and of her only the writer had any personal knowledge. She lived in an old wooden house on the southeast corner of New and Courthouse streets, opposite the Washington tavern. There, for long years, she "ruled her little school," teaching only spelling and reading, if, indeed, she taught anything. The lower apartment of the house served for her kitchen, parlor, chamber and school-room. In the loft she kept stored away many articles of old-fashioned jewelry, and wearing apparel of divers fabrics. Well does the writer remember toddling after her up the stairway, to be indulged, as a reward of merit, with the sight of her "gold-and-green" silk gown. Her official baton was a short stick, having leather thongs tacked to one end, called cat-o'-nine-tails." Every urchin stood in wholesome dread of this implement, but Mrs. Macaslin was not unmerciful in the use of it. She was lamed for life by the act of one of her pupils, who pitched an axe at her while she was attempting to chastise him. For at least fifty years she flourished in Staunton, during which time nearly every boy and girl reared here passed through her hands. Such teachers as she, have passed away. We ne'er shall look upon her like again.

Everybody in town and county knew Mrs. Kurtz, the keeper of the county jail. Her husband, Jacob Kurtz, was nominally the jailor, but she had the credit of carrying the keys and ruling the establishment. In stature she was like Meg Merrilies, while in official character she strongly resembled in some respects Mrs. Mac Guffog, the keeper of the prison at Portanferry, as described in Guy Mannering.

Another character, known by everybody, was Pea Johnny, or Johnny Pea, so called, because he first came to Staunton to sell black-eye peas. He was a half-witted white man, who had a home in the county, twenty miles off, but spent most of his time in Staunton. Now and then he did a little field-work for small pay, but generally subsisted on charity. When sober he was inoffensive, and had free access to every kitchen in the town. Many cold winter nights he presented himself at the doors of citizens and begged to be taken in. Often he entered without permission, and ladies were sometimes aroused from sleep at night by his efforts to rekindle the fire in their chambers. But Johnny was too fond of a dram, and sometimes became intoxicated. Then the boys teased him, and he became dangerous, throwing stones, and defending himself with the utmost vigor.

The chief tormentor of Johnny Pea was a poor waif, a strapping young negro woman called Crazy Nance, who, however, was probably

a born idiot. She was claimed by nobody, could not be induced to do any work, nor to remain at the poor-house, and roamed at large according to her own fancy, except when confined in jail. Where she was born, or properly belonged, we have never ascertained. She was generally harmless, but sometimes became mischievous, and being very stout, the person she picked a quarrel with was liable to suffer serious injury. Johnny Pea and she occasionally came in conflict, and engaged in pitched battles in the public streets. These two unfortunates long ago passed away. Both of them died at the county poor-house.

The body servant of Major Willis, of Orange county, during the latter part of the Revolutionary war and at Yorktown, was a negro man named Tom Evans, who lived in Staunton for many years, and died here sometime before 1840. "Uncle Tom," as he was called, was a small, very black, and very pompous negro. He never forgot that he was "a hero of the Revolution," and therefore never laughed and rarely smiled. His fondness for using big words, which he poured forth with the utmost gravity, made his conversation racy and entertaining. He was chiefly noted, however, for his suit of Revolutionary uniform, including cocked-hat, coat, and red short-breeches, in which he often dressed on the 4th of July, and promenaded the streets to the public amusement and his own profit in the way of small coin levied by him on patriotic citizens.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FROM 1833 TO 1844.

Let us now endeavor to take a view of Staunton, and to some extent of the county, in 1833, or we may say from 1823 to 1843, for as far as we can ascertain, the condition of things during that period remained substantially unchanged.

Whatever the people of Staunton may think of it at this time, in 1833 the town was very shabby and unattractive, in respect to its streets and buildings, public and private. Very few of the side-walks were paved, and pedestrians floundered in the mire at almost every step. The side-walks of some of the streets had been railed off, to protect people on foot from vehicles and cattle, but most of the rails had fallen off, so that only a remnant remained, with here and there a post. The town authorities discouraged the planting of trees, and therefore the aspect of the town was bare and bleak. The court-house stood in the yard still used for that purpose. It was an unsightly stone structure, nearly square, and two stories high. The entrances were on the north and south sides.

The County Court clerk's office was a long one-story brick building near the southwest corner of the lot, and south of the court-house. On the north side of the lot adjoining the alley and Augusta street, was a brick house of two stories, where the clerk's offices of the Chancery and Circuit Courts were accommodated. This house was entered through a two-storied porch on its south side, fronting the court-house.

The county jail occupied the site of the present prison, and was as plain and unsightly as the courthouse. The town market-house was a large shed with roof supported by posts, and no side walls, on the corner of the jail lot next Augusta street. In the rear of the market-house stood the whipping-post and pillory.

Augusta street terminated a short distance south of the creek. The top of "Gospel Hill" was the eastern terminus of Beverley street, and the main Winchester road entered the town over that hill, Coalter street being an extension of the road.

The people of Staunton obtained water for drinking and cooking from a half dozen public wells, and the labor of carrying water to dis-

tant points no doubt retarded the growth of the town. There were few houses on the hills.

The waters of the various wells were not equally good. The water of "Hopkins' pump," at the northeast corner of Beverley and Market streets, seemed to be impregnated with magnesia, and was generally avoided by thirsty people. But that of "Hill's pump," at the northwest corner of Beverley and Augusta, two squares from the former, was pure and sweet, and was sent for by people living far away. We have seen that most of the young men of Staunton, who went to the Southwest in search of fortune, drifted back in the course of time; and old Mr. Heiskell used to say that every boy who had drank the water of "Hill's pump" was sure to return to it. According to Mr. Heiskell, he longed for it as David did for "the water of the well that is by the gate of Bethlehem."

The other pumps were known as Chambers', Gregory's, Peebles', and Fuller's. Most of them were very deep. Before water was brought to town in pipes from country springs, typhoid fever prevailed to some extent in Staunton, from which it was inferred that the well water was not wholesome.

There were, and are, several springs in private premises along Lewis creek,—one in the cellar of the Bell tavern, and another in a lot on Spring lane, where the old parsonage probably once stood.

There were three churches in Staunton. The old parish church had disappeared and a small new Episcopal church had taken its place. The other churches were the Methodist and Presbyterian, and all three were without ornamentation.

A new house was seldom built, and an old one quite as seldom repaired. The furniture of the dwellings was very plain, and generally home-made.

The streets often presented a deserted and desolate appearance. On many days in summer time, a person stepping into the main street would not see another living thing, man or beast, from "the head of Newtown to the top of Gospel Hill."

There was a singular disregard of neatness and comfort in the public streets, with exception of Beverley, lower New street, and Augusta to some extent. No pavement or sidewalk existed on Frederick street from end to end. People walking shared the way with horses and cows, all alike tramping through the mud and mire. Moreover, there were several stables immediately on that and other streets, and piles of litter thrown out on the highway adorned every stable door, and sent their fetid drainage meandering through the gutters of the town. Many dwelling houses were on Frederick, and

the inmates, whenever they went out, had to pass over or around the obstructions mentioned as best they could. In rainy weather, the ground around the courthouse yard was like a swamp.

The taverns were the Bell, the Eagle, the Wayne and the Washington. The widow Mitchell kept a country inn half a mile from town, on the Winchester road.

It will be observed that there were no "hotels" in those days, at least in this part of the country; but all houses of public entertainment were called taverns, as at an earlier day they were styled ordinaries. One prominent piece of tavern furniture has entirely disappeared. Whatever else was wanting in the equipment of the house, every tavern in town had a large bell suspended in some convenient place, which was used to summon guests to their meals. The bells were rung twice before each meal—first, to notify guests to get ready; and, secondly, after an interval of twenty or thirty minutes, to come to the table. Thus, morning, noon and evening there was a great clatter in the town. These bells, as well as the courthouse bell, were also rung to give the alarm when a fire occurred. As early as 1797 Staunton could boast of possessing a Chinese gong. In that year, Judge Stuart, not yet having been promoted to the bench, received a gong as a present from Mr. Jefferson, at that time vice-president of the United States; and for many years afterwards it often reverberated through the town at dinner time, to summon Judge Stuart's "hands" from the fields. A town clock was procured and placed in the tower of the newly-built Lutheran church, in the year 1851 or '2. Previously, the tavern bells served a generally useful purpose by indicating to the people the hours three times a day.

The Wayne tavern is always associated in the writer's mind with Indians. Before the removal of the southern Indians west of the Mississippi, Staunton was on the direct route from their country to Washington, and Cherokees, Chickasaws and Choctaws frequently passed through town on their way to visit the "Great Father."

Another familiar sight in Staunton, in 1833, was the "Knoxville teams." At that time the merchants of East Tennessee transported their goods from Baltimore in wagons, and every spring and fall many lumbering wains passed through town, traversing the county, going and coming. The horses were generally decorated with bells. After the extension of the James River canal to Lynchburg, Knoxville teams were seen in Staunton no more. The United States mails for southwestern Virginia and east Tennessee were brought through Staunton in stage coaches. The mail bags were changed here from one set of coaches to another, and many of the bags daily thrown off at our post-

office were labelled "Abingdon," where there was a distributing office. The Staunton boys of that era had an idea that Abingdon was a place of immense importance.

About the year 1833, there was a great tide of emigration from eastern Virginia and North Carolina to Ohio. Forlorn looking people with horses and carts to correspond, and a train of flax-headed children, frequently came along, and when asked where they were going, never failed to reply: "To the Ohio." But while the east was thus peopling the west, Ohio, and especially Kentucky, sent annually to the eastern markets immense droves of hogs. Every fall, drove after drove came through Staunton, till it seemed there must be a surfeit of swine's flesh east of the Blue Ridge. At the same time, little carts drawn by little horses brought over sweet potatoes from Nelson county and oysters from Fredericksburg.

Staunton was also a great thoroughfare for travelers going to and returning from the Virginia springs. During the "springs season," the town was alive with stage coaches, besides the private carriages in which many wealthy people traveled. Some of the latter and all of the former were drawn by four horses, and occasionally there was quite a display of liveried servants.

The arrival of the Baltimore Bonapartes on their return from the springs, always caused a ripple of excitement. The first boy who caught the sight would raise the cry, "Bonaparte is coming!" and all his comrades ran to see the procession. First came a buggy drawn by two horses, in which sat a gentleman or two. Next came the family carriage drawn by four horses, and conveying the ladies and children. In the rear came a two-horse spring wagon bringing the baggage. Thus, with three vehicles, ten horses, and sundry servants, the nephew of Napoleon made his entry and passed through the streets.

The western line of public stage coaches extended from Staunton to Guyandotte, on the Ohio river, and afforded the only mode of public conveyance for travelers from nearly all parts of Virginia and portions of other States, to the Mississippi valley. Bawcett (pronounced Bocket) long the proprietor of the Winchester line, had retired from business in 1833. He was succeeded in turn by Belden, Porter, Boyd, Farish, Ficklin, Harman, Trotter and others. But at last the railroads drove the stage coaches from the field.

The Fourth of July was often celebrated with great zest, especially when General Porterfield could be induced to come up to town and take part. At other times the people had to put up with Smith Thompson, the Scotch barber, one of the few surviving soldiers of the

Revolution in Staunton, who was helped into a carriage and drawn about the streets. Tom Evans now and then paraded the streets in his continental uniform. Old Gabriel, too, who was at Yorktown, as well as Braddock's defeat, was generally on hand to tell of his exploits.

The district court of the United States sat in Staunton twice a year, and brought many strangers to town every May and October. Sometimes there were exciting trials of mail robbers and forgers of United States coin. The judges remembered by the writer were, Caldwell, of Wheeling; Pennybacker, of Harrisonburg; and Brockenbrough, of Lexington. James Points, of Staunton, was the United States Marshal.

The court-house was generally thronged with people, not only on the first day of each monthly County Court, but during nearly the whole of every term of the Circuit Court. The county levy was laid annually by the County Court at June term, the 4th Monday in the month, and it was the duty of all the justices to be present. Generally, from thirty to forty attended. They overflowed "the bench," and many had to sit in places usually occupied by jurors and others. On these occasions the court presented the appearance of a legislative body, and the proceedings were often enlivened by animated debates. James Bell, Esq., for many years the senior justice, nearly always presided at June court.

Every now and then a case of general interest arose in the Circuit Court, such as the Patrick will case, or a criminal trial like that of Naaman Roberts for forgery; and the whole population became enlisted on one side or the other. The speeches of Johnson, Sheffey, Peyton, Baldwin, and other lawyers, were talked about all over the county and at every fireside.

The meeting-house, the school-house, and the court-house, have always been the great educational institutions in Augusta.

A large proportion of the people of Augusta have always been noted church goers. Men, women and children have been in the habit of flocking to their various country churches in large numbers. Many of them went with a devout spirit to worship; others, we must confess, attended from force of habit; some, to tell and hear the news; and some, to show off their fine clothes or fine horses. During the period of which we are now speaking, the roads generally were ungraded and rugged, and there were comparatively few family carriages in the county. Buggies, now so common, were almost unknown. People of both sexes and all ages came to town and went to church on horse-

back. Young girls cantered along the highways on spirited steeds, and their beaux, on even more fiery chargers, escorted them home, and remained for dinner or supper. Sedate matrons went about in like manner, on well-broken horses, however, and it was not uncommon to see one thus mounted carrying an infant in her arms, and with an older child sitting behind her on the same horse.

A country wedding among well-to-do people was always a grand occasion. The marriage and principal feast were, of course, at the home of the bride, and all the kin far and near and all friends of both families were invited and attended. There was much fun and frolic; occasionally dancing, but no waltz or "German"; and seldom any intoxication from drink. The climax was reached at the cutting of the "bride's cake." Every young girl was eager to find the gold finger-ring which was always inserted in the cake, as the lucky finder was sure to be the next bride. Small pieces of the cake were carried away, and many a damsel slept with a bit of it under her pillow, that her future husband might be revealed to her in a dream. The festivities were kept up till a late hour. Then most of the guests dispersed to their respective homes, or to neighboring farm-homes, to spend the remainder of the night. The bridesmaids and groomsmen generally lodged at the bride's home, to be ready for next day's proceedings, and the capacity of the dwelling to furnish quarters was taxed to the utmost. A half dozen young men would be put into one room to sleep, if they could, in one or two feather beds,—hair mattresses were unknown; and in like manner the bridesmaids were accommodated in their chamber. The stable and barn, too, were crowded with guests, a dozen or more riding-horses having to be entertained. In most cases there was very little sleep. The female head of the family scarcely attempted to rest, as she must be up early in the morning to see about breakfast.

The "infare" was celebrated next day at the home of the groom's parents, if he had not provided a dwelling for himself. To this the bridal party repaired on horseback, and as the cavalcade proceeded through the country, the eyes of all the people along the route were fixed upon them. The feast to-day consisted of a dinner at which every good thing the country afforded was spread upon the table. If the season were Fall or Winter, as was most frequently the case, the prominent dish was filled by a portly goose well stuffed,—the turkey had not yet taken the place on dinner tables it now occupies. Of course there was choice old ham; and better still, a whole pig which had been roasted to a turn on a spit at the wide kitchen fireplace, with an apple in its mouth.

It may be presumed that by evening all participants were fagged out and glad to retire somewhere to rest and sleep. But often a round of parties kept half the country astir for a fortnight. As a natural consequence of one wedding, several others came off soon thereafter.

For many years there were only two militia regiments in the county,—the Thirty-second and the Ninety-third. The former mustered annually at Hanger's, and the latter at the Cross Keys, a tavern not far from Greenville. A third regiment, the One-Hundred-and-Sixtieth, was afterward formed, and then the Thirty-second mustered at New Hope, the Ninety-third at Middlebrook, and the One-Hundred-and-Sixtieth at Springhill. The officers of the various regiments met in Staunton during the month of May, and were drilled for three days preceding the regimental musters by Major George Eskridge, the brigade inspector.

The militia officers did not pay much attention to their costume. The colonels and majors and some of the captains, wore, when on parade, coats of ancient pattern, not later certainly than the war of 1812,—dark blue cloth, long swallow tails, and brass buttons, with epaulets. When, therefore, the Staunton Light Infantry appeared in the field, every private in uniform and carrying a musket, an admiring crowd followed the company wherever it marched. After a time some variety was demanded by the popular taste, and Captain Hemphill's rifle company was thereupon organized. The privates of this company wore hunting shirts and carried the regular old-fashioned rifles. Captain Robert S. Brooke's rifle company arose and flourished for some years, long after Hemphill's was disbanded. Every militia company was required to muster twice a year, and also to attend the regimental musters.

The volunteer companies mustered on one Saturday in every month. They also paraded on the 4th of July, the 22nd of February, and on other occasions when their services were required. At one time, by invitation of a military company in Lexington, the Staunton Light Infantry marched to that town and the Natural Bridge on a visit. A year or two afterwards the Lexington company returned the visit, and went, accompanied by the Staunton troops, to Weyer's Cave. On their return to Staunton, all the way-worn veterans were feasted by the ladies at a supper in the court-house yard.

Henry Snyder, a painter by trade, was the chief drummer in the county for many years. When a boy he was one of Captain Sowers' musicians in the war of 1812. His assistant was William Suthards, a gunsmith, and the principal fifer was George Orebaugh, a farmer of the Long Glade neighborhood.

In the course of time there was a great improvement in the costume of the militia officers of the county. J. Marshall McCue, a very young man and full of military ardor, was appointed adjutant of the Thirty-second regiment, before the One-Hundred-and Sixtieth was formed, and came out in a complete uniform of the modern style, including a cocked hat and plume and red sash. The example was contagious, and in a short time all the officers of high rank were similarly costumed. Still, most of the captains and lieutenants wore their every day clothing on parade, which caused them to appear less warlike and decidedly less attractive to the little boys.

The town of Staunton was, of course, a good deal enlivened by the celebrations, stage coaches, courts, musters, etc., which we have mentioned. During the dreary winter months of 1831–'3, it was kept awake by General Baldwin's law classes. This school was attended by some sprightly youths, who sometimes gave employment to the solitary police officer of the town. Dr. Waddell instructed the classes in medical jurisprudence. In his advertisement of the second session, beginning December 1, 1832, General Baldwin said: "The department of Medical Jurisprudence will again be conducted by Dr. A. Waddell, a gentleman of eminence in his profession, whose instructive and entertaining lectures were received with entire approbation by his class at the last session."

Although Staunton was apparently so unprosperous about the year 1833, many branches of industry were prosecuted here then, which have greatly declined, or are entirely unknown at the present day. The labor and cost of transportation, required the manufacture at home of many articles now obtained from the great factories abroad. It was so, no doubt, in most inland towns. But in 1833 Samson Eagon and Henry Stofer, in Staunton, and James B. Trimble, at his place, called "Bustleburg," supplied the countryside with wagons; David Gilkeson manufactured cabinet furniture and sold it widely; Jacob and Peter Kurtz were the great manufacturers of chairs, spinning wheels, etc.; Staunton supported three hatters' shops; Pitman made earthen crocks and other articles of that kind; and Williams had a rope-walk in Newtown, where he spun all sorts of cordage. Armistead Mosby, John Kennedy and Absalom Brooks supplied, not only the home demand, but a portion of eastern Virginia, with saddlery, leather and tinware, making frequent trips to the south of James river, in wagons, to sell or barter the products of their shops. Tailoring was also an important industry in Staunton before the introduction of ready-made clothing, and several establishments employed many journeymen and apprentices.

Some branches of household manufactures flourished in the county. Big and little spinning-wheels,—the former for wool and the latter for flax,—were found in almost every country dwelling. Nearly every farm had its loom-house or loom-room. All the clothing for servants, and the common every-day wear of most of the white people, was manufactured at home. The wool was generally prepared at carding machines, but spun and dyed and woven at home, and the cloth was sent to a fulling mill to receive the last finishing stroke. The cutting out and sewing were done at the family hearth. Stout, heavy jeans was made for the men, and a lighter article of linsey for women. Both had cotton warps. The knitting of socks and stockings of yarn and cotton was universal. Every female practised the art. For summer wear by females, striped cotton cloth was woven. All-wool blankets and flannels were made in large quantities, and of superior quality. Much flax was raised in the county, and the little spinning-wheel produced the thread for sewing and weaving linen. Stout "tow-linen" was woven for negro men's shirts, and quantities of toweling and sheeting were also manufactured. Many a thrifty housewife still takes pride in exhibiting the blankets, sheets and towels which her mother or grandmother made and transmitted to her.

Some account of the fashionable costumes of the people, and also of the current money, in 1830–'33 and thereabouts, may interest a portion of our readers, although neither costume nor currency was peculiar to Augusta county.

In regard to costume, the cocked hats, short breeches, and knee and shoe buckles, formerly worn by gentlemen, had disappeared. A few aged men continued to wear long hair gathered in a queue at the back of their heads, and tied with black ribbons. But most men and youths wore their hair cropped. Their heads were covered with tall black hats, at first of genuine fur, and quite costly, and afterwards of cheaper silk. Coarse wool hats were extensively worn by laboring people. The faces of the men were clean shaven, except those of members of the Dunkard church. Now and then a young man, who aspired "to look like a bandit," braved public sentiment by turning out his mustache, but he was viewed askant by staid people, and hardly tolerated in society. The necks of middle-aged and old men were enveloped in white cravats. Others wore black silk cravats, or tall and stiff "stocks." Shirt bosoms were often adorned with ruffles. Dress coats were always of dark blue broadcloth, with high collars, swallow tails, and brass buttons. Frock coats were never worn except as surtouts. Vests, or "waistcoats," as they were

generally called, were made of black velvet or satin. Pantaloons were of any kind of cloth the wearer had a fancy for, but always of a lighter shade than the coat, and in summer time generally of nankeen. Men who rode horseback, as nearly all did, more or less, wore leggings in winter time, or when the roads were muddy; and as they often walked about the streets thus equipped, city people visiting here sometimes enquired why so many men had their legs in bandages!

The bonnets of the ladies were large and towering, of whatever material made, and the lace collars were ample in size. The dresses, or "frocks," probably contained less materials than those now worn, and less work and trimming were expended upon them. The dresses were low-necked, and capes or collars were always worn, at least on the street and at church. No lady appeared in public except in prunella or morocco slippers and silk stockings. Upon one feature of female costume much thought and attention were bestowed, and that was the sleeves. These were what was called "mutton-legged," small at the wrist, but swelling largely to the shoulder, the larger the better. To make them stand out fully and exhibit all their proportions,—a foot and a half to two feet in diameter,—they were, in cold weather, stuffed with feathers. In summer time stiff millinet took the place of feathers. Bustles and hooped-skirts, which came in afterwards, never attracted as much attention as the mutton-legged sleeves. This fashion went out in Paris and New York long before the fact was known in Staunton. Finally, however, a lady from abroad, wearing closely fitting sleeves, appeared in our streets. She was stared at as a curiosity, and really looked very odd; but, nevertheless, the big sleeves speedily disappeared.

Until the decimal silver currency of the United States was issued, the small change current here, as elsewhere in the country, consisted of Spanish or Mexican dollars and other smaller pieces. By the year 1833, the pound, Virginia currency, had fallen into disuse, but lesser sums of money continued to be stated in shillings and pence. We had no five and ten cent pieces, nor quarters, so called, but a Spanish coin called "four pence ha' penny," another called "nine pence," and a third called "eighteen pence," or "one-and-six," that is, one shilling and six pence. Merchants marked their goods, and people counted money in dollars, shillings and pence. The nomenclatures and values were as follows: four pence etc., 6¼ cents; nine pence, 12½ cents; a shilling, 16⅔ cents; eighteen pence, 25 cents; two-and-three-pence, 37½ cents; three shillings, 50 cents; three-and-nine-pence, 62½ cents; four-and-six-pence, 75 cents; five-and-three-pence, 87½ cents; six shillings, $1; seven-and-six-pence, $1.25; nine shil-

lings, $1.50; fifteen shillings, $2.50. Cord wood was then unknown in Staunton, and the universal price of a four-horse wagon load of long wood was nine shillings. Nobody said a dollar and a half, as now-a-days, but nine shillings; and a quarter, or twenty-five cent piece, was always called eighteen pence. "Fifteen shilling lawyers," were those whose fees rarely exceeded $2.50.

By the year 1833, a marked improvement had been made in farm houses. All the original cabins of the early settlers had, of course, disappeared long before. These were succeeded by log dwellings built of the same materials and in the same general style as the former, but more substantial and comfortable, with here and there a rough stone house. Some of the more recent modern houses stand to this day, but weather-boarded without and plastered within, so that the logs composing the walls are not seen. Then came frame buildings, and with them, or a little after, brick houses sprang up all over the county. The style of farm dwellings constantly improved, and at this day there are probably more really handsome brick residences in Augusta than in any other county in the country. For many years, however, there was a singular want of taste in the location and arrangement of farm buildings. Often an immense barn stood between the road and the dwelling, and the wood-yard was before, or in sight of, the front door. All this has been changed, and on most farms the old barn has been removed, and the wood-pile, or wood-shed, has been retired to the rear. Still many farmers take more pride in their barns than in their dwellings. In eastern Virginia, where there were many young slaves to bring water and do other errands, the dwelling was generally located on an eminence, somewhat distant from the spring, and the kitchen was put as far off as possible from the family residence; in the Valley, the dwelling, with the kitchen adjoining, was put hard by the spring. But since cisterns and wind mill-worked wells have been introduced, the houses have been climbing up hill.

Many things now deemed essential to comfortable living were unknown in 1830,—cooking stoves, lucifer matches, gum over-shoes, and a hundred others. Reapers and mowers, movable threshing machines, grain drills, buggy rakes, gleaners, sewing machines, breech-loading guns, revolvers, and percussion caps had not been invented. Every gun had a flint lock, and merchants kept flints for sale along with powder and shot. The barns on some large farms, prior to 1840, had stationary machines for threshing, but most of the grain was beaten out with flails, or trodden out by horses. The only fertilizer imported was plaster of paris, which was used extensively by farmers.

About 1835, a silversmith named Paine, living at Waynesborough, manufactured small brass rifled-pistols, which were thought to be very superior to any other weapon of the kind. "Paine's pistols" were highly valued and much sought after.

Among the prominent citizens of Staunton, during the period of which we are speaking, was Dr. Alexis Martin. Dr. Martin was a native of France, and spoke very broken English. He claimed to have been a surgeon in the French army during the reign of Napoleon. In person, he was somewhat under the medium stature, rather stout, and of a florid complexion. He lived in a queer old frame house, which stood on the lot opposite the Augusta street African Methodist church premises. There he built an extensive bath house and cottages for the patients who for some years flocked to him. Miss Myra Clark, afterwards Mrs. General Gaines, was one of his patients. His chief remedies were "vapor sulphur baths" and a liquid called "Le Roy." He seldom appeared in public on foot, but often hurried through the streets on his black horse, "Cuffee," a natural pacer, so that the children of the town regarded him as a sort of centaur. Opinions differed materially as to Dr. Martin's merits. Many intelligent people considered him an eminent physician, while others thought him a mere pretender. The native physicians unanimously entertained the latter opinion. Dr. Martin's judgment of his three rivals is said to have been, that the first was a physician, the second a gentleman, the third neither physician nor gentleman. He spent the latter days of his life at the Blue Sulphur Springs.

The transition from doctors to funerals is natural and easy.

The funeral customs in Staunton have changed so greatly since the opening of Thornrose Cemetery, in 1851, that a brief description of former usages may be somewhat interesting. All interments of the town dead were made in the old Parish graveyard, until almost every spot was occupied, and sometimes the remains of one long buried were thrown out to make room for one who had recently died. A hearse was never used, and there was never a carriage in the procession. The coffin was borne on a bier by four men at a time. The number of pall-bearers was always eight, and they relieved one another at frequent intervals. The procession, formed at the dwelling of the deceased, was led by the minister and physician. Then came the pall-bearers with the corpse. The family of the deceased walked next. Following them came, first, the men and then the women in pairs, or *vice versa*, according to the sex of the departed. If the deceased had been connected with any church, the church bell was tolled; otherwise the courthouse bell. To omit the bell-tolling would

have been considered very disrespectful. At the funeral of a child young girls dressed in white generally served as pall-bearers, and the little coffin was carried by means of handkerchiefs passed under it and grasped by the bearers.

In 1835 the old courthouse of Augusta No. 3, and other buildings in the yard, were taken down, and the fourth courthouse and clerk's offices were erected. The present jail was not built till some years afterward.

In the same year occurred a famous contest for a seat in Congress, between Samuel McD. Moore, of Rockbridge, and Robert Craig, of Roanoke. The polls were kept open in Augusta for three days, and the county gave Moore a large majority, but Craig was elected.

Early in 1836 the commissioners appointed by act of assembly to receive subscriptions to the capital stock of the "Staunton and Potomac Railroad Company," met in Staunton and appointed agents throughout the county. Much interest was kept up in regard to the scheme until late in the year, when it was superseded by the excitement of the presidential election. At August court, Mr. Alexander H. H. Stuart addressed the people on the subject, and at that time fifty-eight persons had subscribed $65,000.

James Brownlee, about one hundred and six years of age, died in the neighborhood of Tinkling Spring, March 18, 1836. He was a native of Scotland, born in 1730, and came to this country early in the Revolutionary war.

In 1836 war was raging between the United States and the Creek Indians; and by act of Congress the President was authorized to accept the services of ten thousand volunteers. An attempt was made to raise a company in Augusta. A meeting was held at Greenville, June 11th, to promote the object, which was called to order by James Bumgardner. Captain Robert Lynch presided, and Captain Harper and Doctor Austin made speeches. But a sufficient number of volunteers could not be obtained.

A State Convention of the opponents of Martin Van Buren was held in Staunton on the 4th of July. Colonel James Crawford, of Augusta, was president of the body, which nominated General Harrison for president of the United States and John Tyler for vice-president.

The Fourth of July this year was celebrated, as the *Staunton Spectator* expressed it, "with more than usual pomp, festivity, and glee." The citizens assembled at the Presbyterian church, where "the Declaration of Independence was read by Chesley Kinney, Esq., prefaced by some beautiful and appropriate remarks, and an oration

pronounced by William Frazier, Esq., which has elicited universal commendation for its classic style and elegance." In the afternoon, a procession formed on Main street and proceeded to a spring near town where a dinner was provided. The dinner was spread on tables under a long arbor constructed for the purpose, in what was then known as "Bushy Field," northeast of town, near, if not on, the road now leading from the old Winchester road to the macadamized turnpike. Mr. Peyton presided at the dinner, assisted by General Baldwin, David W. Patteson, William Kinney, and Colonel George C. Robertson. The members of the Harrison Convention, the Staunton Light Infantry, and "the orators of the day" were invited guests. Many toasts were offered and drank. At night there was a ball at the Wayne tavern.

One incident of the celebration was not mentioned by the *Spectator* in its voluminous and glowing account of the proceedings. At that time Fannin's massacre in Texas had recently occurred, and it was feared that John S. Brooks, a native of Staunton, was one of the victims. He had gone to Texas a year or two before, and was in the Texan army. Being well known and highly esteemed here, much solicitude was felt in the community in regard to his fate.

Another native of Staunton had also been absent for many months, but where he was few, if any, persons knew. This was Elijah Calvert, a tailor by trade, commonly called "Lige." We mention his name with no unkindly feeling. On the contrary, we cherish for him a sort of gratitude for the amusement he afforded for many years to everybody in town. He was an incorrigible wag, full of practical jokes, good-natured, and willing to be laughed at if other people found enjoyment thereby. He had been a member of the Staunton Light Infantry, and was therefore a soldier. His appearance and bearing were eminently military. Anticipating the celebration of the Fourth in Staunton, he arranged it so as to return from his tramp and make his advent here on that day. Accordingly, just at the close of the dinner in Bushy Field, he presented himself to the admiring throng. He wore a slouched hat, not common in this region at that time, but associated with our ideas of wild frontier life, and that had evidently gone through the wars. He had on also a military coat, which might have been the uniform of a major-general. This latter, as well as the hat, was worn with the most delightful negligence, as if the wearer were accustomed to it, but rather tired of the costume. His countenance was extremely solemn, and his manner in the highest degree dignified. His face plainly said: "I have recently passed through too many scenes of carnage to

indulge in the least hilarity." He said little, but left much to be inferred. Immediately the information spread through the crowd that Lige Calvert had just returned from Texas, where, of course, he was the hero of a hundred desperate battles. He was plied with questions about John Brooks, but evaded them as far as he could. The captain and men of the Light Infantry gathered around him, eager to do honor to their former comrade, and planning how he should be introduced to the crowd. Lige, however, could not stand much ceremony, —at any rate, he knew better than any one else how to do the thing; so, breaking away from the self-constituted committee of arrangements, he went forward on his own responsibility. Starting at one end of the arbor, he proceeded to the other, waiving his hat over his head and saluting the crowd with inimitable grace and dignity. The finest gentleman present, however, trained in courts and camps, could not have exhibited himself half so well. During his progress from the head to the foot of the arbor, the war-worn veteran was greeted with shouts of applause. In a few days,—before the next *Spectator* was issued,—it leaked out that the hero had been quietly working at his trade in various towns, and had not been near Texas.

The *Spectator* of August 11th, published a full and authentic account of Fannin's massacre. John Brooks, who was aid to Colonel Fannin, with the rank of Captain, being unable to walk, was taken out by the Mexicans in a blanket and shot in cold blood.

Three or four years afterwards, the Fourth of July was celebrated in a different manner. There was a grand procession of Sunday-school children and others, and addresses were delivered in the Methodist church by Messrs. Lyttelton Waddell, Thomas J. Michie and Chesley Kinney.

In September, 1836, General Harrison was in Staunton, on his way to visit his early home below Richmond. He was invited to partake of a public dinner here, but declined. Many of his political friends dined with him, however, at the Washington tavern. At the election, the vote of Augusta stood, for Harrison, 801; Van Buren, 302; Hugh L. White, 20. There were only six voting places in the county,—Staunton, Waynesborough, Middlebrook, Mount Solon, Mount Sidney and the Pastures.

Robert Craig was re-elected to Congress in 1837, and at the same time Alexander H. H. Stuart and William Kinney were elected to represent Augusta in the House of Delegates. David W. Patteson represented the county in the State Senate.

In March, 1838, the Valley Turnpike Company was chartered, to construct a macadamized road from Staunton to Winchester. The

capital stock was three hundred thousand dollars, of which the State subscribed three-fifths. The remainder was promptly subscribed by the people immediately interested, and the work was vigorously prosecuted. Early in the same year the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike was located, and the road was made, in course of time, at State expense. These great improvements gave a considerable impetus to Staunton.

During the night of October 4, 1838, an extensive conflagration occurred in Staunton. The Wayne tavern, then unoccupied, five other houses, three shops and six stables were consumed. The tavern stable had been rented and supplied with forage for the horses belonging to the members of the Presbyterian Synod of Virginia, then meeting in Staunton, and seventeen of these horses perished in the flames. Another fire occurred in town soon thereafter. Both were believed to be the work of an incendiary, and the town council, on October 12th, requested merchants to discontinue the sale of lucifer matches !

On November 1, 1838, the hundreth anniversary of the organization of the county, was celebrated. The Staunton Light Infantry, Captain Harper, and Captain S. D. Coiner's troop of cavalry, paraded in town, and salutes were fired morning and evening from the old field pieces. There was also a dinner at the Washington tavern, Mr. Peyton presiding.

The subject of supplying the town of Staunton with water, by means of iron pipes leading from a spring in the country, was introduced in the town council as early as 1833, but nothing was accomplished till 1839. The Legislature in that year passed an act for supplying the Western Lunatic Asylum with water, and the town united with the asylum in bringing water from Kinney's Spring. The county contributed one thousand dollars to the cost. The quantity of water furnished, however, proving inadequate to supply both town and asylum, the former, in 1848, piped the "Buttermilk Spring." Dwellings soon sprang up on the hills surrounding the town. The contract for the present extensive city water works was awarded July 27, 1875.

In July, 1839, Cyrus H. McCormick gave the first exhibition of his reaper in the county on the farm of Joseph Smith. The machine was advertised to cut one and a-half to two acres an hour and required two men and two horses to work it. The price was fifty dollars.

The Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind was opened in Staunton the latter part of 1839 in rented quarters. The corner-stone of the building, erected by the State, was laid with much

ceremony, July 9, 1840. James McDowell, of Lexington, a member of the board of visitors, delivered an oration, and there was a dinner at the Eagle tavern.

During the summer and fall of 1840, politics were the absorbing topic throughout the country. The supporters of General Harrison, the Whig candidate, organized "Tippecanoe Clubs," built log cabins, and drank hard cider, to help on the cause. The people of Augusta were thoroughly aroused, a large majority of them supporting Harrison, but a "Spartan band" of the "unterrified Democracy" in the county was equally zealous. A two days' meeting was held in Staunton, August 24 and 25; ex-Governor Barbour, John S. Pendleton, and S. McD. Moore, were the speakers on the Whig side; and William Smith, afterwards Governor, Thomas J. Randolph, and John Letcher, represented the Democracy.

Early in October a great mass-meeting was held in Richmond, on which occcasion Daniel Webster delivered several speeches. The Whigs of Augusta attended the meeting in large numbers. On September court-day the "Augusta Banner" was displayed at the court-house in Staunton. General Baldwin made a speech and delivered the "Banner" to John Wise, who was with Harrison under Wayne at the Maumee, to bear it in the procession at Richmond. General Porterfield was in town and at the court-house, and the people escorted him to his lodgings.

The *Staunton Spectator* of October 1, announced that one hundred and fifty Augusta farmers had recently crossed Rockfish Gap, in their wagons, on their way to the Richmond meeting. John Wise was, however, stolen from them at Richmond, and made to carry the "Maumee battle-flag."

At the election, Augusta county cast 1,206 votes for Harrison, and 461 for Van Buren.

In the spring of 1841, Alexander H. H. Stuart, of Augusta, was elected to the United States House of Representatives, over his competitor, James McDowell, of Rockbridge. The preliminary canvass was noted for the ability and dignity with which it was conducted by the candidates. It is a little remarkable that only two citizens of Augusta,—Jacob Swoope and Alexander H. H. Stuart,—up to this time, had ever sat in Congress, and they only for one term each, notwithstanding many eminent men have resided here from the earliest period in the history of the county.

At the session of the Legislature of 1841–'2, General B. G. Baldwin, of Staunton, was elected by the Legislature a Judge of the

Supreme Court of Appeals. Mr. Peyton was at that time the State Senator from Augusta.

Staunton was from an early day the seat of a high school for the education of females, under a succession of teachers. In 1831 the widow and daughters of Daniel Sheffey opened a boarding school for girls, at their residence, called Kalorama, and conducted it prosperously for many years. In 1842 the Presbyterians of the county founded the Augusta Female Seminary. Soon afterward, the Episcopalians founded the Virginia Female Institute, and the Methodists the Wesleyan Female Institute. Lastly, the Staunton Female Seminary was founded under the auspices of the Lutherans.

General Porterfield died on Monday, February 13, 1843, in the ninety-first year of his age.

In October, 1843, two attempts at balloon ascensions were made in Staunton. John Wise, of Pennsylvania, a famous aeronaut, advertised an ascension on the 3d of October. He began to inflate his balloon in the Academy lot, around which a high and close fence had been built, spectators being admitted at so much a head, children half price. But the wind was very high, and Mr. Wise, with the concurrence of the crowd, abandoned his project, promising, however, to renew it at some future day. The second attempt, on Saturday, the 14th, although by a man named Cramer, was in fulfillment of the promise, and was open to the public. Multitudes of people came in from the surrounding country, and even from neighboring counties, to witness the spectacle. It was a beautiful October day, and the sight of the immense crowd in Stuart's meadow and on the side of the adjacent hill, including many females in gay shawls and dresses, was most picturesque. This time, however, there was not gas enough to inflate the balloon. Cramer detached the car, or basket, and sat astride the ropes; he stripped off his coat, his hat, his shoes, and nearly all his clothing, but was still too heavy to ascend. The balloon occasionally leaped up a few yards, but before the crowd could raise a shout it was down again. Partly floating in the air, and partly borne by several men, who every now and then tried to toss it up, it traversed Stuart's hill, the eager throng following after. Finally everybody became exhausted, and the people dispersed, well pleased with the sport. A successful ascension could not have afforded half the entertainment. Previous to this date paper balloons, inflated with heated air, had frequently been sent up at night.

Some description of the four great lawyers of Staunton, who are mentioned in the early part of the preceding chapter as cotemporaries, will not be out of place here.

Major Sheffey, as he was called, is described by persons who remember him, as a short, stout man, very near-sighted, having a decided German accent in his speech, and a habit of twirling his watch seal while addressing a court or jury. His extraordinary ability was universally conceded. He was a native of Frederick, Maryland, and originally a shoemaker. Settling at Wytheville to pursue his trade, he studied law, and soon became distinguished at the bar, in the Legislature, and in Congress. His home at Staunton was at the place called Kalorama. He died in 1830.

Mr. Johnson was a native of Louisa county, and was educated at William and Mary College. He was a tall and portly man. His features were regular and handsome, and his countenance was benignant. He always dressed well, and as he rode on horseback to and from his country seat, Bearwallow, every beholder recognized him as a man of mark. His speeches in court were long and loud, but always very able. He died in 1849.

Mr. Peyton was born in Stafford county, and educated at Princeton College. He, like Mr. Johnson, was tall, large and erect, and dressed neatly. He also rode on horseback to and from Montgomery Hall, a mile west of town. His speeches were never very long, and never wearied the listener. As a prosecuting attorney he was considered unrivaled. To many persons he probably appeared haughty; but to those he approved of, however young or ignorant, he was very genial and kind. He died in 1847.

General Baldwin,—so called till he was elected a judge of the Supreme Court of Appeals,—was born in Frederick county, and educated at William and Mary College. His residence at Staunton was at Spring Farm, less than a mile from his office. He was a large man, of rather ungraceful figure, and very indifferent about his costume, though not slovenly. He rarely appeared on horseback, but generally walked to and from town, carrying his papers in a green bag, and apparently absorbed in thinking over some important matter. He was a man of great benevolence, and in his private circle of friends distinguished for his affectionate disposition. He was considered an eloquent speaker, but was more eminent as a writer. His popularity in the county was unbounded. He died in 1852. He was major-general of militia.

All these distinguished lawyers were adherents of the Episcopal church.

Dr. Addison Waddell held no conspicuous public office, and his name seldom appears in our Annals. The writer, however, may say of his father, what all who knew him admitted to be true, that he was a learned and wise physician, and a deeply-read metaphysician and

theologian. Born near Gordonsville in 1785, he was educated at Hampden-Sidney College and in Philadelphia, and lived in Staunton from 1809 till 1855. Unambitious for himself, he spent his life in endeavoring to help the suffering and needy:

"More bent to raise the wretched than to rise."

He "walked with God" as did Enoch, and on the evening of June 18, 1855, "he was not, for God took him." His brother, Lyttelton Waddell, Esq., died March 11, 1869, and his son, Dr. J. Alexander Waddell, July 23, 1883.

For want of a more suitable place, we may mention here three of our county-men who achieved more or less distinction abroad.

John Hall was born in Augusta in 1786. He removed to North Carolina, and became a Judge of the Supreme Court of that State. His death occurred January 20, 1833. He was an uncle of the late Alexander S. Hall and Dr. Isaac Hall.

James Haggerty was a poor boy, born in Staunton. Colonel Robert Gamble found him working in a brickyard, took him into his store, first in Staunton, and afterwards in Richmond, trained him to business, and sent him to England. He became a prosperous merchant in Liverpool, and in 1841, was appointed United States Consul at that port.

Joseph G. Baldwin, a nephew of General Briscoe G. Baldwin, was reared in Staunton. He went to Alabama to practise law, wrote and published two popular books — "Flush Times in Alabama," and "Party Leaders" — and at the time of his death was a Judge of the Supreme Court of California.

CHAPTER XIX.

FROM 1844 TO 1860.

The political canvass of 1844 was conducted in Augusta, as well as elsewhere, with nearly as much ardor as was displayed in 1840. The Whigs were active in their efforts to secure the election of Henry Clay, but failed of success.

A second newspaper was established in Staunton, in 1845, as the organ of the Democrats of the county. It was first called the *Augusta Democrat*, but the name was subsequently changed to *Staunton Vindicator*.

A stranger walking through the business portion of Staunton, would not imagine that the place was liable to be devastated by floods, there being no water course visible to the eye. Yet the town has several times suffered severely from that cause. The first occurrence of the sort of much consequence, was in the summer of 1846. The north branch of Lewis' creek (which runs under Central avenue) drains an extensive valley, or rather several valleys, northwest of the town, but ordinarily is a very small rivulet. After an extraordinary down-fall of rain on the day referred to, however, a great tidal wave came down the course of the little stream, and overflowed and submerged all the lower part of the town, from Frederick street on the north and Lewis street on the west, filling cellars, entering many houses, and tearing great holes in the streets. The force of the current was so strong as to sweep down large flag-stones almost as if they were blocks of wood. In many places the water was waist deep. But no life was lost, and no house was moved from its foundation. One gentleman, however, came near being drowned. He was standing on the porch of a house which then stood at the corner of the jail lot, Augusta and Courthouse streets, and the supports of the porch being undermined, he was precipitated into the raging torrent and swept down to the channel of the creek in rear of the jail. There he was cast upon a pile of stones, from which he was rescued. Augusta street then extended south only to the creek, which was not bridged over.

When the war between the United States and Mexico arose, in 1846, the State of Virginia furnished a regiment of volunteers, to which Augusta county contributed a company. The commissioned officers of the company were Kenton Harper, Captain, and Robert H. Kinney, Vincent E. Geiger and William H. Harman, Lieutenants. The Virginia regiment was employed on the northern frontier of Mexico, and, the war having shifted to other parts of the country, never encountered the enemy in battle. The Augusta company returned home in August, 1848.

In the meanwhile the subject of internal improvements occupied much attention in the county. A meeting of the people was held in October, 1846, and resolutions were adopted in favor of the extension westward of the Louisa railroad, then completed to Gordonsville. A convention of delegates from several counties met in Staunton on the 30th of the same month, and passed resolutions of similar purport. Another more imposing convention was held in Staunton in October, 1848, which took action in favor of tunneling the Blue Ridge, and extending the railroad to Covington. We cannot follow the history of this railroad, afterwards called the Virginia Central, and now the Chesapeake and Ohio. The road was completed to Staunton, and opened for travel in 1854.

On March 9, 1848, an act of the Legislature was passed authorizing the extension of the "Howardsville and Rockfish turnpike" from Martin's Mill, in Nelson, to Greenville, in Augusta, the State to pay two-fifths of the cost, not exceeding fourteen thousand dollars. The turnpike was subsequently extended from Howard's Gap to the Staunton and Middlebrook road, about a mile from the latter place.

The "Junction Valley Turnpike Company" was chartered March 17, 1849, to make a macadamized road from Buchanan to Staunton, through Lexington, with a capital of sixty thousand dollars, of which the State subscribed three-fifths. This road was graded and planked, but not macadamized.

On Monday, February 11, 1850, occurred what was designated at the time as the "Irish Rebellion." The Irish laborers on the Central Railroad were "Corkonians," but a party of "Fardowners" [north of Ireland people] came to work on the section near Fishersville, and with their wives and children took possession of a large frame house. The "Corkonians" at the Blue Ridge tunnel warned them off, and finally, on the 11th, marched through Waynesborough, two hundred and thirty-five in number, and assailed the "Fardowners" in their quarters. They beat the men, broke into boxes, tore up

clothing, burnt down the house, and then returned to the mountain. The neighboring country people were afraid to approach near enough to ascertain the true state of affairs, and the most exaggerated and alarming reports were brought to town. We heard that many persons had been killed, and that human heads were rolling about like pumpkins. The civil authorities called upon the military for assistance; the drum was beat, nearly all the young men in town fell into ranks, and about dark a large company, well armed, marched off to the scene of disturbance. Every one fully expected a fight with the rioters. Several mounted men started in advance of the infantry, and finding on their arrival at the burnt house that the enemy had retired, crossed over to Fishersville to meet the main body. When the latter came up, the force pushed on to Waynesborough. The company arrived there at eleven o'clock, and after resting awhile, proceeded to the mountain to make a night attack. A house in which some of the Irish lodged, was surrounded, and the inmates surrendered without resistance. Other suspected Irish were arrested in Waynesborough and on the road,—in fact, every stranger whose tongue betrayed him as a native of the Emerald Isle,—so that about fifty prisoners were secured and brought to Staunton. They were examined by several magistrates during two or three days, but it was impossible to identify many of them as rioters. Only two or three were finally convicted and punished. The expedition and subsequent trials furnished many entertaining and comical incidents. The prisoners displayed their native wit on all occasions, and seemed to enjoy the sport as fully as others. Finally the community lost sight of the lawlessness of the occurrence in the amusement over the affair; and what at first appeared a dreadful tragedy, ended in general laughter.

The "Middlebrook and Brownsburg Company" was chartered March 17, 1851, to make a turnpike from Staunton to Lexington, by way of Middlebrook and Brownsburg. The capital stock was thirty-seven thousand five hundred dollars, of which the State subscribed three-fifths. The road was made as contemplated.

The first bank opened here was established in 1847. It was a branch of the "Bank of the Valley in Virginia," at Winchester, and was known as the "Valley Bank, at Staunton." The Central Bank of Virginia, an independent institution, was established here in 1853. The funds of these institutions were unavoidably converted into Confederate currency and securities during the war of 1861–'65, and the capital of both was found to be worthless at the end of the war.

The Mossy Creek Academy, a high school for boys, was established in 1850, by Jed. Hotchkiss. A handsome and convenient build-

ing was erected, and the school flourished for a number of years. Many of its pupils became prominent and useful men. The war of secession closed this school, as it did most others. During a part of the war the building was used as a Confederate military hospital, and was accidentally destroyed by fire. The portions of the building not consumed were used in the construction of a pubblic free school-house on or near the site of the academy.

The subject of calling a convention to revise the State Constitution was agitated for several years previous to 1850. In that year the convention was called; the members from Augusta were David Fultz and Hugh W. Sheffey, and the new Constitution was ratified by the people at the polls in 1851. The changes in our system of government were numerous and radical. Suffrage was extended to all white male citizens; and judges, justices of the peace and all county officers were made elective by the people.*

The last session of the County Court of Augusta under the old system was held July 26, 1852. Lyttelton Waddell was the last of the high sheriffs, but held the office for only a few months. George M. Cochran, Sr., would have succeeded him, if there had been no change in the Constitution. Both these gentlemen had served as members of the County Court for many years without compensation. The people, however, retained most of the former county officers. Judge Thompson was elected judge of the Circuit Court, Nicholas C. Kinney clerk of that court, and Jefferson Kinney clerk of the County Court. Moses H. McCue was elected sheriff, and William H. Harman commonwealth's attorney.

Under the Constitution of 1850, justices of the peace were elected for a term of four years, beginning July 1, 1852. The first County Court was held by the new justices on the fourth Monday in July of that year. Colonel James Crawford was elected president of the

* The Justices of the Peace and members of the County Court at the time the change was made were Shelton S. Abney, Jacob Baylor, David S. Bell, James Bell, Samuel H. Bell, James Berry, John B. Breckinridge, Robert P. Brown, George M. Cochran, James A. Cochran, Samuel D. Crawford, James Crawford, Benjamin Crawford, Joseph D. Craig, Dr. John A. Davidson, John G. Fulton, Theophilus Gamble, David Griffith, Robert Guy, William Guy, Samuel Harnsberger, Dr. Isaac Hall, William Harris, Samuel Harris, Kenton Harper, Porterfield A Heiskell, James Henry, Elijah Hogshead, David Kerr, Samuel Kennerly, James M. Lilly, Nathaniel Massie, Edward G. Moorman, Archer M. Moore, John McCue, J. Marshall McCue, John A. Patterson, William Ramsey, Joseph Smith, James M. Stout, Gerard B. Stuart, William M. Tate, Dr. A. Waddell, Lyttelton Waddell, John Wayt, Thomas P. Wilson, William Wilson, Luke Woodward, Lewis Wayland, and William Young.

court. His successor was Nathaniel Massie, and other presiding justices were, in the order named : Robert Guy, J. Marshall McCue, and Robert G. Bickle.

Alexander H. H. Stuart, of Staunton, was called to the cabinet of President Filmore in 1850, as Secretary of the Interior.

After the adoption of the Constitution of 1851, Staunton was usually selected as the place in which to hold State conventions of the Democratic party, to nominate candidates for governor, lieutenant-governor and attorney-general. Here Joseph Johnson and Henry A. Wise were successively nominated for the office of governor, by large and tumultuous assemblies.

A brief account of the burying-grounds of Staunton must not be omitted. On April 3, 1750, William Beverley conveyed to John Madison and James Lockart, church-wardens of Augusta Parish, and their successors, in consideration of six pounds Virginia money, a lot of land containing nearly two and a half acres, adjacent to the town of Staunton, " for the use of the Parish of Augusta as a place to erect a church on." This lot became the common burying ground for the people of Staunton and vicinity, and was so used for a hundred years. By the end of that time it was crowded to overflowing, so that it was almost impossible to dig a new grave without encroaching upon the remains of some one already buried there.

It was high time for another burial-place to be provided, and in 1848–'9, some citizens of the town organized for the purpose. Thornrose Cemetery Company was chartered by act of the Legislature, February 24, 1849, and a tract of twelve acres west of the town was bought and laid off in lots, roads and walks. The town council entered an order, December 29, 1852, prohibiting further interments in the old graveyard ; but, as far as the records show, the first interment in the Cemetery was not made till March 29, 1853.

On the 28th of May, 1853, the Cemetery was formally dedicated. A procession of Free Masons, Odd Fellows, Sons of Temperance and other citizens was formed in town, and walked to the Cemetery, where prayer was offered ; and on returning to the Methodist church, an address was there delivered by Professor McGuffey of the University of Virginia.

William Coleman was murdered in Staunton during the night of August 11, 1853. He was a small old man, a cabinet-maker by trade, and one of the meekest and most inoffensive persons in the town. His residence and shop were on, or near, the site of the Staunton Gas Works, and being a bachelor, he lived entirely alone. He was last

seen alive on Thursday, August 11th. On Friday and Saturday his doors were closed, and as he did not appear about his premises as usual, fears in regard to him began to be entertained. On Sunday morning, the 14th, the house was entered, and there lay the body of the old man, his skull crushed by a hammer which was found near by, covered with gore. The house had apparently been searched for money, which, from Coleman's industrious and frugal habits, it was supposed he possessed.

Suspicion fell upon three men, and they were arrested, one of whom turned State's evidence. The other two were convicted and sentenced to be hung; but one only was executed, the punishment of the other being commuted by the Governor to confinement in the penitentiary.

The political canvas of 1855, which resulted in the election of Henry A. Wise as Governor, caused much excitement in Augusta, as well as elsewhere in the State; but there was nothing of special local interest connected with it.

In February, 1856, a resident of Staunton disappeared in a mysterious manner. This was a homely little German called Martin Wygand. He was a native of Bavaria, and had been a servant in the household of Otho, King of Greece. When he first came to Staunton, he could scarcely speak a word of English. He obtained employment as a gardner, and soon proved himself an industrious and thrifty man.

At the same time, and for many previous years, an old woman named Katy Woolwine and her daughter, Harriet, lived in a log hut in the part of Staunton called Gallowstown. Harriet was an old maid with a sallow complexion, very deaf, and not at all handsome. Both mother and daughter were members of the Presbyterian church, and the latter, at least, was a woman of unexceptionable character. She was a seamstress, and went from house to house to do sewing for many families. In the course of nature the mother died, and Harriet was left alone in the world. But the time had come for her to find a husband. Martin Wygand, attracted by her virtues, if not her beauty,—or by the two hundred dollars she was said to have laid up,—proposed marriage and was accepted. It is still a question whether Harriet ever knew her husband's name,—she never referred to him except as "he" and "him." Martin was originally a Roman Catholic, but after a few years he professed the Protestant religion and joined the Presbyterian church. Before this, however, he had become sexton of the church, the duties of which office he discharged with great efficiency for a number of years. He prospered in his wordly affairs; the products of his garden and his salary as sexton afforded him a competent

support and some surplus ; so that he purchased a lot of several acres and built a house upon it. His wife, however, died, and then Martin became involved in serious trouble. Being considered an eligible match, several German women aspired to a dower interest in his estate. One buxom widow came all the way from Richmond to cheer his loneliness and obtain a home for herself. He had probably encouraged her addresses through a mutual acquaintance, but when she arrived did not like her person or manners. She went to his house, and finding him inexorable, retired in a rage, declaring to him in broken English, "I makes you marry me." A suit for breach of marriage contract was actually instituted. Poor Martin was grievously afflicted. He had several times exhibited symptoms of derangement, and now he was but a little better than a lunatic. At length he disappeared from his accustomed walks, and the doors and windows of his house remained closed all day. Some friend went upon the premises, and found his pig and cows in a neglected and suffering condition. From that time he has not been seen in Staunton, and his fate is unknown. He was heard of in Winchester, and there all trace of him was lost. His property was supposed to have escheated, and was sold ; but finally some distant relative of his wife established their legal right to the proceeds and obtained them.

The Catholic priest residing in Staunton for some years previous to 1857, was Daniel Downey, a stout and rollicking Irishman. He lived in the ancient brick house on the west side of Augusta street, nearly opposite his church. Persons passing this house at 8 or 9 o'clock on the night of December 12, 1857, discovered on the pavement, opposite the front door, the dead body of a man, who proved to be William Mullins, a young Irishman. Officers entered the house, and found Downey lying on the floor of the front room in a state of insensibility.

A coroner's jury was impaneled, and the following facts were ascertained : Mullins had seduced Margaret ———, Downey's housekeeper, and promised to marry her, but put it off from day to day. He was expected up that evening for the purpose, and not coming, a friend who was staying with Downey, went for him ; and he came accompanied by another Irishman. Mullins went immediately to Downey's chamber, at the rear of the house, while the other two remained in the front room with Margaret ———. There was a door between the rooms, but neither of the men saw what took place in the chamber. One of them heard a few words ; the other heard nothing. Suddenly, a pistol was fired in the chamber, and the two men rushing in found Mullins dead, or dying. They carried him out of the house.

One of them remained by the body, and the other went for assistance. Margaret ——— fled from the premises.

The jury held Downey for trial, and he was committed to jail.

The Examining Court was held January 6, 1858, and the prisoner was sent on to the Circuit Court. The trial in the latter court began June 5, 1858, and Margaret ——— was then introduced as a witness. She testified that she saw Mullins take up the pistol, and heard Downey order him to lay it down. A momentary scuffle ensued, and from the statements of the witness it seemed possible, if not probable, that Mullins was accidentally shot. The jury, however, could not agree, and were discharged on the 15th.

A second trial took place at November term, 1858, and on the 15th the jury rendered a verdict of "murder in the second degree." On motion of the prisoner's counsel, Judge Thompson set aside the verdict, aud ordered a new trial at a special term on February 8, 1859.

At the third trial, Judge Kenney, of Rockingham, presided, and again the jury failed to agree. The case was then removed to Albemarle county.

The last trial took place in Charlottesville, in May, 1859, and on the 13th the accused was acquitted and discharged, public opinion generally approving.

Downey survived his acquittal ten or twelve years, living in the house where the tragedy occurred. He was deposed from the priesthood, and under the ban of the church during the remainder of his life.

We must not omit to mention the great snow storm of January, 1857, which is still often referred to in conversation, and by the newspapers. Snow began to fall about 7 o'clock Saturday night, the 17th, and continued without cessation for twenty-four hours. All day Sunday, the 18th, the mercury stood at zero, and the wind blew in a gale from apparently every point of the compass, driving the snow into houses through every crack, piling it up many feet deep in some places, and in others sweeping the earth bare. The running of trains on the Virginia Central railroad was suspended for ten days, and as there was then no telegraph line to Staunton, the people of the town and county were cut off from communication with the outside world. But never did good-fellowship and all the social virtues prevail so generally in the community. Two issues of the Staunton newspapers were brought out during the embargo, and the editors were put to the

trumps for copy. At length after dark Tuesday evening, the 27th, the town was startled and elated by the unaccustomed sound of an engine whistle, and a large part of the population rushed to the depot to learn the news. Did Richmond, Washington and New York survive, or had they been smothered to death by the snow? The train proved to be only an engine with one car attached, bringing the passengers who had started from Richmond on the 18th. The regular western train of that day was arrested by the storm at Louisa Court-house, and the passengers were detained there till the 21st. They then worked their way by some means to Gordonsville, where they had to remain till the 25th. Starting again, they spent a night in the railroad car, and reached Staunton, as stated, on the 27th. They brought no mail nor news except the account of their own adventures. At 4 o'clock Wednesday, January 28th, the first train from Richmond arrived with thirty bags of mail for the Staunton postoffice.

The John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry occurred in the fall of 1859. Many military companies were assembled at that place by order of Governor Wise, among them the West Augusta Guard of Staunton, Captain W. S. H. Baylor. This fanatical affair was like "the letting out of waters," comparatively trifling in itself, but tending to the desperate strife which arose in less than two years thereafter.

Again in the summer of 1860, Staunton was visited by three floods, two in one day, similar to the occurrence of 1846. The first was preceded by a terrific storm of thunder, lightning, wind and rain. As on the former occasion, after the storm was over the flood came and swept through the town. The last of this series presented a curious phenomenon. The rain had ceased, the clouds were dispersed, and the sun was shining brightly, when a vast wall of water, apparently eight or ten feet high, came down the meadow from towards the present city water works. It moved so deliberately that a person on Prospect street, seeing it coming, ran down Augusta street to Courthouse street, thence up New street to Beverley, and up Augusta to Frederick, warning people as he went of the approaching overflow, and reached Frederick street just as the raging torrent came booming round the corner. The water was so deep in the street at the Virginia Hotel as to admit of persons swimming in it.*

*A still more destructive flood occurred early in the night of Tuesday, September 29, 1896. Rain fell at intervals in torrents all day; but late in the afternoon the storm seemed to have ceased. About half past 8 o'clock, however, it began again, and for several hours rain came down in almost solid sheets. The lower parts of the town were deluged. On the former occasions the main branch of Lewis creek contributed little to the overflow, but on this the flood appeared

Churches in Augusta County.

A history of religious denominations is an essential part of the annals of a county, and we regret that we cannot give a more detailed account of the various churches in Augusta. Efforts to obtain information, however, have signally failed. There has been a strange neglect on the part of the officers and members of most congregations to preserve the history of their respective organizations.

The first settlers of the county having been almost unanimously Presbyterians, the congregations and meeting-houses of that denomination ante-date all others by many years. We have given such accounts as we have of the earliest Presbyterian congregations,—Augusta (or Stone Church), Tinkling Spring, Hebron (or Brown's meeting-hsuse), Rock Spring, and Bethel. Mossy Creek church was organized in 1767. All these congregations have had a succession of worthy, and in some cases eminent, pastors, besides many heretofore mentioned, including the Rev. William Brown, Rev. F. M. Bowman and Dr. Handy, of Augusta church; and the Rev. Messrs. B. M. Smith, R. L. Dabney, C. S. M. See and G. B. Strickler, of Tinkling Spring. There was no regular Presbyterian church organization in Staunton till 1804. At first the Presbyterians living in town were connected with Tinkling Spring. From 1804 to about 1824, or 1825, Staunton and Hebron united in the support of a pastor. The first church building of the denomination in the town was erected in 1818. Before the Revolution, Presbyterian ministers preached occasionally in the court-house, and after the war, up to the year 1818, they officiated on alternate Sundays in the old parish church. The Rev. Joseph Smith was the first pastor of the Staunton church, when it became a separate, or self-sustaining organization, from 1826 to 1832. The present house of worship was erected in 1871, the old church being then turned over to the Augusta Female Seminary.

A second Presbyterian church was organized in Staunton in 1875, and its church building erected in 1876.

The first Presbyterian chuch in Waynesborough was erected about 1798, which was superseded by another in 1824. Until 1847, Waynesborough was associated with Tinkling Spring in the support of a

to come chiefly from that quarter. Moreover, the dam at the Fair Ground and an embankment on Brew's farm, Middlebrook road, broke, and the water which had accumulated being discharged, carried destruction in its course. A family of four negroes living near the stone railroad bridge on the Middlebrook road, were drowned, their house having been washed away. From that bridge to the depot of the Valley Railroad was, next morning, a scene of desolation. Many buildings fell or were swept off, and from 30 to 40 horses and mules were drowned. In the midst of the storm, the electric and gas lights were extinguished, and the town was left in pitch darkness. The fire bell was rung to call people to the rescue of others who were in peril, but in the darkness and flood little could be done. As never before our people realized the meaning of the words "the terror by night."

pastor. In that year, however, a separate church was organized there, with the Rev. William T. Richardson as pastor.

Other Presbyterian churches in the county, with the dates of their organization, are as follows: Union, 1817; Shemariah, 1832; Mt. Carmel, 1835; Mt. Horeb, 1857; and Loch Willow, at Churchville, 1866. There are also several chapels in the county connected with various congregations.

The many "Mounts" in the county are supposed to be an importation from "the old country." The prefix of Mount to names of places is common in the north of Ireland.

The Church of England being established by law in the colony till the Revolution, vestrymen for Augusta parish were elected in 1746, and a rector was appointed during 1747. The erection of the parish church was not begun, however, till 1760. The building was finished in 1762, the rector officiating in the meanwhile in the court-house and private dwellings. Mr. Balmaine, the curate in 1775, entered the army as chaplain at the beginning of the Revolutionary war, and did not return to Staunton to reside. It is said that a minister named Chambers officiated here for a short time, in 1788, and then removed to Kentucky. From that time, till about 1811, there was no regular Episcopal service in the church. In the meanwhile, several prominent gentlemen from Eastern Virginia, had settled in Staunton, and having been reared in the Episcopal church, they naturally desired to reinstate here the modes of worship to which they were attached. It is said also that fears were entertained lest the heirs of William Beverley might successfully claim the lot if the Episcopal service were permanently discontinued, and thus alienate not only the church but the common burying-ground of the town. At that time Mr. William King resided in Staunton. He was a zealous member of the Methodist church, and a man of exemplary character. Originally a cooper by trade, Dr. Boys gave him some instruction in surgery, and he then practised medicine upon a system peculiar to himself. At the instance of Mr. Peyton, and others, Bishop Madison, in 1811, licensed Mr. King as deacon, to read the Episcopal service in the church. He officiated in this manner for some years. In 1815 he paid tax as one of the physicians of the county.

The Rev. Daniel Stephens, D. D., a regularly educated minister, settled in Staunton, in 1820, as rector of the parish and principal of the Staunton Academy. He remained for a few years only, going to the west in 1827. The next rector was the Rev. Ebenezer Boyden, who took charge of the church in 1831. Mr. Boyden was a gentleman of literary taste and culture, and was the first person in the county to pay particular attention to the cultivation of the grape-vine. He married in Staunton the oldest daughter of Major Daniel Sheffey.

The original parish church was taken down in 1831 and a new church built. The latter gave way to another, which was superseded by the present structure. There are two Episcopal chapels in the county, one called Boyden, five miles southeast of Staunton, and the other called Trinity, two miles west of town.

About the year 1748 the Presbyterians began to hold service in a meeting-house two miles northwest of Midway, or Steele's tavern. They called the place "Providence," probably after a church of the same name in Pennsylvania, but in the course of time it was designated "Old Providence," to distinguish it from New Providence in Rockbridge. In or about 1765, the population on Walker's creek, Rockbridge, having increased, and the membership being chiefly in that neighborhood, Old Providence was abandoned as a place of worship. When the schism occurred at New Providence in 1789 or 1790 on account of psalmody, a portion of the congregation reopened the Old Providence meeting-house, and it became an Associate Reformed, or "Seceder" Presbyterian church. They built a stone church in 1793, which still stands, but is disused, a brick church, built in 1859–60, having taken its place. The Rev. Horatio Thompson, D. D., was pastor of Old Providence for many years.

The first Lutheran church in the county, called Coiner's, or Trinity, on South river, was built in 1780. Mt. Tabor church in Riverheads district, was built in 1785; Mt. Zion, six miles west of Middlebrook, was organized in 1830; Mt. Hermon, at Newport, in 1850; Bethlehem, near Fishersville, in 1843; Mt. Zion, near Waynesborough, about 1845; Staunton Lutheran church, in 1850; Salem, near Mt. Sidney, in 1845; and the Churchville church, in 1850. Bethany, near Waynesborough, and Pleasant View, between Staunton and the village of Springhill, are other Lutheran churches.

A Methodist church was built in Staunton before the close of the last century, probably in 1797, although the name of "Staunton circuit" first appears on the minutes of the Methodist Episcopal church in the year 1806. Mr. Sampson Eagon, who lived on the top of the hill, southwest corner of Main and Coalter streets, was one of the founders of the church in this community. He was a zealous and good man, universally respected, and held religious services at times in his wagon-maker's shop, which stood in the same lot as his dwelling. Hence the eminence on which he lived was called "Gospel Hill." The present church building in Staunton is the third which has occupied the same spot.* There is now a Methodist church at nearly every village in the county, the number of churches and chapels being eighteen, besides several colored Methodist churches.

The German Reformed church in the county dates back to the last century. For many years this denomination held jointly with the Lutherans, St John's church, near Middlebrook, St. Peter's, at Churchville, and Zion's, near Waynesborough. The Rev. John Brown ministered to these churches many years, till 1833. From 1835 to 1858 the Rev. J. C. Hensel officiated at St. John's. New Bethany church, at Newport, was founded in 1845, and a church was built at Mint Spring in 1882.

* A fourth building now occupies the spot, erected in 1896.

The Tunker, or German Baptist church, was organized in the county about the year 1790. Its places of worship are known as Mt. Vernon, Barren Ridge, Valley District and Moscow, with branches at several places.

The United Brethren have fifteen organized churches in the county, and eleven houses of worship.

The Catholic church in Staunton was built in 1850. A school connected with the church is conducted by Sisters of Charity.

A Baptist church was organized in Staunton in 1853 and the recent house of worship was built in 1855. There are now six Baptist churches of the same connection in the county,—at Waynesborough, Greenville, etc.,—besides two colored churches in Staunton.

CHAPTER XX.

AUGUSTA COUNTY AND THE WAR OF SECESSION—1860-'2.

It is not expected that we should give here a history of the recent war, from 1861 to 1865; but a brief account of the state of affairs in the county during that period will be attempted. Much has been written and published about the battles of the war and the life of soldiers in the field; we propose to relate succinctly how the people at home fared, what they saw and heard, what they thought, and how they felt.

Until the war actually arose, the sentiment of the people of Augusta, with the exception of a few individuals, was earnestly in favor of maintaining the Union. At the Presidential election, Breckinridge, who was regarded as the secession candidate (although most of his supporters denied that he was), received only 218 votes in the county, while Bell received 2,553, and Douglas, 1,094.

As soon as the result of the election was known, the people of South Carolina took steps to secede from the Union; and thereupon many citizens of Augusta published a call for a county mass-meeting on Saturday, November 17, to consult as to what course was necessary "for the preservation of the Union in the present alarming condition of our country." The meeting was held in the court-house on the day named, and was large and enthusiastic. Alexander H. H. Stuart presided, and John L. Peyton acted as secretary. It was resolved to appoint a committee of thirteen to report to a meeting at November court such resolutions as they might deem proper for the people of Augusta to adopt. By vote of the meeting, Mr. Stuart was made chairman of the committee, and the other members were Hugh W. Sheffey, George Baylor, John B. Baldwin, John L. Peyton, Kenton Harper, John D. Imboden, George M. Cochran, Jr., Joseph A. Waddell, John McCue, Benjamin Crawford, Gerard B. Stuart, and Robert Guy.

On November court day, (the 26th), the court-house was crowded with people anxious to participate in the proceedings, and never were more interest and anxiety exhibited by a popular assembly. A series of resolutions, written by Hugh W. Sheffey, and with some modifica-

tions adopted by the committee of thirteen, was reported to the meeting. One of the resolutions declared the Constitution of the United States to be "the easiest yoke of government a free people ever bore, and yet the strongest protector of rights the wisdom of man ever contrived." Another expressed sympathy with the people of the extreme Southern States in their aggrieved feeling at the election of Lincoln, but appealed to them to unite with Virginia "in testing the efficacy of remedies provided by the Constitution and within the Union." The last resolution was as follows: "That our senator and delegates be requested, in the discharge of the responsible duties which will soon devolve upon them, in the spirit of harmony and conciliation attempted to be expressed in these resolves, to bend all their energies to keep Virginia to her moorings as 'Flag Ship of the Union,' and to induce her, placed as she is between the North and the extreme South, with moderation, forbearance and wisdom worthy of her ancient renown, to exert her power and influence to preserve, on the one hand, the known and equal rights of her own people as citizens of a common country, and, on the other, the harmony of the Union and the integrity of the Constitution."

Every attempt to change the resolutions was voted down, and they were adopted by an overwhelming majority. A resolution in favor of a State Convention, to be called by the Legislature, was also defeated. Union men considering that a step in the direction of secession. Thus the people of Augusta took their stand in favor of the Union, and against every measure which it was feared might tend to its dissolution. But while in favor of the Union, they were opposed to all measures of coercion by the Federal Government, regarding an enforced union of States, by means of military power, as inconsistent with our theory of government, and not to be desired. They preferred to allow any State, resolved upon secession, to try the experiment without let or hindrance. For themselves, they proposed to remain in the Union. And although seeking peace, they reserved the right to determine on which side they would fight, if fight they must.

During the months of December and January, the course of events was watched with intense anxiety. President Buchanan having appointed Friday, January 4, 1861, as National Fast Day, on account of the disturbed condition of the country, the occasion was observed in Staunton in a remarkable manner. The whole people appeared to feel the solemnity of the crisis. All the stores were closed, and business generally was suspended. Sermons were preached in the various churches by the respective pastors at 11 o'clock, a. m.,

and at 3 a Union prayer-meeting was held in the Lutheran church, which was crowded to overflowing. Vain was the help of man,—God was earnestly entreated to interpose and save the country from ruin.

Contrary to the wishes of the people of Augusta, the Legislature passed an act providing for a State Convention. The election was held on the 4th of February, and Alexander H. H. Stuart, John B. Baldwin and George Baylor were chosen, as Union men, to represent Augusta county.

The Convention met in February, and, being largely composed of men opposed to secession, if it could be avoided, for two months labored to prevent disunion, and restore peace to the distracted country. It seemed to our people that a corresponding spirit was not exhibited by the Federal government and the North generally. A great revolution was in progress in many of the Southern States, but the authorities at Washington persisted in treating it as the ebullition of a mob. President Lincoln having been inaugurated, formidable military and naval preparations were set on foot. Finally, Fort Sumter having surrendered to the Carolinians, the President issued a proclamation on April 15th calling for seventy thousand volunteers. Virginia was asked to furnish her quota of troops, and Staunton was named as one of the places of rendezvous. The proclamation precipitated the action of the Convention, and an ordinance of secession, subject to the vote of the people, was passed April 17, 1861. From that day, however, a state of war between Virginia and the United States was recognized as existing. Our people almost unanimously took side with the Southern States. Which side,—North or South,—was to blame, we shall not discuss here, but the people of Augusta, and, indeed, of the whole State, have always felt that they were not responsible for the conflict.

Much military enthusiasm prevailed throughout the State after the "John Brown raid," and many volunteer companies were organized in this county. When the war began we had about a dozen, one artillery, two cavalry, and the remainder infantry. All the infantry companies were armed, and the artillery had four pieces of cannon. The West Augusta Guard, of Staunton, the oldest of the organizations, was completely equipped.

On the 13th of April the commissioned officers of seven of the organized companies in the county met in Staunton to form a volunteer regiment, to be designated the Fifth, as provided by law. The following field officers were elected: William S. H. Baylor, Colonel; Absalom Koiner, Lieutenant-Colonel; Franklin F. Sterrett, First

Major, and Rudolph Turk, Second Major. Other companies in the county were invited to join the regiment. The organization of the regiment was, however, not completed, the various companies being ordered to the field a few days afterwards and a different arrangement consummated.

April 17, 1861, was a day of intense excitement in Staunton. People from the country poured into town, and all business and labor were suspended. An order had been received by telegraph from Richmond,—irregularly issued, it was afterwards ascertained,—requiring the various military companies of the county to prepare to march. Late in the afternoon of the 17th, the West Augusta Guard, Captain William S. H. Baylor, and the Staunton Artillery, Captain John D. Imboden, went eastward by a special railroad train, and it soon afterwards appeared that their destination was Harper's Ferry, by way of the Alexandria and Manassas Gap railroad.

On the 19th the companies from Springhill (Captain Doyle), Greenville, (Captain Newton), and Middlebrook, (Captain Williams), marched down the Valley. Captain Patrick's troop of cavalry, and Captain Koiner's company of infantry also marched on the 19th without passing through Staunton. The West View company, (Captain Roberts), the Mt. Solon company, (Captain Grinnan), the Mt. Sidney company, (Captain Stuart M. Crawford), commanded by Lieutenant William P. Johnston, the captain being sick, and Captain A. W. Harman's company, organized at Staunton, speedily followed the others down the Valley.

Kenton Harper, Major-General of militia, was ordered by the Governor to proceed to Harper's Ferry and take command. He was, however, superseded by Colonel Thomas J. Jackson before the close of the month.

Eight infantry companies from this county and two more from the lower valley, were organized at Harper's Ferry as the Fifth Virginia regiment. This regiment became a part of the "Stonewall Brigade," and served during the war, at the close of which very few of the original members survived. The first field officers of the regiment were Kenton Harper, Colonel; William H. Harman, Lieutenant-Colonel; and Wm. S. H. Baylor, Major.

Staunton soon became an important military station, and a great depot for army supplies. M. G. Harman was the first quartermaster of the post, with the rank of major. He, on going to the field, was succeeded for a short time by A. W. Harman. Finally, H. M. Bell was appointed to the office, and held it during the last two and a half years of the war. The first commissary of the post was Captain F. H.

Henderson, who was succeeded by Captain E. W. Bayly. Wm. M. Tate, of Augusta, afterwards commissioned commissary with the rank of major, was stationed at Staunton as agent for the purchase of army subsistence. Extensive hospitals for sick and wounded soldiers were also organized and maintained here during the war. The first surgeon in charge was Dr. J. Alexander Waddell, and afterwards, successively, Dr. Hay and Dr. A. M. Fauntleroy.

During the latter part of April, sixty-nine wagons laden with guns from the Lexington arsenal, arrived in town. Day after day troops also arrived and departed. On May 18, seven companies, under command of Colonel John Echols, were temporarily quartered here. The ladies were then busily at work making soldiers' garments.

The ordinance of secession was voted on by the people May 23, and ten votes against it were cast in the county. The vote for the ordinance was 3,130. At the same time Hugh W. Sheffey, William M. Tate and James Walker were elected to the House of Delegates. Bolivar Christian represented the county in the State Senate.

On June 4, news of the encounter with the enemy at Philippi, Barbour county, was received. The Churchville cavalry, Captain Sterrett, was there, which increased the anxiety felt in the community. A considerable body of Virginia troops was soon collected in the northwestern part of the State, beyond the Alleghany mountain, and most of the supplies were forwarded from Staunton. For this purpose, in addition to government wagons and teams, many others belonging to farmers were temporarily pressed into service.

Captain R. D. Lilly's company, organized at Staunton, and four other companies from different counties started to the northwest on June 7. Regiment after regiment and company after company arrived and departed in like manner.

The militia of the county were called out on the 28th of June. On the 15th and 16th of July we had tidings of the disaster in the northwest, and of the death of General Garnett.

From a diary kept by the writer at Staunton during the war, we shall now make sundry extracts, as more likely to interest the reader than any other statement of facts. A contemporary account, written on the spot, will, perhaps, to some extent, enable readers to view things as they were seen by the writer. Dr. Johnson says that men forget the actual miseries of war, and delude themselves by supposing that it consists wholly in a proclamation, a battle, a victory, and a triumph. Here the reader may obtain a glimpse of what war is. We quote :

Saturday, July 20, 1861.—We have had a horrid view of war since my last. On Thursday evening two wagons full of sick soldiers arrived from Monterey, Highland county. Before these could be provided for, others were brought in. The sick men were taken out of the wagons and placed in the sheriff's office and court-house, many of them on the floors. The sight was a sickening one—one man gasping with asthma, another burning with fever, and another shaking with chills. There are now at least one hundred and fifty sick soldiers in town. The citizens are doing what they can for them. * * * The Arkansas regiment left for the northwest yesterday. Two other regiments left this morning, and a fourth will go to-day. The men of one of the companies sang as they moved off: "We'll stand the storm," etc. * * * George M. Cochran, Jr., arrived from Winchester yesterday evening, and says General Johnston has gone across the Blue Ridge to reinforce Beauregard at Manassas. * * *

Evening.—The sick soldiers have been coming in all day in crowds, and are lying about in every place, suffering for food, etc.

On the 19th we heard by telegraph of some fighting in Fairfax county, which was the beginning of the "First Battle of Manassas."

Monday, July 22.—The telegraph reported yesterday that the fight near Manassas Junction had been renewed, and this morning there is intelligence of a great battle, lasting from 8 A. M. till 6 P. M. The victory is attributed to our side. The enemy were said to be retreating, pursued by our cavalry. Total loss (on both sides, it is presumed), ten thousand to twelve thousand. Most of the volunteers from this county were on the field, and we know that at least a part of General Johnston's command was in the engagement. The utmost desire, not without apprehension, is felt to obtain full particulars.

At night the telegraph announced that one member of the Staunton Artillery and two of the Guards, (William H. Woodward and Joab Seely), had been killed, and that seven men in both companies were wounded.

Tuesday, July 23.—The town is overflowing with sick soldiers and stragglers from the Northwestern army. There are probably three hundred in hospital. No arrangement yet for their comfort at the Institution.

The State Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind had been occupied as a hospital for sick and wounded soldiers; but some time was required for making suitable arrangements.

Wednesday, July 24.—The streets are full of soldiers, many of whom are lying against the houses and on store boxes. A free negro woman took three of them home with her to get something to eat and a place to lie down. They had arrived from Monterey, broken down and destitute.

Thursday, July 25.—A letter was received last night from Lyttleton Waddell, Jr., [of the Staunton Artillery.] He began the letter Sunday morning (21st), and in the first part gives an account of the march from Winchester and the arrival at Manassas. In the midst of a sentence he breaks off to say that he heard the report of cannon and must go to his post. At 5 o'clock P. M. he resumed and told about the battle; but at the close of the letter could not say definitely what was the result. On a separate piece of paper he states that General Johnston had come along and announced a victory! More troops arrived last night, and a second North Carolina regiment this morning. Others are still here.

Friday, July 26.—The booty captured after the battle near Manassas is said to be immense. The Federalists seem to have anticipated an easy march to Richmond, and were provided with all sorts of conveniences and luxuries. Many females and children accompanied their army, and female apparel and even children's toys were found scattered over the ground.

Monday, July 29.—Two railroad trains arrived yesterday with troops, Tennesseans, I believe. Part of them went on immediately by way of Millborough to the Northwestern army. * * General Lee arrived in the mail train late this evening, and was saluted by a Georgia artillery company stationed on the left of the Middlebrook road, half a mile from town.

Tuesday, July 30.—A Tennessee regiment went off last night. There are still, however, many soldiers about town. The drum is beating nearly all the time. The camp fires on Garber's hill Sunday night were very beautiful. * * No paper has been issued from the *Spectator* office for two weeks, Mauzy and all his hands being in the militia. A long line of cavalry came in just before dinner from towards Winchester. There seemed to be three or four companies. McDonald's Legion they call themselves. The Georgia artillery company left town late this afternoon. More troops passed to-day on the railroad,—two trains. I cannot keep count of them.

Wednesday, July 31.— * * The militia have been greatly exercised for more than two weeks past. The number of men remaining to be furnished by this county, to make up the ten per cent. called for, was, on yesterday, three hundred and fifty. * * One or two more cavalry companies belonging to McDonald's Legion came in last evening. The whole number is said to be seven or eight hundred.

Friday, August 2.—Troops! troops!! They have been pouring in yesterday and to-day, principally from Southwest Virginia and Tennessee. They are rough-looking fellows, very free and easy in their manner, but generally well-behaved. The Rockbridge militia, some eight hundred strong, arrived day before yesterday. They have arranged to furnish their quota of volunteers, and the remainder will return home. The militia of Augusta, outside of Staunton, have also raised their quota, I believe; but the two town companies are still wrangling. * * There must be from one thousand to twelve hundred volunteers at this place, recently enlisted, besides regiments stopping *in transitu*.

Wednesday, August 7.—The soldiers passing through town make themselves very much at home, and sometimes make ludicrous mistakes. A party of them called at Mr. S.'s the other day and asked for food, which was given to them. An officer afterwards made his appearance, called for a room and dinner, and announced that he would be back to supper, leaving directions as to what he would have prepared. On taking his departure at night, when pay was refused for his entertainment, he discovered that he was not in a boarding-house, and expressed great mortification. He saw so many going there to eat he was sure it was a house of public entertainment.

The Augusta militia was discharged on the 7th of August, the quota of volunteers called for having been made up. The Fifty-second Virginia regiment was organized at that time. The field and staff officers were, John B. Baldwin, Colonel; M. G. Harman, Lieutenant-Colonel; John D. Ross, Major; Dr. Livingston Waddell, Surgeon; George M. Cochran, Jr., Quartermaster, and Bolivar Christian, Commissary.

On August 20, the price of salt had gone up to $10 a sack, and on the 24th the price of coffee was forty cents a pound.

Thursday, August 22.—It was rumored in town on yesterday that St. Louis had been burnt, and that our troops in Northwest Virginia had captured fourteen hundred of the enemy with the loss of General Loring. Neither report could be traced to any reliable source.

Monday, August 26.—Yesterday afternoon the Rev. Dr. Armistead of Cumberland county, preached to the soldiers camped on the Institution grounds. There was no pulpit, but the preacher stood under the trees or walked about, while the soldiers and others stood, or sat, or lay at full length in the grove. * * The ladies are bent upon nursing at the hospital. Perhaps they agree with the *Spectator*, (No. 193), "that there is in military men something graceful in exposing themselves naked." I hear some ludicrous stories of their performances. Mrs. —— was very anxious to "do something," and went fussing round till she found one of the doctors. He gave her two prescriptions, which she hastened to administer, but was alarmed afterwards upon discovering that she had given a dose of calomel to a typhoid fever patient. It is said these ladies rub the fever patients and dose the rheumatics. One man had his face washed by one lady after another till he was perfectly clean, or very tired of it.

This extract refers to a few good women who were entirely unfitted for the business of nursing; many others proved "ministering angels" in the hospitals here and elsewhere.

Tuesday, September 3.—About one hundred Federal prisoners arrived last night from the west by railroad. They were taken in the affair at Gauley river between our troops under Floyd and the Federalists under a Colonel Taylor. Most of them are from Ohio.

Friday, September 6.—The regiment lately organized here, (Baldwin's), is preparing to start, but there is some trouble in the ranks. Moreover, many of the men are absent without leave. * * * The jailor of this county informs me that the Union men brought from Beverley when our army retreated from that place, and since then confined in our jail, are in miserable plight,—some of them half naked. There are twenty-one of them. We continue to hear sad accounts of the sickness at Monterey. Eight deaths there yesterday or the day before.

Clothing and other necessaries were soon provided for the prisoners referred to above.

Saturday, September 7.— * * * Last night sixteen prisoners were brought down on the western train, most of them Ohio volunteers. One of them had neither hat, shoes, nor stockings, and his feet looked white and tender. I sent him a pair of shoes and a pair of stockings, somewhat worn, but better than none. * * We had an illustration yesterday evening of the difficulty of getting true accounts of military operations. On the arrival of the western train the baggage master told A. F. Kinney that Wise's troops had recently killed four hundred of the enemy, with only a small loss on our side. I did not believe that, but on my way home I encountered Richardson, who came down on the train, and he informed me that John H. McCue, just from the region where Wise is, had come in with him, and told him that Wise had a fight in which fifty of the enemy were killed, with no loss on our side, and that the sixteen prisoners brought down were taken in that affair. I have learned this morning that there is no truth in either story, yet neither of the persons mentioned would tell a falsehood. The prisoners were taken by Floyd.

Wednesday, September 11.—The Fifty-second regiment left town about 2 o'clock yesterday. Main street was lined with people for an hour or two beforehand. One of the soldiers, who was detailed as wagon-guard, sat on a stone by Morris' corner, and his wife clung to him to the last. She was greatly distressed, but he appeared unmoved. Seven of the companies are from this county, viz: Skinner's, Long's, McCune's, Lambert's, Hottle's, John Lilley's, (late Mason's), and Dabney's; and three from Rockbridge, viz: Miller's, Morrison's, and Watkins'.

Monday, September 16.—We have been agitated for several days past by rumors from General Lee's command, without being able to obtain any definite information. The express has not come in since Friday morning. Saturday night one or more persons arrived with the corpse of a Georgia soldier, and stated that an attempt made by our force at Greenbrier river against the enemy on Cheat mountain had failed.

Wednesday, September 18.—Many rumors from the northwest current for several days past—one, that General Lee had reached Huntersville; another, that he had captured fourteen cannon, and afterwards lost six; another, that four hundred of his men had been killed; another, that the enemy had routed a body of our men at Petersburg,

in Hardy county. None of these are authentic. * * Twenty-six wagons were sent out on yesterday, six to-day.

Friday, September 20.—A train of wagons has just arrived from Greenbrier river, bringing the remnant of Captain Bruce's company, Twentieth regiment. Thirty odd men are left of about ninety who went out a few months ago. The regiment was at Rich Mountain when the disaster occurred there, and is completely broken up. Many of the men were captured by the enemy, some disabled by wounds, many died of disease, and some, I presume, killed. Most of the men left of Bruce's company go into the hospital.

The Confederate army operating in northwest Virginia depended for subsistence almost entirely upon supplies collected at Staunton, and transported thence in wagons. Most of the wagons thus employed were hired, or "pressed," for the purpose, the owners being paid $4 a day for a four-horse team and driver, and $2.50 for a two-horse team, etc. The government, however, owned a large number of horses and wagons, and for these drivers only were hired. On September 24th, thirty two wagons were sent out, and thirty-six on the 25th. Thirty wagons went out on the 28th, loaded for Monterey and Huntersville.

Friday, October 4.—An express boy, riding in great haste, arrived to-day at the Quartermaster's Office. He brought news that 5,000 of the enemy attacked our force, 2,500 to 3,000, at Greenbrier river [on the Staunton and Parkersburg turnpike, in Pocahontas county], yesterday morning, and were repulsed with heavy loss, after a fight of three or four hours. The Fifty-second regiment did not get up in time to participate in the battle.

On October 17, there were seven hundred and fifty patients in the Staunton hospital, and notice had been received to prepare for five hundred more from Greenbrier river.

Thursday, October 24.—The Fifty-eighth Virginia regiment has at last started west. It has been here for many weeks. Most of the companies are from Bedford county. The ranks are thin from sickness, etc.

Eighty-one wagons with army supplies were started to Monterey on October 21, and others on the 2d of November.

Thursday, November 7.—Yesterday was election day for president of the Confederate States, members of Congress, etc. There was no opposition to Jefferson Davis for the presidency. The refugees from the Wheeling district, who voted here for congressman, under the Governor's proclamation, seemed more interested and excited than any other persons. At the courthouse they gave Russell three votes and Kidwell two.

November 11.—Salt is now held here at $18 a sack. Baldwin was elected to Congress in this district. Have not heard the result in the

Wheeling district. John N. Hendren was elected a member of the State Convention in Baldwin's place.

Thursday, November 14.—The North Carolina regiment, Colonel Lee, which passed through Staunton some months ago, returned to-day on the way to Manassas. The men generally look rather soiled and badly. The ranks, however, are not as much reduced as I would have expected. From the manner in which the men ran over the town to procure bread, I presume they were suffering from hunger. They carried their bread, cakes, etc., in very dirty hands. They came down by railroad, and went on after a delay of two or three hours. Other regiments from the west are expected in a day or two to go to Manassas or Winchester.

During the latter part of November, Staunton was crowded with soldiers, generally stragglers from the northwestern army. Many regiments were moving from the mountains, and officers and men seemed to think it not improper to come on in advance. The diary remarked on the 28th: "The whole northwestern army seems demoralized."

Monday night, December 2.—After vibrating on the road near McDowell, Highland county,—one day ordered forward, and the next back,—the troops lately at Greenbrier river, or a part of them, have proceeded towards Manassas by way of Harrisonburg. Last Saturday it was reported that a large body of the enemy was advancing this way from Cheat Mountain, and another approaching Monterey from Petersburg, in Hardy county, while a third force was marching upon Winchester. * * We are sending large quantities of supplies to Monterey and other points, for the troops left in that region.

December 11.—Several trains of empty wagons have gone out to bring away the army stores which have accumulated at various points in Highland county since last spring. War is a costly business. Five teams from the lower part of Rockingham cost more than $250, eleven days' hire, probably more than the lading was worth.

Saturday night, December 14.—The town was startled this morning by the news of a battle, yesterday, on the Alleghany, an express having arrived during the night. It is stated that two deserters from our side informed the enemy of the very small force (under General Edward Johnson) we now have on the mountain, which induced the Federal general to collect all the men he could for an assault upon our camp. The enemy had, it is said, 5,000, while we had 1,200 effective men. The former were repulsed with a reported loss of eighty killed. Our loss is given as twenty killed and eighty wounded. The fight lasted several hours. * * Notwithstanding the Yankees are thus aggressive, the movements still indicate that all our troops are to be withdrawn from Pocahontas and Highland. The town was full of wagons to-day,—some having arrived from the west with supplies taken out heretofore with vast labor and expense; and others going out empty, to bring back similar loads.

Monday night, December 16.—The streets as full of soldiers to-night as ever. Guards with fixed bayonets constantly walking about. * * Teams going and coming all the time, and a constant rush of team-owners, wagon-masters, teamsters, etc. Old or broken down horses are coming in from the army in droves nearly every day, and better ones are sent out as fast as they can be procured. Since dark a crowd of worn out artillery horses arrived from Huntersville.

The Virginia Hotel stables, in Staunton, were destroyed by fire on Wednesday morning, December 18, and forty-seven or forty-eight horses were burnt up,—most of them belonging to individuals, and the remainder to the government.

By the 25th of December, army supplies were going by wagon from Staunton to Winchester. Many teams from Buckingham and Appomattox counties had been pressed into service.

December 26.—Money was never so plentiful. Confederate States treasury notes, State treasury notes, bank notes of all sorts and sizes, and "shinplasters" issued by corporations and anybody who chooses. Gold and silver coin are never seen.

Friday night, January 3, 1862.—We had exciting news to-day from almost every quarter. At 2 o'clock an express arrived from the Alleghany mountain, beyond Monterey, with intelligence that the Federalists in large force were at Greenbrier river, and also at, or near Huntersville. An attack was anticipated, and reinforcements were requested. We hear that large reinforcements have been moving up to-day from Richmond towards Centreville, beyond Manassas, in anticipation of an attack from the enemy in that quarter. General T. J. Jackson has moved with his division from Winchester towards Romney and we hear of skirmishing in that region. One or two regiments passed yesterday evening, by railroad for the Greenbrier region, from which our troops were lately withdrawn.

During the months of January and February the diary is full of the reports about Mason and Slidell, the Burnside expedition, the Confederate expedition to Romney, the disaster at Roanoke Island, the fall of Fort Donelson, etc., etc.; but there is little of local interest, or pertaining to the annals of the county. News came on February 16th, of a splendid victory at Fort Donelson,—ten thousand men and one hundred cannon captured. This was contradicted on the 17th, and on the 18th we had tidings of the fall of Donelson. On the 19th the diary says: "It is impossible to describe the state of feeling in the community, the depression and anxiety." Things looked brighter on the 20th, but on the 22nd, everything was gloomy again. There was no salt in town for sale, and persons were going round to borrow a little for table use. Authentic intelligence from Tennessee was not received till the 24th, and then it was said the Confederate loss at

Fort Donelson was from twelve thousand to fifteen thousand men; but in a day or two the number was reduced to seven thousand.

Wednesday night, March 5.—For a week or two past we have had rumors that our army stores were to be removed from Manassas, Centreville, etc., to Gordonsville, where extensive store-houses have been erected. Many wagons, moreover, have been impressed in Albemarle and other eastern counties to go to Manassas. This morning forty four-horse government wagons started from Staunton for the same place. There was a rumor this morning that Winchester would be evacuated in a day or two by our troops, but stage-passengers, who afterwards arrived, contradicted it.

Monday night, March 10.—The Richmond newspapers bring a proclamation of the Governor, calling upon the militia to go at once to various points named, and report to our generals. The militia of this county are to report at Winchester. The Confederate authorities have called for 40,000 men from Virginia, and cannot wait the operation of the act lately passed by the Legislature.

Thursday, March 13, 1862.—Intelligence came last night that the enemy have occupied Winchester, General Jackson having withdrawn his army.

Sunday night, March 16.—Jackson's army, when last heard from, was at Woodstock. A portion of the rolling stock of the Manassas Gap railroad arrived yesterday over the turnpike.

The militia of the county having been called out again to reinforce General Jackson, they assembled in Staunton, and on March 17, proceeded down the Valley. The ranks of the companies were very thin, nearly all the able-bodied men of the county being in the army already. The diary states that "when Company A, One-Hundred-and-Sixtieth regiment, was ordered into line, ——— marched out, solitary and alone. He was afterwards joined by several others."

Wednesday night, March 19.—About 2 o'clock to-day seventy odd men were brought in, having been captured by our cavalry scouts in Pendleton or Hardy. Ten or eleven of these are from this county, and the remainder from Rockingham. They were endeavoring to make their way in small parties to Ohio, to escape military duty. Some, if not all of them, are simple-hearted, inoffensive people, belonging to the Dunkard church, whose tenets forbid going to war. They will be sent to Richmond to-morrow, and are confined to-night in the courthouse, every door and window being guarded by a sentinel. * * There is something pitiful in the case of these people, flying as they were to escape conscription, and being taken like patridges on the mountains. The whole crowd had a pocket pistol between them, and no other arms.

Thursday night, March 20.—Early this morning I met Sam Baskin, who had just returned from Jackson's army. He said the enemy had mustered 70,000 strong at Winchester, but after laying a double-track railroad to Strasburg, had gone off, leaving only 3,000

men behind. Soon afterwards I met Sandy Garber, just arrived also. He said the enemy had seventeen regiments at Winchester, and that none of them except pickets had been out of the town in this direction. Such are the contradictory reports constantly brought to us.

Saturday night, March 22.— * * * While in the country yesterday I could but observe the quietude of the scene. The cattle in the barn-yard, the sheep in the field, and all nature seemed perfectly composed. What a contrast to the rage of men! Coming home, I met a man and asked him the latest news. "Nothing special," he replied; "not many getting off, but I did." The ruling thought with him was about the "Board of Exemption" from military duty.

March 23.—One of the Augusta militia, who was discharged and sent home, gives the following account of things: "The army seemed to be in a high state of enjoyment, but glad to receive the reinforcements from the county. The volunteers,—the men composing the army,—were dressed in every conceivable style. Some wore slouched hats, some caps of their own manufacture, and others the old-fashioned high-crowned beavers. They were, however, uniformly dirty. Many wagons were employed in bringing the army stores from Mount Jackson to New Market. The loads were emptied in great haste and the teams hurried back for more, as the enemy were approaching. The people of the country round were flying with what property they could carry off, some having their chickens tied on the wagons. But the men, old and young, were coming to the army with their guns. The hurry and tumult were kept up nearly all night. The next day (21st), the Augusta militia were marched down near Mount Jackson, meeting our army coming this way, and quartered on the Meem farm. The cavalry were between them and the enemy, who had advanced to Woodstock, and a battle was considered certain. The next morning (22nd), our army was suddenly put in rapid motion toward Woodstock in pursuit of the retreating enemy."

On March 29th, the price of sugar in Staunton was thirty-three and one third cents a pound. Salt could not be bought at any price. Supplies were again going out to our military force on the Alleghany mountain.

News of the battle of Kernstown, near Winchester, was received on the 25th, and for several days afterward there were various conflicting reports from that quarter. The troops composing Jackson's command were all Virginians,—that is, Virginia regiments. They did not exceed 3,500 in number, it was said. The wounded Confederates were brought to Staunton, including Colonel John Echols.

About April 1st, General Edward Johnson's force at the Alleghany mountain was withdrawn to the Shenandoah mountain. Under date of April 3rd, the diary says (the writer having recently been in Highland) that the withdrawal of the army "has caused a great

panic in Highland, Bath, and Pendleton counties. Many of the people were flying to get away from the Yankees. It was really painful to witness the anxiety of the women. * * * Recruits and returned furloughed soldiers are going down (to Jackson) from here every day in large numbers."

Monday night, April 14.—The town was full of rumors this morning,—one, that 4,000 Yankees, commanded by Fremont, were at McDowell, Highland county; another, that a Yankee army of 20,000 was crossing the Blue Ridge from Culpeper, to get in the rear of General Jackson at New Market; a third, that we had captured the whole Federal army near Corinth, Mississippi.

Tuesday night, April 15.—It is evident that General Jackson is about to make some important movement. He sent up last night for ambulances, and the sick soldiers are to be removed from Harrisonburg. The general belief is, that Jackson, if worsted in another battle, or pressed by overwhelming numbers, will retire to the base of the Blue Ridge, near Waynesborough. Staunton cannot be defended. Upon the further advance of the enemy up the Valley, Johnson must leave the Shenandoah mountain and unite with Jackson. These events may occur in the next week.

Thursday morning, April 17.—Just a year ago the two volunteer companies of this place started to Harper's Ferry. The war then began, as far as we were concerned. What momentous events have occurred since then! In Virginia, the battles of Bethel, Hainesville, Manassas, Drainesville, Laurel Hill, Cheat River, Carnifax Ferry, Greenbrier River, Alleghany Mountain, Kernstown, and innumerable skirmishes. Out of the State, Springfield, Lexington, Boston Mountain, Fishing Creek, Fort Henry, Donelson, Shiloh, Pittsburg, etc., etc. At this time there are nearly a million of men in the field, including both sides. The enemy is coming nearer and nearer to Staunton. Large portions of the State are devastated.

CHAPTER XXI.

SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR—1862–'3.

On Thursday night, April 17, 1862, the report came that Jackson was attacked that morning by thirty-five thousand men and one hundred cannon, and was in full retreat toward Staunton. At that time there were in Staunton clothing for ten thousand or twelve thousand soldiers, ammunition, cannon and other arms, besides the ordinary quartermaster and commissary stores. On the 19th, it being understood that General Jackson had ordered the evacuation of Staunton, the convalescent patients at the hospital and a portion of the military stores were sent by railroad to Charlottesville. The money, etc., of the Staunton banks, the records of the courts, etc., were also sent to Charlottesville. At the same time, General Johnson's command, in his absence, fell back from the Shenandoah mountain to the village of Westview, in Augusta. It turned out, however, that Jackson had given no orders for these movements, and a degree of confidence was speedily restored. But by the 24th, some of the enemy had appeared on North mountain, at Buffalo Gap, and also at Jennings' Gap. On the 28th the enemy occupied Harrisonburg, "and helped themselves to whatever they wanted." There were conflicting reports as to the movements of Jackson and Ewell, but it was evident that they had withdrawn from about Harrisonburg toward the Blue Ridge.

On Saturday, May 3, the news came that Jackson was crossing the Blue Ridge at Brown's Gap, leaving Ewell at Swift Run Gap, and the way open for the enemy from Harrisonburg to Staunton. Sunday, May 4, was a day full of rumors and excitement. Among other reports, it was stated that 10,000 of the enemy were advancing upon Johnson, at Westview, seven miles west of Staunton. In the afternoon, however, several trains of railway cars arrived from the east, crowded with soldiers. Pickets were immediately posted on all the roads leading from town toward Harrisonburg, and no one was allowed to go in that direction. General Jackson and his staff arrived, on horseback, before night, and it was soon found that the army had entered the Valley again, through Rockfish Gap. Train after train arrived on Monday, and a part of the command came on foot. Jackson's

old brigade, (known as "Stonewall") encamped two miles east of town. In the evening the town was full of country people, who were permitted to come in, but not to go out. On Tuesday, the 6th, we had news that the Federal army at Harrisonburg, had started down the Valley, in a hurry, the day before; we also learned that Johnson's command had moved westward, but where to we did not know.

Wednesday night, May 7.—Jackson's army started to-day, all the First brigade (except the Fifth regiment), and the artillery, passing through town, and marching towards Buffalo Gap. We are entirely at a loss to know the destination of the command; but presume it will soon turn and move down the Valley. The force which has passed through since Sunday, numbers at least 10,000; and this is exclusive of Johnson's brigade, which is from 4,000 to 5,000 strong.

A portion of Ashby's cavalry, about 800, passed through town in the afternoon, and camped on the Buffalo Gap road.

Thursday night, May 8.—General Johnson surprised the Federal scouts,—some two hundred cavalry,—on yesterday at Ryan's, in the Pastures, killing from six to ten (variously reported), and capturing two. They left their tents behind them. * * Cannonading was heard to-day from early morning till 4 o'clock P. M., in the direction of the Shenandoah mountain. * * J. D. Imboden has arrived with authority to raise companies for guerilla service in western Virginia.

On Friday morning, May 9th, tidings came of the battle of McDowell, in Highland county. A number of the wounded in the battle were brought in on the 10th, and also the corpses of eight or ten of the slain. "These poor fellows were from Georgia, and their comrades are sending the remains home."

Sunday night, May 11.—Jackson's recent movements, which were so incomprehensible to us, are now all explained. On last Sunday we heard that 8,000 or 10,000 of the enemy were threatening Johnson at Westview, only seven miles from Staunton. This proved untrue, and we became incredulous as to reports of any Federal troops advancing from the northwest. It turns out, however, that the enemy in considerable force were advancing from the direction of Romney, through Pendleton county, and no doubt with the expectation of assailing Johnson by surprise and overwhelming him. Jackson being advised of their movement, countermarched as he did to reinforce Johnson, and coming upon the enemy suddenly at McDowell, scattered them to the four winds. * * "Yankee shinplasters," or sutler's tickets, are very abundant in Staunton.

Friday night, May 16.—Part of Jackson's army is at Stribling's Springs. Some of the cavalry is in town.

The command moved down the Valley on Tuesday morning, the 20th.

Tuesday morning, May 27.—Yesterday morning we had news that Jackson had routed the enemy under Banks, and chased them beyond Winchester, taking 2,000 prisoners, and capturing all their military stores.

Wednesday, May 28.—A number of Staunton people have gone to Winchester to buy goods, having heard that the town was well supplied with many articles very scarce here. An order has come for all the wagons in the county and adjoining counties to go down to remove the captured stores.

Some four thousand prisoners, captured in the lower Valley, were taken to Charlottesville, without passing through Staunton. On the 29th there were about thirteen hundred sick and wounded soldiers in the military hospital here.

Monday night, June 2.—Intelligence of the renewal of the battle near Richmond on yesterday. Seventy-five thousand men on each side engaged. * * The whole Federal army on the Richmond side of the Chickahominy. Five hundred of our men drowned ; some say, however, that the drowned men were Federal soldiers. * * Two hundred and seventy-five wagons expected to-morrow with the stores captured at Martinsburg.

Wednesday, June 4.—It seems to be true that Jackson has retired far up toward Harrisonburg, before a large force of the enemy. * * A large number of wagons, sent down the Valley to bring up the captured stores, returned to-day, many of them empty. The enemy pressed too closely for us to bring off all the supplies. Upward of 3,000 Federal prisoners were at Mt. Crawford to-day waiting till a bridge could be built across North river.

Thursday, June 5.—A day of rumors. We heard that the Federal prisoners at North river (Mt. Crawford) had refused to come across. Then it was said they were not at the river, but at Harrisonburg. The first report was next repeated. Imboden started down about 2 o'clock with his three small cannon and two larger pieces. Many laborers, white and black, went also to aid in building the bridge. Late in the afternoon we heard that Shields (Federal) was at or near Port Republic, that our men had burnt the bridge across the Shenandoah at that point, and that Shields would probably advance upon Staunton by way of Mt. Meridian. Next it was circulated that Jackson had come through Harrisonburg and gone towards Port Republic to attack Shields, and that large reinforcements had come over to Jackson from Gordonsville.

Friday, June 6.—Jackson's army is at Port Republic. The enemy under Fremont, are said to be near Harrisonburg, variously estimated from 17,000 to 40,000. Shields is on the east side of the Shenandoah with from 10,000 to 18,000 men.

On the 7th, we heard "the sad news that Ashby had been killed near Harrisonburg."

On Sunday evening, the 8th, we had the first tidings of the battle of Port Republic. A body of demoralized Confederate cavalry dashed into town, proclaiming that our army was defeated. They were put under arrest by Major A. W. Harman, acting commandant of the post. Further news of the battle was received on the 9th. Many soldiers of the two regiments from Augusta were wounded, and one, (Doom), was killed.

Monday night, June 9.—A report this morning that Fremont was routed yesterday and Jackson was assailing Shields to-day. * * The cannonading was heard in town till past 9 o'clock and then ceased. About 10 o'clock a courier arrived with intelligence that Jackson had ordered a retreat across the Blue Ridge. This news flew through town and caused great depression of spirits. About 11 o'clock another courier arrived with the report that Fremont was hastily retreating towards Harrisonburg, blockading the road behind him, and that Shields was in a fair way of being captured. Of course there was universal rejoicing. In the afternoon, however, it was ascertained that Fremont had not retreated, but was still on the field with, (according to one report), 60,000 men. It was stated at the same time that Jackson had defeated Shields this morning. Late in the evening several citizens and one or two wounded soldiers arrived from the army. Shields was driven back with a reported loss of 500 men and eight cannon, while Fremont's army was drawn up on the west side of the Shenandoah, unable to give any assistance. Jackson crossed the river this morning to attack Shields and destroyed the bridge so that Fremont could not follow. It is impossible for me to record the incidents related, or to describe the scenes in town.

Wednesday night, June 11.—A rumor this morning that the Yankees were coming this way, crossing North river at Mt. Crawford, and another, that Fremont was retreating. From 9,000 to 11,000 reinforcements are on the way to Jackson.

Thursday night, June 12.—A report this morning that Fremont was marching up North river with a view this way. At the same time it was said he had 40,000 men, while Jackson's effective force amounted to only 15,000. During the day there were vague rumors that the Federal army had passed through Harrisonburg, going down the Valley. Late in the afternoon these last rumors were confirmed by persons from Harrisonburg. The Yankees went off last night in haste, burning their baggage and committing many depredations upon the property of our people. They even destroyed the gardens as far as they could. It is reported that their whole number was 15,000—that is, Fremont's column.

A letter from a Michigan girl to her brother, a soldier in the Federal army, picked up down the Valley, begs the latter to beware of poisoned springs.

Friday night, June 13.—Many Federal soldiers are said to be wandering in the woods, and some have been brought in every day

since the battle, (of Port Republic). Twenty of them surrendered to one of our men.

Saturday night, June 14.—Six or seven railroad trains full of soldiers arrived this evening from Richmond,—General Whiting's command. * * For several days past it has been reported that Andrew Johnson, the Union Governor of Tennessee, was assassinated at Nashville. Also that Butler, the Federal general in command at New Orleans, was killed.

Sunday, June 15.—More troops arrived to-day by railroad. Four regiments left town this morning, moving down the Valley turnpike, viz: the Eleventh Mississippi, Sixth North Carolina, Fourth Alabama, and Fourth Texas. These regiments constitute Whiting's brigade. Many of them are good-looking young men, although roughly clad, as usual. They all seem glad to get up to this region.

Tuesday night, June 17.—Many troops arrived yesterday and others to-day. Whiting's brigade and others are encamped on the Valley turnpike three miles from town. There are large encampments on the hills to the left of the Middlebrook road, near the railroad, and a small one on a hill north of town. A Texas brigade is here to which the Staunton Artillery is attached. * * Soldiers are constantly going from house to house applying for something to eat. They threaten us with famine, and to-night I was obliged to refuse a request for supper, lodging, and breakfast for five who applied in a batch. The commissary is well enough supplied, but the men like something better than camp fare. The more respectable soldiers fare worse than others, as they do not forage to the same extent.

Wednesday night, June 18.—To the surprise of everybody, the troops near town began to move off this morning in the direction of Waynesborough. The Texas brigade (Hood's), started at 5 o'clock, A. M. Whiting's brigade retraced their steps through town between 8 and 9 o'clock, and marched down the Waynesborough road. Several artillery companies moved in the same direction. Lawton's brigade, several detached regiments, two or three artillery and two or three cavalry companies were still about town late in the afternoon; but at 6 o'clock two railroad trains, full of soldiers, were getting ready to start. * * We hear that Jackson's whole command was to-day moving to Waynesborough, to cross the Blue Ridge. General Jackson was in town nearly all day, but no one found out the purpose of the movements mentioned. There was a large number of wagons in connection with the various brigades. Many of our regiments are very much reduced in numbers. One company of the Forty-fourth Virginia had, a few days ago, five officers and six privates. * * A member of the Thirty-first regiment, from northwest Virginia, came into our office this evening, and meeting there an acquaintance from the same region, told with great glee that in the Monday's fight near Port Republic, he had shot the major of the First Virginia regiment in the Federal service. He manifested a savage joyousness in relating the fall by his hand of his fellow-townsman. * * Brown sugar now sells by the barrel at 45 cents a pound; bacon 30 cents.

Thursday night, June 19.—Everybody wondering to-day the cause of Jackson's movement across the Blue Ridge. Some suggest that he is going to Richmond, intending to fall upon McClellan's rear. * * Several persons arrived to-day from Buckhannon, Upshur county, having come through without interruption. That route has been closed for more than a year.

Saturday night, June 21.—Still no intelligence from any quarter. * * Twenty-five or thirty Yankee prisoners were in the court-house yard this evening, having been brought up from Harrisonburg. All but three wounded, and all but three Dutch.

Monday night June 23.—We have scarcely had a rumor to-day. Neither railroad trains nor mails from Richmond for several days. Several thousand cavalry in the Valley. No other troops.

Tuesday, June 24.—No railroad train yet, and all the news we have had from the east for about a week has been brought by persons traveling on horseback.

On the 26th and 27th we heard heavy cannonading, indicating a conflict near Richmond.

Friday, June 27.—The battle was renewed this morning, and at the last account, (by telegraph), was raging all along the line. At least one hundred thousand men are arrayed on each side. What multitudes are now passing into eternity, and how many more are at this moment writhing in pain on the bloody ground !

Monday afternoon, June 30.—The battle near Richmond was continued on yesterday. Cannonading distinctly heard in this place. We have no details of the fight since Friday, but telegrphic dispatches received to-day state that the Federal army was retreating towards James River. The reports are encouraging for our side. Eight members of the Staunton Guard wounded, besides the captain, Burke. Three of the Staunton Artillery reported killed.

Wednesday morning, July 2.—Very heavy and rapid cannonading was kept up yesterday evening till long after dark. We heard it distinctly at our house. [The distance by air line is about a hundred miles.] A telegraphic dispatch between 9 and 10 o'clock last night stated that the enemy was defeated again on Monday, and that there was every prospect of capturing, or routing, the whole army. But the newspaper accounts never come up to the telegraphic reports. The battle has been raging for a week. The railroad train came through from Richmond yesterday.

Friday morning, July 4.— * * I am certain of this only, that the enemy has been repulsed, losing several thousand men in killed, wounded and prisoners, and some cannon, etc.; and that our loss is also heavy.

Monday morning, July 7.—A great variety of reports from Richmond since Friday, but no reliable intelligence. At one time we hear that the greater part of the Federal army is surrounded and will certainly be captured, [there was a rumor yesterday that 50,000 had

been taken], and immediately afterwards it is asserted that it has effected its escape. The latter I believe to be true. McClellan has, no doubt, at last reached a position on James river, where his transports and gunboats are, his columns a good deal shattered, but not seriously reduced in numbers. We have about five thousand prisoners, (besides the wounded left on the field), including one Major-General and four or five Brigadiers. No estimate has yet been made of the slain.

Tuesday, July 8.—Yesterday a poor woman who lives in town heard that her husband, a soldier in the Fifty-second regiment, had been killed. Her wailings, which were kept up for an hour or two, were most distressing.

Monday, July 14.—For several days we have had no intelligence in regard to the war, from any quarter. Yesterday afternoon, however, a report came by railroad that the Yankees were in considerable force at Culpeper Courthouse.

Thursday, July 17.—The town as quiet all this week as if no war were raging in the land. No railroad train since Monday, and no news from any quarter. Brown sugar selling in Staunton at 75 cents a pound. No coffee here for sale, but selling elsewhere at $2 a pound.

Friday, July 25—A report this morning of skirmish at Luray yesterday, in which we captured twenty-five men, ten wagons, etc. * * To all appearance Richmond is more closely invested now than before the late battles.

Monday, July 28—The prisoners, etc., captured at Luray arrived last evening. Jackson has been collecting his forces in the neighborhood of Gordonsville. He is said to have about 15,000, but receiving reinforcements. His ranks very much reduced by sickness, "absence without leave," etc.

Friday Morning, August 1.—This morning, while sitting in my office, I heard a sound of lamentation. Upon going out I found the noise proceeded from an upper room in the courthouse. A negro woman informed me that it was a soldier crying because he had to go to the war! He was brought in under the conscript act. Poor fellow! Although I pitied him, there was something very ludicrous in his wailings. Several men and women stood in the street, some laughing and others denouncing the recruit.*

Saturday, August 9.—According to report, Jackson's army is pressing towards Culpeper Courthouse, the enemy falling back. Federal officers are said to be rigidly enforcing Pope's order in the lower Valley, requiring all persons over fourteen years of age to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, or move outside the Federal lines, with their clothes only.

* The ancient Romans would not have considered the lamentations of the young recruit at all ridiculous. Julius Cæsar relates that even the veterans of his Tenth Legion bewailed aloud and shed tears when ordered to march against the Germans.

News of the battle of Cedar Mountain was received on August 10th, but, as usual, reliable details were not obtained till several days afterwards. Several railroad trains with wounded soldiers arrived on the 12th and 13th, among them fifty Federal soldiers. A young man named Baylor, of this county, was killed, and William H. Gamble lost an arm.

Monday, August 11.—Passing the court-house yard a while ago, I observed a number of persons standing before several "blue jackets" stretched upon the grass. These latter turned out to be deserters from the Yankee army in the lower Valley. A dozen of them arrived here last evening.

Wednesday August 13.—Twenty-one deserters from the Federal army came in to-day.

Monday, August 18.— We hear that troops are pouring in to both sides on the line of the Rapidan. * * There is a great stir among persons liable to military service under the conscript act.

Wednesday, August 20.—A number of Marylanders, who have come off in consequence of the draft ordered by the Federal Government, have arrived here. Quite a cavalcade of them came into town a while ago. The railroad trains again used for army transportation; we have had no regular mails for a week.

Friday, August 29.—We hear of vigorous movements in northwest Virginia by our rangers, etc. Imboden has 800 men now, and Jenkins more than 2,000. They have been joined by large numbers in consequence of the Federal draft.

Monday, September 1.—Many rumors for several days past, but no reliable intelligence. A report last night that a battle occurred on Friday at Manassas.

This was the bloody battle of "Second Manassas." Among the slain were William S. H. Baylor, Colonel of the Fifth regiment; Edward Garber, Captain in the Fifty-second regiment; William Patrick, Major of cavalry; Preston Byers and others from Augusta county.*

* Colonel Baylor was the only son of Jacob Baylor, Esq., and was born in 1831. He was educated at the Staunton Academy and Washington College, Lexington, and studied law at the University of Virginia. For some years he was Commonwealth's Attorney for the town of Staunton. When killed he was in command of the Stonewall Brigade, and it is said would soon have been commissioned Brigadier General if he had lived.

Major Patrick, son of Mr. Charles Patrick, was born on South River, Augusta, in 1822. He was a farmer, an intelligent gentleman, and a gallant soldier.

Captain Garber was a son of Mr. Albert J. Garber of Staunton, and a young man of great promise, as was Preston Byers.

By September 8, the Confederate army was in Maryland, and recruits were again passing through Staunton. Jackson captured Harper's Ferry with many prisoners, etc., and the battle of Boonsboro was fought.

Wednesday, September 24.—All the wounded men who can walk have been creeping up from Winchester, trying to get to their homes. Staunton is full of them. Many look very forlorn, hands and arms hurt, faces bound up, badly clad, barefooted and dirty.

September 25.—Last night the town was overflowing with wounded soldiers from the army and recruits going down.

Saturday night, September 27.—Late this evening nearly five hundred Yankee prisoners were brought up from Winchester. They marched four abreast. It was pitiful to see so many human beings led or driven along like sheep. Troops have been moving down the Valley from this point nearly every day this week. Most of the wounded who have arrived here have been forwarded to Richmond. Others continue to come, however. Night before last the town was alive with them. They were fed as far as possible, by citizens.

Thursday, October 2.—An ambulance train laden with wounded soldiers has come in from Winchester. From the number of Northern vehicles in the train one might suppose that the Federal army was passing along. * * The number of ambulances arrived and on the road this side of Mt. Sidney is said to be two hundred and twenty-five.

Wednesday, October 8.—The scene at the railroad depot this morning was in striking contrast to those of former times. Many wounded soldiers were going home on furlough or discharge,—some on two crutches, others on one, and several supported by two men each. A poor fellow came limping along, using a rough staff in place of one of his legs, which was wounded. One leg of his pants was cut off at the knee, and the other was slit open so as to expose the bare limb. What clothing he had on was dirty, as usual with most soldiers returning from the army.

Monday, October 13.—There was a distribution of public salt today. Considerable crowd and pressure. One pound allowed to each individual. Several wagons went through town to-day on their way to Kanawha county for salt. News was received on the 13th, of Stuart's cavalry excursion into Pennsylvania, capture of Chambersburg, etc.

Saturday, October 18.—A dreadful railroad accident at Ivy, Albemarle county, a few days ago, to a train bringing soldiers up this way. Seven or eight men killed and sixty or seventy wounded. But what of this at a time when men are killed by hundreds and thousands every day! Soldiers still pressing through the town to the army. Provisions of all kinds scarce and prices high. Flour, $14 per barrel; butter, 75 cents per pound; clothing very difficult to get.

Wednesday, October 22.—We have more to fear from the scarcity of subsistence and clothing than from the Federal armies. * * Felt hats sell for $10 to $15. The price for *making* a pair of common shoes is from $5.50 to $6. The cannon of twenty-three dismantled artillery companies have been sent to Staunton. Up to a few days ago, 13,000 recruits for General Lee's army had passed through town since the battles in Maryland.

Friday, October 31.—Rumors for several days past that our army is falling back from Winchester or going into eastern Virginia. It is said that Jackson is to remain in the Valley this side of Winchester. Troops still going down.

Friday, November 7.—A long train of ambulances with sick soldiers just arrived from Winchester. * * General expectation that the war will close in a short time, either from European intervention, or a change of feeling in the Northern people.

Wednesday, November 12.—Yankees said to be at Shenandoah mountain, twenty-six miles from Staunton. * * The South Carolina cavalry regiment, which has been in the vicinity of town for some time past, went out just now to see after the enemy. They passed through town and made an imposing display.

Monday, November 17.—Our cavalry have returned from Highland (across the Shenandoah mountain), and report that no Yankees are in that region this side of the Alleghany mountain. * * More than a hundred Yankee prisoners were brought up the Valley yesterday. A hundred or more on the 13th.

Thursday, November 20.—Yankees in Highland,—Millroy and Kelley,—committing great depredations in Crab Bottom. Several Yankee prisoners on parole are walking about our streets,—one strapping fellow in Zouave uniform,—red pants, etc.

Tuesday November 25.—The scene has greatly changed. The enemy under Burnside are opposite Fredericksburg, demanding the surrender of the place. General Lee is there commanding our forces. Jackson and D. H. Hill have moved from the Valley in the same direction.

Intelligence of the battle of Fredericksburg was received on December 12th, 13th, and continuously to the 23rd.

Tuesday night, December 23.—As an incident of the times, I mention that a milliner of Staunton went to Baltimore recently to purchase goods, taking a female companion with her. The goods had to "run the blockade," in other words, to be smuggled across the lines, and the two women returned, each concealing a large number of bonnet frames under her hood and wearing any quantity of dresses and cloaks.

Thursday night, December 25.—Upon joining a crowd near the courthouse, I learned that the sentinels had last night halted citizens on the streets, and ordered them not to pass unless they were going to their homes. We all agreed that it was a high-handed usurpation, which should not be submitted to. So we addressed a communication

to Colonel D., the commander of the post, inquiring if the guard had acted in pursuance of orders, and if so, whether the proceeding was to be continued to-night. He stated in his reply that the guard were inexperienced and had misunderstood their instructions. The paper sent him, however, showed that the Provost Marshal was present at one of the street corners, and required the sentinel to use his gun when necessary to arrest passers-by.

Friday night, December 26.—At a sale near town to-day, corn went off at $3.60 a bushel, oats $2.05, bran $1.05, and other things in proportion.

Sunday night, January 4, 1863.—Returning from the cemetery this morning I walked over the hill and through the grounds where deceased soldiers are buried. The number of graves has greatly increased since I was there last. It was almost appalling to see the rows of graves recently dug, waiting with gaping mouths for the still living victims. The sight brought before me vividly the sufferings of the soldiers dying in military hospitals, far from home and kindred, and all the horrors of a time of war.

Friday night, January 30.—A general impression that the war will soon be over.

February 7.—A number of deserters from the Federal army opposite Fredericksburg have arrived here within a few days past.

February 23.—The money value of a day's rations for one hundred soldiers, formerly about $9, is now at market prices more than $123. Coffee $3.50 to $4, and sugar $1 a pound; butter $1.75.

By March 11th, flour had gone up in Staunton to $25 a barrel, bacon $1 a pound, indicating "either a time of famine or an utterly ruinous depreciation of the currency."

Early in 1863, the people of Staunton relied upon "Confederate candles" for light in their dwellings at night. Candlewick was dipped in melted wax and resin, and wrapped around a stick, one end being passed through a wire loop fastened to the stick. The end of the wick burned freely when lighted, but the illumination was very feeble, and unless the candle were watched, and the wick drawn through the loop and trimmed every few minutes, the whole affair was soon aflame.

March 27.—At an auction sale yesterday, common dinner plates brought $3.75 a piece. Many persons have had their glass and china-ware broken up since the war began, and there is a great demand for such articles.

Saturday, April 11.—The Thirty-first and part of the Twenty-fifth Virginia regiments arrived to-day and go to join Imboden at the Shenandoah mountain. The remainder of the Twenty-fifth is expected to-night. It is probable that a movement is on foot to procure cattle in the northwestern part of the State.

CHAPTER XXII.

THIRD YEAR OF THE WAR—1863–'4.

The third year of the war opened with rather bright prospects for our people. Certainly the general feeling was hopeful and comparatively cheerful. It was however very difficult to procure necessary articles of subsistence in this community, and families who had previously lived well, were reduced to bread and water.

The casualties in the Fifty-second Virginia regiment were reported April 28, 1863, as follows: Killed in battle or died from wounds, 54; died of disease, 68; died from causes not known, 15. This statement does not include the men permanently disabled by wounds and sickness.

The first rumor of the battles of Chancellorsville came by telegraph on May 1st. On the 4th, it was reported that our army was occupying the camp of the enemy, that we had taken ten thousand prisoners, and that General Jackson was wounded. Charles Calhoon was mortally wounded, and Joseph N. Ryan lost a leg. Ninety-five Federal prisoners taken in Hardy were brought in on the 2d, and forty-seven more from the northwest on the 8th.

But we continue the extracts from the diary:

Monday, May 4.—A telegraphic rumor this morning that Jackson had defeated the enemy at Port Royal, capturing 5,000 of them. * * After night the railroad train brought the report that the Yankee army had been driven seven miles beyond the Rappahannock, that our army was occupying the camp of the enemy, that we had taken 10,000 prisoners, and that General Jackson was wounded, one person said severely, others said slightly.

Tuesday, May 5.—While we were enjoying the good news received last night, a dispatch came this morning stating that 12,000 Yankees, cavalry and artillery, under General Stoneham [Stoneman], were in Louisa county on their way to the James river canal. It is said that this division, as they came on last week, took our cavalry entirely by surprise, capturing 2,000 of them, and scattering the remainder; that Fitzhugh Lee with 500 men followed them, and fought them while they were breaking up the railroad, but having such superiority of numbers they were able to brush Lee off and go on with their work. * * General R. E. Lee states in his official dispatch that he gained

a great victory, but says that General Jackson was severely wounded. Another account says he was wounded in the arm, and did not leave the field. Some members of the Fifth regiment, wounded in the recent battle, arrived this evening.

Wednesday night, May 6.—Very few additional particulars in regard to the recent great battle,—chiefly repetitions of the statement that we gained a decided victory. But General Jackson has lost his arm, the injury being so serious as to render amputation necessary.

Thursday night, May 7.—A man from Harrisonburg stated this morning that the Yankees were coming up the Valley. As the telegraph made no such report, it was considered an idle rumor. But after dark an army surgeon arrived with the sick soldiers from the Harrisonburg hospital. He said the road between Harrisonburg and Staunton was full of people, with their cattle, etc., flying before the Yankees supposed to be coming. We have a force of 800 men below Harrisonburg. Afterwards I learned that a telegraphic dispatch had been received, stating that 2,100 of the enemy were nine miles below Harrisonburg.

Monday, May 11.—A report of General Jackson's death was current this morning, but most persons hoped it was not true. Between 1 and 2 o'clock, however, the telegraph operator stepped into the room where I was writing, and handed me a dispatch from the War Department at Richmond, to be forwarded to Lexington by express, announcing the fact. There is universal lamentation in this community. It is like "the mourning in the Valley of Megiddon," when King Josiah was slain.

Wednesday night, May 13.—Persons from Shenandoah give some particulars of the recent advance of the enemy through that county. They were about 2,000 in number, and came only a mile this side of New Market. All accounts state that they were very timid, and suddenly hurried back upon receiving some intelligence by courier from Winchester, the officers not waiting to eat the dinner that was preparing. * * The slain have been arriving ever since the battle, as well as the wounded.

Wednesday night, May 20.—General Jenkins' brigade of cavalry is collecting at Staunton, and an inspection takes place to-morrow near town. Jenkins is to command in the Valley, Jones, and perhaps Imboden, having been ordered to join Lee.

Saturday, May 23.—The expedition to northwest Virginia brought off about 3,000 cattle, it is said.

Wednesday, May 27.— * * About sixty women and children from northwestern Virginia arrived in town last night. They were sent off by the Federal authorities for sympathizing with the South, and were allowed to bring only necessary wearing apparel and $100 each.

Saturday night, June 6.—No railroad train from Richmond this evening. Reason not given, but it is presumed that General Lee's

army is moving. It is believed that Lee is advancing north of the Rappahannock.

Saturday night, June 13.—Rumored this evening that General Ewell's corps was near Winchester, *en route* for Pennsylvania.

Tuesday night, June 16.—Passengers by stage from Winchester report that General Ewell has captured a large number of Yankees at that place. * * It is evident from the large quantity of ordnance and other stores coming to Staunton, that the Valley will be the scene of protracted operations.

June 17.—We learn from Winchester that our army has crossed the Potomac at three points. All the Federals at Winchester, except Millroy and his body-guard, were captured. The number is given as five thousand.

Friday night, June 19.—Staunton is again a great thoroughfare for the army,—many soldiers passing through town to join their various commands.

Monday night, June 22.—About 10 o'clock this morning upwards of sixteen hundred Yankees, taken at Winchester, arrived. They were guarded by the Fifty-eighth Virginia infantry. * * The prisoners were much better clothed than the Confederates who guarded them. They were immediately put aboard a railroad train, which started for Richmond in the evening. * * Large numbers of our soldiers have been passing through town for several days past, coming from the east by railroad, and going down the Valley on foot.

Tuesday night, June 23.—Nineteen hundred more Yankee prisoners were brought up to the vicinity of town to-day, and a part of them sent off to Richmond by railroad this evening.

June 24.—The guard of the prisoners,—a North Carolina regiment,—although generally dirty, and some of them ragged, looked stouter and more hardy than the Yankees. Several of our poor fellows were barefooted.

June 25.—A number of female Northern camp followers have been brought up from Winchester and sent to Richmond to be passed beyond our lines.

June 26.—The whole number of prisoners who have arrived here this week is 4,321, including forty-five women and children.

Tuesday night, June 30.—The main body of our cavalry under Stuart, has been fighting constantly on the Virginia side of the Potomac. * * Wagon trains going from Staunton to Winchester are now required to be guarded. A train is waiting till a guard of five hundred men can be formed of convalescent soldiers.

July 4.—A number of wagons loaded with hardware, stationery, etc., *purchased* by our quartermasters in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, arrived to-day. Northern merchants have been excluded for so long from the Southern market that they are way behind the times in re-

gard to prices ! For example, hand-saw files, which sell here at $3 each, they sold to our quartermaster at 25 cents, Confederate currency.

July 7.—The atmosphere seemed full of exciting rumors yesterday. Great battles at or near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, were reported.

Wednesday, July 8.—The following is given as a specimen of the current reports during the war: * * Later in the day, Towers came into my room, with a glowing face, to tell that Mr. Phillips told him that Judge Thompson told him that Stump, (telegraph operator), told him that in a battle on Sunday we had a glorious victory, some forty thousand to sixty thousand of the enemy laying down their arms. George E. Price went to the telegraph office to inquire about the matter, and reported on his return that Stump said the news must have come by some other line. Next, Major Tate came in—David S. Young had just told him that Judge Thompson said, etc. Then Major Bell informed me that Stump denied having authorized any such report. Coming home to dinner, I encountered Mr. Michie and John B. Baldwin. Mr. Michie had seen McGuffin, etc. Baldwin said he had seen Judge Thompson, who had given him the news in full. Mr. Michie believed the report,—he was determined to believe it. Stump, he said, had communicated to Judge Thompson confidentially what he had no liberty to divulge, and was now endeavoring to repair damages by his denials, while the Judge was relating the news in strict confidence to everybody he met.

Thursday night July 9.—Blue ! blue ! The Richmond newspapers of this morning publish a dispatch from General Johnston, dated Jackson, Mississippi, July 7th, stating that the garrison of Vicksburg capitulated on the 4th.

Friday July 10.—Soldiers wounded at the battle of Gettysburg give fearful accounts of the slaughter of our army. Pickett's division annihilated. Many persons known to us were killed. A disastrous affair. The news received by us is, however, in many respects unintelligible. As far as we now see the tide is running fearfully against us. The road leading into town from Winchester is lined with wounded soldiers coming up from the battlefield. * * It is a sad sight to see so many poor fellows dragging themselves along to get nearer home. They are of course those who are comparatively slightly wounded.

July 11.—Wounded soldiers have come into town to-day in a constant stream ; some of them in vehicles and some on horseback, but most on foot. Many of them are without shoes.

July 12.—The stream of wounded men arriving has been uninterrupted, and not a third part of those disabled has arrived yet. It is now said that comparatively few were killed.

By the 16th, General Lee's army was back on this side the Potomac. On the 18th, nearly four thousand prisoners were brought in.

On the 20th, a long train of ambulances loaded with wounded or sick men arrived.

July 25.—Crowds of sick and wounded soldiers have been arriving in ambulances, wagons, and on foot ; and many of the inhabitants of the lower Valley, with all the property they could bring off.

General Lee had left the Valley and gone east of the Blue Ridge.

July 28.—Wounded and sick soldiers and refugees still coming in.

Monday night, August 24.—I was aroused at 5 o'clock this morning and informed that the Yankees were at Buffalo Gap, ten miles from town. Was surprised upon going down street to find everything quiet. As the day advanced, the convalescent patients in the hospitals were armed, the citizens formed companies and Imboden's command,—said to be 1,000 men,—came up from their camp three miles below town. Cannon were planted on the hill west of town, and other defensive preparations were made. Towards 10 o'clock most persons concluded that no enemy was near. People from Buffalo Gap had heard nothing of the Yankees till they came to town, and a man from Highland reported that they had gone towards Pocahontas. Afterwards scouts came in and reported that no Yankees were near Buffalo Gap.

Thursday, August 27.– On Tuesday we heard that the Yankee raiders, from 4,000 to 5,000, had driven Colonel Jackson across the Warm Springs mountain, that he was retreating to Millborough, and that Staunton was threatened again. We next heard that the Yankees were "going back," and that Jackson was "after them."

Wednesday night, September 30—On Monday last (court day) General Smith, ex-Governor and Governor-elect, and Senator Wigfall, of Texas, addressed the people of this county on their duty at this crisis. The people "resolved" that they would sell produce at the rates fixed by the government to all consumers.

In September, peaches were abundant and sold at $23 to $25 a bushel.

Tuesday night, October 15.—I have been engaged for several days past in the great work of having a suit of clothes made. My wife bought the cloth several weeks ago at the factory near town. It is gray jeans, and cost $10 a yard, but similar cloth sells now at $14. Four yards of unbleached cotton cloth were furnished by my wife (wherefrom I know not) for pockets, sleeve-lining, etc. She also produced a piece of black alpaca, which her brother had worn as a cravat, for skirt and back lining. I bought two yards of osnaburg, at $2.50 a yard, and have engaged buttons from the manufacturers in town. The Lushbaughs turn buttons out of maple wood. The suit will cost from $130 to $150.

The Augusta "Raid Guard," otherwise called Home Guard, were summoned to the Shenandoah mountain November 12th, as the

enemy was supposed to be advancing. The various companies were organized as a regiment on the 11th,—John B. Baldwin, Colonel; Kenton Harper, Lieutenant-Colonel; J. M. McCue, Major; Dr. J Alexander Waddell, Surgeon; C. R. Mason, Quartermaster; N. P. Catlett, Commissary, and J. C. Marquis, Adjutant.

Friday, November 13.—Seven or eight companies of the Raid Guard were on parade to-day. It was encouraging to see that we had so many men left. They are mounted infantry, except a company of artillery raised in town.

The alarm of invasion proved unfounded, and the companies were dismissed for the time. The price of flour had risen to $80 a barrel on November 16th.

Saturday night, November 21.—There is a general feeling that the war will be interminable. All round the horizon there is not a glimmer of light. Yet the war does not weigh as heavily on the spirits of the people as it did for many months after it began. The recollection of the security and abundance formerly enjoyed seems like a dream. I picture to myself the scenes in our streets three years ago,—piles of boxes before every store door, shelves and counters within filled and piled up with goods; merchants begging customers to buy; groceries running over with molasses, sugar, coffee, tea, cheese, fish, etc.; confectioners making the most tempting display of fruits, candies and cakes; wagons loaded with country produce calling at every house, and farmers earnestly inquiring who wished to purchase flour, corn, potatoes, beef, pork, apples. Now the stores,—still so-called by courtesy,—will furnish you thread, buttons, pins and other light articles which have "run the blockade," cotton cloth of Southern manufacture (at $3.75 a yard), vessels made of clay instead of glass or chinaware, and occasionally a few yards of calico or linsey; the confectioners' saloons are like "banquet halls deserted," and you will be lucky if by dint of entreaty, and as a special favor, a farmer will sell you a barrel of flour or a few bushels of corn. In consequence of this state of affairs, each family manufactures and produces its own supplies as far as possible. People are willing to pay any price in "currency" for what they need; "money" is plentiful, but alas! it cannot be used as food or clothing.

But I discover no change in female attire; most of the ladies seem to "dress" quite as much as formerly. How this happens I do not know. Perhaps woman's ingenuity, "Gars auld claes look amaist as weel's the new." But from the sensation caused by a new bonnet at church I suppose the sex do feel the pressure of the times in regard to fashions. Men dress in homespun or in broadcloth of antique cut, without regard to style. Our ladies, however, are just as eager as formerly for the "fashions" from Philadelphia and New York. Every now and then some female comes "through the lines," and the patterns of her bonnet, cloak and dress are speedily adopted by the whole sex. As apropos to this, See No. 277 of the *Spectator*. In the

time of Queen Anne, French fashions were imported into England by means of dolls dressed in the latest styles, and during the hottest period of the war between the two countries the dolls continued to come.

November 29.—Flour is up to $95 a barrel. At this rate of depreciation we shall soon have no currency at all, as the money we have will buy nothing. Many persons, however, have no more of the depreciated currency than they formerly had of good money.

November 30.—It is reported that the loss of men from this county, killed and wounded, in the late fight on the Rappahannock, was one hundred and fifty.

Friday night, December 11.—Another raid reported. The Home Guard called out.

The Home Guard went to the Shenandoah mountain to meet the enemy on the 13th. During the night of the 13th, there were wild reports from various quarters. It was said that Imboden had been skirmishing with the enemy at the Shenandoah mountain, and that Echols had been driven back from Lewisburg. On the 15th, several railroad trains filled with soldiers, under General Early, arrived from the east, and went through to Buffalo Gap, and General Fitz. Lee's cavalry was in the vicinity of town.

December 17.—When I awoke this morning, it was raining hard, and the trees were covered with ice. I wondered how it was possible for human beings to endure long-continued exposure to such weather. * * At 10 o'clock, Lee's division of cavalry passed through town, and went up the Greenville road. None of them knew where they were going. The men were dripping wet, but seemed in fine spirits. The horses generally are in good condition. The Home Guard returned to-day, having been dismissed to assemble again at a minute's warning.

December 18.—All the troops returned from Buffalo Gap last night, in the rain. They were marched two miles from town on the Greenville road, and spent the night without shelter. * * During the morning, we learned that part of the troops were to go to Millborough to intercept Averill. At 1 o'clock, Thomas' brigade was marched to the depot, to meet a railroad train, which, however, did not arrive till after dark. * * As soon as the men found they would not start immediately, they had blazing fires in the open space between the American hotel and the depot. * * The crowds of dusky, clay-soiled and smoke-begrimed men gathered in the dark around the fires, cooking their rations as best they could, were a picturesque scene.

On Saturday, the 19th, there was a rumor that a Federal force was coming up the Valley, and was near Harrisonburg. After ten o'clock that night a cannon was fired on one of the hills in town to summon the Home Guard of the county. In a short time the regular

troops arrived from their camp, and were marched out towards Harrisonburg. "The soldiers seemed to be in high spirits, calling for the Home Guard, and cracking jokes at one another as they passed along."

The Home Guard started Sunday evening, the 20th, and being mounted, they overtook and out-stripped the regular infantry. The Federal force at Harrisonburg, hearing of the approach of the Confederates, hurriedly retreated, and there was a lively race to New Market. From that point the Guard returned home, General Early with his troops moving down in the direction of Woodstock.

The portion of the diary from January 1 to June 5, 1864, was lost—most probably destroyed, having been in a house burnt by a party of Federal soldiers. In February, 1864, it was officially reported that two hundred soldiers of the Stonewall brigade were without shoes.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FOURTH YEAR OF THE WAR—1864–'5.

The writer recalls no local event of special interest from January 1st to June 5th, 1864. In the month of May the battles of the Wilderness, or Spottsylvania Courthouse, between Generals Grant and Lee, occurred. Colonel James H. Skinner, commanding the Fifty-second regiment, was severely wounded and permanently disabled on the 12th at Spottsylvania Courthouse. On the 15th of the same month General Breckinridge defeated a considerable Federal force at New Market, many Augusta people participating in the battle.

No resident of Staunton then living and over the age of infancy will ever forget Sunday, June 5, 1864. For a week or more we had heard that a Federal force under General Hunter was coming up the Valley, and that Generals Crook and Averill were pressing in from the west with another large force. Imboden, with two skeleton regiments and a company of artillery, was in the Valley, while McCausland and Jackson, each with a small force, were between Staunton and Crook and Averill. The reserves (men over forty-five and boys under seventeen years of age) were also with Imboden; and during the previous week all the men in the county able to bear arms,—detailed workmen, farmers, etc.,—were hastily collected and formed into companies, and joined him at North river, near Mount Crawford. On Thursday and Friday troops arrived from the southwest under General William E. Jones, probably twenty-five hundred men. General Jones joined the force at North river on Saturday morning and assumed command. The enemy finding our men strongly posted and intrenched, moved toward Port Republic and crossed North river to the Augusta side. During Saturday night our army fell back to a point between New Hope and Mount Meridian, near the village of Piedmont. Skirmishing began early on Sunday morning.

From eight or nine o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon, many citizens of Staunton were on the hills observing the smoke arising from the battlefield. For several hours no one of them imagined that a battle was in progress only eleven or twelve miles off, but the smoke was supposed to arise from the conflagration of mills

and barns burnt by the enemy. We had often heard the reports of cannon from below Richmond, but the noise of the battle of Piedmont did not reach our ears till quite late in the day, when a few explosions of cannon were indistinctly heard.

In the meanwhile, diligent preparations for departure in case of disaster were going on at the various government depots and offices. Railroad trains and wagons were loaded up, and all hands connected with the quartermaster and commissary departments were ready to start at a moment's warning. Information of the battle was received by mid-day, but our people were generally hopeful, especially as persons recently observing on the hill-tops reported that the smoke was receding, showing, as they thought, that our men were driving the enemy back. Late in the afternoon, however, the writer learned the result of the battle from the excited remark of a citizen: "General Jones is killed and our army is routed!" Such was the intelligence from the field.

The army wagon trains and many citizens immediately left town, going up the Greenville road and crossing the Blue Ridge into Nelson county at Tye River Gap.

It is not proposed to give here an account of the battle. The Augusta men, hasty levies as they were, are said to have acquitted themselves with marked gallantry. One wing of the enemy was repulsed, but the other overwhelmed the Confederate force opposed to it, and the men not killed or captured came pell-mell into Staunton Sunday night. The county had to mourn the loss of several esteemed citizens, and many more were seriously wounded. Robert L. Doyle, acting as captain, Harvey Bear and John W. Meredith were killed on the field. The more experienced soldiers said the raw troops did not know when they were whipped, and kept on fighting when they should have retreated. But nearly every man of them was, to some extent, a trained soldier. Brigadier-General Vaughan succeeded to the command of the defeated army, and drew off to the Blue Ridge at Rockfish Gap.

Sunday night passed away at Staunton without incident. On Monday, June 6, the Federal troops entered the town. Very few men were left in town, but many Confederate soldiers, absent from their commands, lingered till the last moment. One daring youth, when exhorted to make his escape, declared his purpose to remain till he could capture a horse. And he actually accomplished his purpose. Almost in the presence of a large body of Federal cavalry, he singled out a man in advance, and presenting his gun ordered him to dis-

mount. Leaping into the saddle, he made his way with horse and prisoner to Waynesborough, where he joined his command.

From a letter written at Staunton, by a lady, on the 6th and several subsequent days, we make the following extracts. After describing the alarm in her family on the entrance of the Federal troops, the writer says: "We got through the remainder of the day and night without much alarm and without being much annoyed by so many Yankees coming to the hydrant for water and to the kitchen for food. * * Tuesday morning early, the burning commenced,—railroad depot, steam mill, government workshops, Trotter's shops and stages, Woolen factory, Garber's mill, etc. * * He, (General Hunter) agreed that the workshops should not be burnt, if the citizens would bind themselves to pull them down, which they did; but still the fire was applied, without notice having been given. All the interior of the shoe factory was destroyed. It must have been ludicrous to see Mrs. ——— flying across the street, axe in hand, to assist in the work of destruction, and thus escape the danger of fire.

"After the houses were consumed, the Yankees began to pack up for a move, and we could hear them saying to one another, 'bad news!' but could not quite learn what, until it leaked out that there was a report of the capture of their wagon train. Before they began to pack up, some of the houses were searched for provisions, but a stop was put to it, and by dinner time not a Yankee was seen in town. Our scouts were on the hills in a little time, and we felt too happy to think whether the enemy would return. * * By four o'clock the town was perfectly alive with blue coats again. I learned from some of the men that they had gone to reinforce Averill. On Wednesday Crook and Averill came, and it seemed to me that the locusts of Egypt could not have been more numerous. Our yard and kitchen were overrun all the while, and the streets were filled from end to end. * * The house-searching began in good earnest on Wednesday." The officer who searched the lady's house "was very gentlemanly, and went through it as a matter of form," without taking any of her limited supplies.

"N. K. Trout" (mayor of the town) "and B. F. Points were arrested, and kept in confinement till this morning, or last night. Mr. Trout was accused of concealing arms, and Mr. Points of showing pleasure when the Federal troops left town on Tuesday. George W. Fuller was arrested as a spy, and held for some time, because he returned to town bringing letters from Confederate soldiers to their families. Our people captured at Piedmont were cooped up in an old guard-house, and we all made bread for them.

"*Friday.*—Most of the Yankees left this morning. Since dinner a regiment has passed, just arrived from Martinsburg. I understand most of the troops took the Lexington road. * * Our servants were such a comfort to me. They could not have behaved better, and I really feel thankful to them."

Many of the Federal soldiers who were in Staunton seemed to be gentlemanly persons, having no heart for their business; others were mere plunderers, and robbed blacks and whites alike. At night the town was perfectly quiet, and the citizens felt safe. During the day, however, the soldiers were permitted to roam about, and there was a reign of terror. Federal soldiers, dressed in Confederate uniform, called "Jesse Scouts," traversed the county, and strong parties of cavalry visited nearly every house. They boasted that some of their men were in Staunton Sunday evening while the stampede was going on, and even on the previous Friday.

General Breckinridge came from the east to Rockfish Gap with reinforcements, and for several days there were frequent skirmishes about Waynesborough and on the road to Staunton. On the 12th the writer counted twelve dead horses, on the road between Staunton and Waynesborough. The railroad as far as Fishersville was torn up, and the bridges were burnt. Another person, who came down the Middlebrook road a few days afterwards, reported many graves of Federal soldiers killed in skirmishes with Jenkins' cavalry, and puddles of blood here and there. The Donaghe, Opie and Taylor farms, adjacent to Staunton, were almost denuded of fences. R. Mauzy's printing office, *Staunton Spectator*, was broken up.

The Federal army proceeded up the Valley towards Lexington, part going by the Greenville route and the remainder by way of Middlebrook and Brownsburg. Jenkins was in advance of the latter, skirmishing as he was driven back by the superior force of the enemy. Breckinridge broke up at Rockfish Gap, and hung upon the Federal rear.

As stated, the quartermaster's wagons moved up the Greenville road Sunday evening, June 5, 1864. They arrived at Smith's tavern long after dark. Resting there till daylight, the train then went on to cross the Blue Ridge at Tye River Gap. Reaching the top of the mountain, Monday evening, tents were pitched, and the party made themselves as comfortable as they could. Many refugees, ladies as well as men, with their stock, passed the camp that evening and the next day, going into Nelson county, which was supposed to be a safe retreat. All day Tuesday the quartermaster's party remained on the mountain; but on Wednesday they went down into Nelson. Posses-

sion was taken of a vacant house known as "Hubbard's Quarter," only a few miles from Arrington depot, on the Orange and Alexandria railroad, now the Virginia Midland. A long rest was anticipated at that place, but after dark a courier arrived bringing an order from General Vaughan that the army stores should be forwarded to him at Rockfish Gap. Accordingly, most of the wagons, accompanied by several officers and many subordinates, moved forward on Thursday, along the eastern base of the Blue Ridge, and reached Rockfish Gap on Saturday, the 11th. There tidings were received by telegraph, which excited fears as to the fate of the men and stores left at Hubbard's. A party of Federal troops, it was reported, had burned Arrington depot. Several days elapsed before the facts were ascertained.

Captain R. H. Phillips had remained at Hubbard's in charge of such stores as it was thought General Vaughan would not need, and with him were Anthony D. Wren, James H. Blackley, William D. Candler, and other employees. While they were waiting for their dinner on Saturday, to their infinite astonishment a party of Federal cavalry burst upon them, having followed on their track across the mountain. The enemy dashed up with a shout, firing their pistols and demanding the surrender of the "rebels." Wren instantly fled, and escaped by concealing himself in an adjacent wheat field; the others surrendered at discretion. Boxes were hurriedly broken open and rifled, the house was set on fire, and in less than half an hour the enemy retired with their prisoners and plunder. The latter included many valuable papers and much jewelry. On account of his feeble physical condition at the time, James H. Blackley was turned loose on parole after a few days; but Captain Phillips and William D. Candler were taken to Ohio and detained for many months in a military prison. Candler, a perfectly truthful man, says that he and other prisoners were driven by hunger to catch rats for food, and this in the midst of abundance in the North and West. Yet the Yankees complain of the starvation at Andersonville, while Confederate soldiers had hardly necessary subsistence.

The diary was resumed, and we continue our extracts:

Thursday, June 16.—We heard this morning that Hunter was at Buchanan, and Breckinridge in Amherst county. Still no mail, and no reliable intelligence from any quarter. It is said the Yankees shot one man and hung another in Lexington. Reported that Crook or Averill brought off Mr. David S. Creigh from Lewisburg, and when they got to Rockbridge hung him, and left his body suspended to a tree. The town has been as quiet every day as on Sunday. Stores

and shops closed; a few men sitting about on the streets and talking over the events of the last two weeks; and even the little children are less noisy than usual. Everything looks like a tornado had swept over the country and left the stillness of death in its track. Many farmers having lost their horses are unable to work their corn.

Saturday, June 18.—The telegraph is up again, and working from Richmond to Staunton. * * Accounts we have from Lexington represent the treatment of that place by the Yankees as much worse than Staunton suffered. * * The Yankees while here threw a number of bombshells into the creek, and the town boys have been fishing them up and opening them to get the powder. One exploded to-day while a negro man was opening it, killing the man. The fragments flew to a great distance.

Sunday night, June 19.—Reported this morning that Hunter got near enough to Lynchburg to throw two shells into the city, one of which killed a boy; that Early attacked him yesterday evening, and defeated him; that the Confederates advanced this morning, but found the Federal army retreating in confusion; and that Breckinridge was in a position to intercept the retreat. * * While the Federal army was here, an officer rode up to the sentinel stationed at the Confederate workshops, corner of Frederick and Lewis streets, and handing him written orders from General Hunter, as he said, told him to shoot down any man who should set fire to the buildings. The Rev. S. D. Stuart was present and heard it all. In a few minutes the sentinel was withdrawn, and the buildings were in flames. * * Several of our people suffered severely at the hands of "Jesse Scouts," taking them for Confederate soldiers, and telling them where they had property hid, etc. Dr. Davidson even took some of them into the woods to see a fine horse he had secreted there in charge of a negro boy. Horse and boy were both taken off.

Wednesday night, June 20.—Many reports during the day, some of which came in a Lynchburg newspaper received this evening. * * Too much good news for one day! We now have a mail from Charlottesville three times a week. The railroad trains come up to Christian's creek, and from there a stage runs to Staunton. * * Legh R. Waddell, who was in John N. Opie's company at the battle of Piedmont, says he did not know the Confederates were defeated till they had retreated some distance. He was on the right wing of the Confederate army, which was successful, the left being broken and routed. After the company, which was at the rear of the retreating column, had proceeded some miles, Mr. Waddell became suspicious in regard to the movements, and remarked to a comrade that the Yankees were probably at that time in Staunton. This remark was regarded as very absurd, as the company generally thought the movement was for the purpose of "heading the enemy." Upon arriving at Hermitage, the company was halted, and it was announced that all the farmers had permission to go home to take off their stock. [This is mentioned as another instance of how little a private soldier knows about a battle.]

June 24.—We had most flattering reports this morning of the capture of a good part of Hunter's army and the dispersion of the remainder; but by evening what seemed to be more truthful accounts were received. Nearly the whole concern will escape towards Kanawha.

Sunday night, June 26.—General Early, commanding Ewell's corps, has arrived within a few miles of town, from towards Lexington, and the soldiers from this county have been permitted to visit their homes. We did not know that Early was coming till he had almost reached town. * * I hear the Federal officers, recently here, said the ladies of Staunton did not insult them, nor at the same time give them any countenance; that nowhere had they been treated with such cold politeness. * * During the occupation, several young men belonging to the cavalry in General Lee's army, who had come home for horses, called at John Hamilton's, on Christian's creek. While they were at dinner a dozen Yankees came upon them. They, of course, resisted capture, and one of them killed a Yankee. One was captured, and the others escaped. The dead man was taken by his comrades into Hamilton's house and laid upon a bed. They ordered Hamilton to bury him, which he refused to do, and after insulting and endeavoring to intimidate him they went off, promising to send another squad. The second party came and left without burying the corpse, and Mr. Hamilton had to do it at last. Two or three of our cavalrymen, at home on furlough, dashed upon the Yankee pickets near the Lunatic Asylum, and killed one, and came near stampeding the whole army. While here, the Yankees seem to have been in a state of great trepidation.

Tuesday evening, June 28.—Early's army has been passing through town since daylight, off and on. The infantry have gone down the Valley turnpike, the artillery down the New Hope road, and the cavalry around the western part of the county, without coming through town. * * The soldiers, generally, seemed in good spirits. * * Early is supposed to have from 20,000 to 25,000 men. I was aroused early this morning by the music of the troops who were marching out of town. They had plenty of music, such as it was. One of the bands played, "When this cruel war is over." * * As far as dress, etc., are concerned, they are a woe-be-gone looking set. As usual, multitudes of them have been calling at private houses for something to eat. We thought the Yankees had left no surplus in the county, but it is impossible to refuse a morsel to our own men, notwithstanding the beggars are generally stragglers.

Sunday night, July 10.—At last accounts, Early was at Frederick City, Maryland. His object, according to current report, is to release our men held as prisoners at Point Lookout.

Monday, July 11.—We are at last getting some authentic particulars in reference to the case of Mr. Creigh, of Greenbrier. It was said by some that a negro woman shot the Yankee who was threatening outrage to Mrs. Creigh and her daughters; by others, that Mrs. Creigh's mother shot the man while Mr. Creigh was struggling with

him on the floor. A letter from Lewisburg states, however, that he was killed by Mr. Creigh in defence of himself and family, and that his body was thrown into a well. This occurred six months ago. When the Federal troops were recently in Greenbrier, a negro informed upon Mr. Creigh, and he was arrested and brought to Staunton. After a mock trial he was condemned, and hung near New Providence church, in Rockbridge. Averill and Crook were opposed to his execution, it is said, but it was ordered by Hunter. A Federal chaplain named Osborne, from Pennsylvania, testified that Creigh was "a good man, if there ever was one," and that the soldiers said he did right in killing the ruffian.

Wednesday night, July 13.—We have no intelligence from Early, except through Northern newspapers. Great excitement in the North.

Friday, July 15.— * * The government offers $30 a bushel for wheat! Surely the public debt will never be paid.

Monday night July 18.—Our army has left Maryland and crossed to the south side of the Potomac, near Leesburg.

Saturday, July 23.—A dispatch was received this evening from Richmond, stating that a baggage car on the Danville railroad was burned this morning, and that the books, papers etc., of the two banks of Staunton were destroyed. The effects of the banks were taken to Danville to preserve them from the enemy, and were on the road back when the catastrophe occurred. [This report caused a panic in the community, but it turned out that the loss was not great].

Tuesday July 26.—Seven hundred and forty Yankee prisoners were brought into town yesterday, and sent off by railroad. They were taken in Maryland and down the Valley.

July 30.—We have no lights at night. Candles are so high in price that I cannot buy them. * * Very heavy cannonading heard all morning.

Monday, August 1.—News by the train last night that Grant sprung a mine at Petersburg, on Saturday. * * The Reserves of the Valley District are in town to-day, in obedience to an order requiring them to report here for organization. [They were chiefly men from forty-five to fifty-five years of age.]

Tuesday, August 2.—Early is said to be at Bunker Hill, near Winchester. * * Our loss at Petersburg on Saturday is reported at 1,200; the loss of the enemy is said to be about 3,000, including 1,100 prisoners. The slaughter of the enemy is said to have been terrible. [The enemy's loss was afterwards reported as 5,000].

August 3.—A rumor to-day that 40,000 Federal troops were at Harper's Ferry.

August 4.—Northern newspapers report that McCausland has been to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and burnt the town.

Tuesday, August 9.—One or two persons who were with McCausland at Chambersburg have arrived in town. They say that McCausland, by order of General Early, made a demand on the town for a hundred thousand dollars, to reimburse the owners of property de-

stroyed by the Yankees in Virginia. The people laughed at the demand, which was made at intervals three or four times, accompanied by a threat to burn the town if it was not complied with. As the people persisted in disregarding the demand, the town was finally set on fire. Our men say the affair was extremely painful to them. There is every reason to believe that Henry K. Cochran, of Staunton, was killed at Chambersburg, and he probably fell a victim to popular rage.

Saturday, August 13.—We hear that a large force of the enemy is pressing Early up the Valley. * * Heavy cannonading was heard all the morning from six to eleven or twelve o'clock.

August 14.—Reported that our army and the enemy were confronting each other at Strasburg on yesterday. * * A large number of army wagons came in to-day, probably 140 to 150 in all.

Wednesday night, August 17.—Yesterday evening about 6 o'clock I heard the cannonading below Richmond very distinctly. The Reserves were sent to Richmond on Monday.

Friday night, August 19.—News from the lower Valley this morning that the Yankee army was retiring, and burning barns and mills as they went. Early had passed through Winchester in pursuit.

Wednesday night, August 24.—Four hundred and fifty prisoners from the lower Valley brought in this evening. They are to be detained here till further orders from General Early.

August 31.—I am again engaged in the arduous labor of getting up a coat and vest. Five yards of coarse cloth, which I obtained by a trade, would have cost in our currency at least $200. Having procured the cloth, the difficulty now is about trimmings and making. Two yards of skirt lining will cost $30. My jeans coat, made last year and lost at Hubbard's, in Nelson county, on the 11th of last June, was lined with an old cravat. Alas! everything of that kind is now used up, so I must make the back of an old vest serve another "tour" to help out the new one. The usual charge of a tailor for cutting out a coat and vest is $15, and a woman charges $33 for making. These prices are not high considering what the currency is worth. For coat buttons I must rob an old garment.

Saturday night, September 3.—The Yankee prisoners sent up the Valley by Early, have been forwarded to Lynchburg. While detained here they were bivouacked on the Middlebrook road two or three miles from town. A sergeant-major preached to his fellow prisoners once or twice on last Sunday. They frequently held prayer-meetings and their singing was heard all round the country. Twelve of them, from New Jersey, expressed a desire to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy, and all declared themselves heartily tired of the war.

Saturday night, September 4.—Mrs. C. sent for me this evening to direct a letter to her husband, who is a prisoner at Camp Chase, Ohio. Such letters go from Richmond, by the flag-of-truce boat. While I was at Mrs. C.'s two children came in, and, inquiring who they were, I was told that their father also was a prisoner in the

enemy's hands. In a few minutes another little girl entered, and Mrs. C. remarked that her father, too, was a prisoner.

Tuesday, September 20.—Our army defeated yesterday below Winchester. * * A deep feeling of gloom seems to pervade the community. Life has no charms at present, and there is little to hope for the future. It is like walking through the valley of the shadow of death.

September 21.—Still very few particulars in regard to the recent battle. Stage passengers report that our loss was three thousand, killed and wounded,—comparatively few killed,—and that the enemy's loss was very large. They say the enemy was repulsed twice and driven back two miles, but continued to bring up fresh troops. Early brought off his wagons and 400 prisoners taken during the battle. Our army was at Fisher's Hill, and there is a rumor of skirmishing there this morning.

Friday evening, September 23.—A report got out about 2 o'clock that Early had been driven from Fisher's Hill, with the loss of twelve pieces of cannon. * * I thought we had reached the lowest stage of despondency on yesterday, but there was still a "lower deep." Anxiety was depicted on every countenance. Some persons report that the enemy is 70,000 strong, while Early has only 7,500 infantry. Edward Waddell arrived yesterday, badly wounded in the right hand. [He entered the military service, April 17, 1861, as a private in the "West Augusta Guard," 5th regiment, Stonewall Brigade, and participated in nearly every battle in which his command was engaged. He became 2nd Lieutenant, and commanded his company for more than a year; but could not rise higher because the Captain and 1st Lieutenant, although disabled by wounds, held on to their commissions. The wound mentioned was the first he received. A spent ball, however, on one occasion, knocked out one of his front teeth. He is a son of Dr. Livingston Waddell, formerly of Waynesborough.] Reported that thousands of our soldiers are without arms, having thrown their guns away. Guns have been sent from Staunton since the battle of Winchester.

Saturday September 24.—A dispatch from General Early this morning assured the people of Staunton that they were in no danger—that his army was safe, and receiving reinforcements. He, however, ordered the detailed men to be called out. * * This county is now rich in all that is needed to sustain an army, and if the enemy comes the loss will be irreparable. General Early's dispatch has not quieted apprehension.

About 10 o'clock at night, September 24, General Early sent an order to evacuate the town, as he was compelled to retire from the Valley to Brown's Gap, in the Blue Ridge. During that night there was little rest or sleep to persons connected with the various government depots, and as early as possible the next day all army stores were started eastward by railroad and wagon trains.

The Federal army, some 3,000 men, under General Torbert, entered Staunton on Monday evening, September 26, and, passing through, camped on the Waynesborough road. A part of them went to Waynesborough on Tuesday, during which day the remainder of them occupied Staunton. They entered very few houses and committed no depredation of any consequence. They impressed all the negro men into their service, and took them down the railroad to destroy the track and bridges. The colored people were very indignant, and did much less damage to the railroad than they could have done.

On Wednesday, the 28th, the whole Federal command moved to Waynesborough, and late that evening they were attacked by a party of Confederate cavalry from Brown's Gap. The enemy were driven off, leaving about forty dead and more than eighty prisoners. They returned through Staunton late Wednesday night, in great haste and some disorder, and went down the Valley as they came up, by the Springhill road. They appeared to spend Thursday and Thursday night in burning barns in the direction of Middle river, the whole heavens being illuminated until a late hour.

Confederate cavalry entered Staunton on Thursday, the 29th. General Early afterwards moved his infantry from Waynesborough towards Mt. Sidney, and for several days North river, from Bridgewater to Port Republic, was the line between the two armies.

John N. Hendren, of Staunton, was appointed Treasurer of the Confederate States in the fall of 1864.

Monday night, October 10.—The *Richmond Dispatch* of this morning says that the *New York Herald* of the 5th published a letter from Grant to Sheridan, ordering him to burn every house in the Valley, to destroy every mill, kill every horse, cow, sheep, and hog; that he is determined to make the Valley a wilderness. * * It is said that when the Yankees were here recently an officer made an address to the negroes after they had finished tearing up the railroad track near town. He was anxious for the young men to go off with them, but would not advise the old men to leave their homes; if, however, the latter chose to go, they would be taken to Washington city where arrangements would be made by which they could work for a living. "Humph," said an old negro, "plenty work here."

Wednesday night, October 12.—At this usually abundant season of the year, people heretofore accustomed to live in luxury, are scuffling for the necessaries of life. Since dark we have been listening to the noise of a mill grinding sugar cane (sorghum); there it is, still, after 10 o'clock, probably half a mile off. Something sweet,—molasses, if not sugar,—is eagerly sought after. At Waynesborough, the other day, I drank at supper and breakfast "rye coffee" without sugar.

October 15.—Nothing talked of except the recent order calling into service all detailed men. One order has followed another in rapid succession from the adjutant-general's office. It seems that almost every male from seventeen to fifty years of age not in the army is to be taken to Richmond with the view of going to the field. The recent orders take millers from their grinding, but men sent from the army undertake in some cases to run the machinery. Farmers are ordered from their fields and barns and soldiers are detailed to thresh the wheat. All men engaged in making horseshoes are ordered off, so that our cavalry and artillery horses will have to go barefooted. The officials at Richmond are apparently in a state of panic.

Thursday night, October 20.—This afternoon it was announced that Early had attacked the enemy near Strasburg, and captured 1,500 prisoners. Before the first glow of satisfaction at this good news had left my face, we heard that Early had lost his cannon, and was retreating before the enemy.

October 21.—A number of officers and men who were engaged in the affair down the Valley, and many ambulances with the wounded, have arrived. They say the enemy was attacked early in the morning and completely routed, being driven a long distance, with the loss of cannon, wagons, about 4,000 men,—in fact, almost everything. Early ordered a halt, and immediately his men scattered to plunder. The enemy rallied, and, another corps coming up, attacked our men while they were dispersed. At the same time the Federal cavalry attacked the wagons in the rear of our army. The result was, that we were routed, and lost more than was gained at first, except in prisoners.

October 22.—A large body of prisoners was brought in this morning and sent off by railroad. The number was stated to be 1,340, but I thought it at least 2,000.

Throughout the war the courts were open, and their authority was respected. In November of this year, several "detailed farmers," called into military service, sued out writs of *habeas corpus*, and brought their cases before Judge Thompson at Staunton. He decided that they were not liable to serve as soldiers, and ordered their discharge.

Thursday, November 10.—From the means employed to provision Early's army it must be in great straits for subsistence. Commissaries and quartermasters, with details of men, are traversing the county in search of supplies. The mills are watched, and every barrel of flour is taken up as soon as it is turned out.

Thursday, November 24.—A large part of Early's army is in this county.

December 7.—Two divisions of Early's corps are on their way to Richmond, having reached Waynesborough.

Rodes' division passed through Staunton on the 15th, and Wharton's division on the 17th. Rosser went into quarters with his cavalry, near Buffalo Gap, and the infantry and artillery left under Early were stationed near Fishersville. General Early had his headquarters in Staunton.

A report on the 20th, that the enemy was coming up the Valley, brought Early's small force up from Fishersville, and sent them down the Winchester road. By the 22nd the alarm was over, and our men were back in their quarters. At 3 o'clock, on the morning of the 23rd, the cavalry were roused in their camp, and brought to town. The weather was bitter cold, the ground covered with snow, and the roads were slippery. The men were chilled and hungry, and went from house to house for breakfast.

Saturday night, December 31.—The last night of a dreary year, full of wretchedness. * * Forage is very scarce, and many horses are dying.

Thursday night, January 21, 1865.—The State sells *salt* to citizens at a less price than the market affords, and I have secured all I am entitled to, as the best investment of Confederate money. Some time ago the article was distributed to the people of the town at the rate of 25 pounds to each person, and I then obtained 275 pounds. Another distribution was made to-day, and I received 220 pounds more. * * A lady's dress, which formerly cost $10 to $15, now costs $400 to $500.

Monday night, January 16.—Rosser has been to Beverley, Randolph county, and has captured 600 or 700 Federal soldiers.

January 18.—Pins sell in town at $12 a paper, and needles at $10. Flour in Richmond at $1,000 a barrel. Confederate currency is almost worthless.

Friday night, January 20.—Many persons were encouraging themselves to day with reports about foreign intervention. * * The prisoners captured by Rosser at Beverley, (600 or 700), were sent off by railroad to-day. They have suffered greatly from cold and hunger, as our soldiers have. Several of them died on the way to Staunton, and others will probably not survive long. After the train started I saw one of the prisoners lying on the pavement at the corner of the court-house yard. A crowd was around him, some of whom said he was dying. He was taken to the Confederate military hospital. All the prisoners are from Ohio. One of them boasted, it is said, that he had been in many of the houses about here.

Tuesday, January 31.—Early has had his headquarters in Staunton for some time, and Fitzhugh Lee moved up from Waynesborough a few days ago.

Thursday, February 9.—Two soldiers, convicted of desertion and robbery, were shot to-day near town.

Friday, February 24.—General Crook entered Staunton this afternoon under very different circumstances from his visit in June last.

He was brought in by McNeil's men, who kidnapped him in Cumberland, Maryland, although there were two Federal regiments in the town.

The people of Augusta, who assembled at February court, contributed a large amount of provisions for the maintenance of the Confederate army.

Tuesday, February 28.—We were startled this morning by an order from General Early to pack up. The enemy in large force was coming up the Valley, and had arrived at Mt. Jackson.

This was Sheridan's command of mounted men, which swept through the Valley without tarrying at any point. They burnt Swoope's depot, Swoope's mill and barn, Bell's barn etc., on March 2.

General Early retired with his small force to Waynesborough, where he made a stand, but he was surrounded by a host of enemies, and his men were killed, captured or scattered. William H. Harman was killed there, while acting as volunteer aide. The General narrowly escaped capture. On Saturday, the 4th, a body of the enemy returned to Staunton with their prisoners, 600 to 800, and the same day proceeded down the Valley, while the main body crossed the Blue Ridge at Rockfish Gap. Sheridan had no wagon train, but subsisted upon the country, his men plundering, consuming and destroying as they went. While they were in Staunton they seized cooked food wherever they found it, and on the 2nd the writer's family had nothing to eat during the day except some potatoes which a servant smuggled into the house and roasted in the dining-room. For several weeks afterwards there was no communication by railroad or telegraph between Staunton and Richmond.

Early Monday morning, April 3rd, the news of the evacuation of Richmond flew through the streets of Staunton, and from house to house.

April 6.—All things indicate that the days of the Confederate States are nnmbered.

On Tuesday morning, April 11th, vague reports of General Lee's surrender reached Staunton.

Friday, April 14.—We heard last night from an authentic source that General Lee had certainly surrendered himself with his army. * * O'Ferrall is still operating in the lower Valley. The Federal commander in that quarter notified him that he was violating the terms of Lee's surrender, and O'Ferrall has sent to Staunton for information. * * Pierpont, the Governor of Virginia recognized by

the Federal government, has been in Richmond. He was elected by a few votes in Alexandria, Norfolk, and possibly some other places occupied by Federal troops during the war. Another State, called West Virginia, is presided over by Governor Bowman or Boreman. Nothing remains for us but submission.

Sunday night, April 16.—Authentic intelligence to-day that two persons have arrived in Charlottesville from Richmond, sent by Lincoln in search of Governor Smith, to invite him to return. At last accounts the Governor was flying from Richmond, on the tow path of the James river canal.

Monday night, April 17.—Four years ago this day, the two military companies started from Staunton, and the war began. Now the war is virtually over, and we are—what shall I say?

LIST OF AUGUSTA MEN

WHO SERVED IN THE FIELD AS CAPTAINS, MAJORS, ETC., IN THE CONFEDERATE ARMY.

Antrim, George T.—Captain of Company H, Fifth regiment Virginia infantry. Disabled at Kernstown.

Arehart, Abraham.—Captain of Company D, Fifty-second infantry.

Baldwin, John B.—Inspector-General of State troops; Colonel of Fifty-second infantry. Disabled by sickness.

Balthis, William L.—Captain of Staunton Artillery, succeeding John D. Imboden. Disabled at Malvern Hill.

Bateman, Elijah.—Captain of Company G, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding Samuel McCune. Lost arm in battle, May 6, 1864.

Baylor, William S. H.—Major of Fifth infantry, Lieutenant-Colonel and Colonel. Killed at second battle of Manassas, commanding brigade.

Berkeley, Frank B.—Chief of staff of Brigadier General Imboden, with rank of Captain.

Brown, S. Bradford.—Captain of cavalry; General Lee's body guard.

Bucher, David.—Captain-quartermaster of Fifth infantry.

Bumgardner, James, Jr.—Captain of Company F, Fifty-second regiment, succeeding Joseph E. Cline.

Burke, Thomas J.—Captain of Company L, Fifth infantry, succeeding James H. Waters.

Byers, John S.—Captain of Company C, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding Wm. E. Dabney. Disabled by wound.

Christian, Bolivar.—Captain-commissary of Fifty-second infantry. Afterwards on special service with rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

Cline, Joseph E.—Captain of Company F, Fifty-second infantry. Retired from disability.

Cochran, George M., Jr.—Captain-quartermaster of Fifty-second infantry.

Cochran, James.—Captain of Company I, Fourteenth Virginia cavalry, succeeding F. F. Sterrett. Promoted Colonel.

Coiner, C. Benton.—Captain of Company G, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding Elijah Bateman.

Curtis, E. L.—Captain of Company I, Fifth infantry, succeeding O. F. Grinnan.

Dabney, William E. (of Albemarle).—Captain of Company C, Fifty-second infantry. Killed at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862.

Davis, Robert C.—Captain of Company A, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding Edward Garber.

Dempster, John J.—Captain of Company E, Fifth infantry, succeeding L. Grills.

Dold, James A.—Captain of Company H, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding J. D. Lilley. Killed at Bethesda Church, below Richmond, 1864.

Doyle, Robert L.—Captain of Company C, Fifth infantry, Lieutenant-Colonel of Sixty-second infantry. Killed at Piedmont while acting as Captain of reserves.

Fultz, Alexander H.—Captain of Staunton Artillery, succeeding A. W. Garber.

Garber, Asher W.—Captain of Staunton Artillery, succeeding W. L. Balthis. Promoted Major.

Garber, Edward.—Captain of Company A, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding J. H. Skinner. Killed at second battle of Manassas.

Gibson, James W.—Captain of Company H, Fifth infantry, succeeding G. T. Antrim.

Grills, Lycurgus.—Captain of Company E, Fifth infantry, succeeding J. W. Newton. Died in service.

Grinnan, Oswald F.—Captain of Company I, Fifth infantry.

Hall, William.—Captain of Company G, Fifth infantry, succeeding R. Simms. Killed at Wilderness, May 5, 1864.

Hanger, Henry H.—Captain of Company I, Fourteenth cavalry, succeeding Joseph A. Wilson.

Hanger, Marshall.—Captain and Major on staff of General J. E. B. Stuart.

Harman, Asher W.—Captain of Company G, Fifth infantry, Colonel of Twelfth Virginia cavalry.

Harman, John A.—Major and quartermaster of Second Corps Army of Northern Virginia.

Harman, Lewis.—Captain of Company I, Twelfth cavalry.

Harman, Michael G.—Lieutenant-Colonel and Colonel of Fifty-second infantry, succeeding J. B. Baldwin.

Harman, William H.—Lieutenant-Colonel and Colonel of Fifth infantry, succeeding K. Harper. Killed at Waynesborough, 1865, acting as volunteer aide.

Harper, Kenton.—Colonel of Fifth infantry.

Hotchkiss, Jed.—Major and topographical engineer of Second Corps Army of Northern Virginia.

Hottle, Joseph F.—Captain of Company D, Fifty-second infantry.

Humphreys, John F.—Captain of Company I, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding Samuel Lambert.

Imboden, George W.—Colonel of Eighteenth Virginia cavalry.

Imboden, John D.—Captain of Staunton Artillery; Colonel of independent command: Brigadier-General.

Koiner, Absalom.—Major of Fifth infantry, succeeding W. S. H. Baylor.

Lambert, Samuel.—Captain of Company I, Fifty-second infantry. Died in service.

Lilley, John D.—Captain of Company H, Fifty-second infantry. Promoted Lieutenant-Colonel.

Lilley, Robert D.—Captain of Company D, Twenty-fifth infantry. Promoted Lieutenant-Colonel, and Brigadier-General. Lost an arm at Winchester, 1864.

Long, William.—Captain of Company B, Fifty-second infantry. Killed at McDowell, May 8, 1862.

Mason, C. R.—Commissioned first as a post-quartermaster with the rank of Captain; afterwards as Lieutenant-Colonel of engineers in the field.

McClung, James A.—Captain-quartermaster of the Fifty-seventh Virginia regiment.

McClung, Thomas.—Captain of Company E, First Virginia cavalry, succeeding William Patrick.

McCoy, Charles D.—Captain of Company D, Twenty-fifth infantry, succeeding R. D. Lilley.

McCune, Samuel.—Captain of Company D, Fifty-second infantry.

Merritt, C. G.—Captain-quartermaster of Twenty-fifth infantry.

McKamy, William C.—Captain of Company D, Fifth infantry, succeeding W. H. Randolph.

Newton, James W.—Captain of Company E, Fifth infantry. Promoted Major. Lost a leg in service.

Patrick, William.—Captain of Company E, First Virginia cavalry. Promoted Major. Killed at Second Manassas.

Randolph, William H.—Captain of Company D, Fifth infantry, succeeding H. J. Williams. Killed at Cold Harbor.

Roberts, St. Francis.—Captain of Company F, Fifth infantry. Disabled by wounds in battle.

Simms, Richard.—Captain of Company G, Fifth infantry, succeeding A. W. Harman. Killed at Second Manassas.

Skinner, James H.—Captain of Company A, Fifty-second infantry, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Colonel. Wounded and disabled, May 12, 1864.

Sterrett, F. F.—Captain of Company I, Fourteenth cavalry.

Thompson, James.—Captain of Company B, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding William Long.

Trevy, J. M.—Captain of Company C, Fifth infantry, succeeding R. L. Doyle.

Trout, E. Stribling.—Captain of Company H, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding J. A. Dold.

Waters, James H.—Captain of Company L, Fifth infantry. Captain and commissary of regiment.

Weller, Charles L.—Captain of Company C, Fifty-second infantry, succeeding J. S. Byers.

Williams, Hazel J.—Captain of Company D, Fifth infantry. Promoted Lieutenant-Colonel.

Wilson, Joseph A.—Captain of Company I, Fourteenth cavalry, succeeding James Cochran. Lost an arm in battle.

Wilson, Peter E.—Captain of Company F, Fifth infantry, succeeding St. F. Roberts.

The following natives of Augusta, who, however, were not living in the county when the war arose, were officers in the military service :

William D. Stuart, son of Thomas J. Stuart, Esq., of Staunton, born about 1830, and educated at the Staunton Academy and the Virginia Military Institute. Was principal of a school in Richmond, in 1861. Appointed by Governor Letcher, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fourteenth Virginia regiment. At the reorganization in 1862, was elected colonel of the Fifty-sixth regiment. Mortally wounded at Gettysburg, and died in Staunton.

James A. Walker, son of Mr. Alexander Walker, of South river. Educated at the Virginia Military Institute. While practising law in Pulaski county was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Thirteenth Virginia regiment, commanded then by A. P. Hill. Became successively Colonel, Brigadier-General, and Major-General.

Thomas Poage, a lawyer, living in Pulaski county, was Colonel of the 50th Virginia regiment when he was killed, on Blackwater, in February, 1863.

Briscoe G. Baldwin, Jr., son of Judge B. G. Baldwin, educated at the Staunton Academy and the Virginia Military Institute. Appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of artillery and assigned to ordnance duty in Richmond.

John H. McCue, son of John McCue, Esq., was practising law in Nelson county in 1861. Appointed commissary of the Fifty-first regiment, Colonel Wharton. Was with General Floyd's command at the fall of Fort Donelson. Captured at Waynesborough in March, 1865, while acting as volunteer aide and detained a prisoner till July.

In the battle near Winchester, July 20, 1864, General R. D. Lilley, while commanding Pegram's brigade, was wounded three times, —first, in the left thigh by a shell ; next, his right arm was shattered near the shoulder by a minie-ball ; and, lastly, a minie-ball went through his already injured thigh. Being entirely disabled by the second injury, he dismounted, and as his horse was galloping to the rear he received the third wound. Weak and faint he lay down un-

der a tree. A portion of the Federal army passed over him, and a soldier stopped long enough to take off his field-glass. Left alone for awhile, he crawled to a shady spot among rocks and leaves. Soon a Federal straggler came up and robbed him of his watch, pocket-book, hat, gold ring and pocket knife. Next, an Irishman in the Federal army came along, inquired about his injuries, and went nearly a mile to procure water for him. Finally, several of Averill's cavalry gathered near him, and while they stood there a moccasin snake glided across his forehead and stopped near his face. He called to the soldiers, and they killed the reptile. His arm was amputated at the shoulder by a Federal surgeon, and the wounded thigh was properly treated. The stolen watch was recovered through the agency of the surgeon and a Federal colonel.

Claiborne R. Mason was one of the most remarkable men of his day. He was born a poor boy, early in the 19th century, and reared in Chesterfield county. At an early age he was thrown upon his own resources, without the advantages of education. After pursuing various vocations, he turned his attention to the construction of railroads, and a large part of the Chesapeake and Ohio railroad was constructed by him. By a mental process peculiar to himself, he made the most intricate calculations in mensuration, with promptness and accuracy. He accumulated several fortunes during his life, and lost nearly as many by his liberality. He was transparently honest, and, with much worldly wisdom, as guileless as a child. For about the last thirty years of his life he resided in Augusta county. When the war arose in 1861, he raised a company for the Fifty-second regiment, but his services were more needed otherwise. He was first commissioned as quartermaster, with the rank of Captain. Soon, however, General T. J. Jackson attached him to his person and employed him in constructing roads and bridges, obtaining for him the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel of engineers. An anecdote is related to show his energy and skill: One evening General Jackson notified him to hold himself in readiness to construct a bridge over a river they were at. The regular engineers sat up all night, drawing the plan, and in the morning Mason was sent for to receive instructions. He presented himself at headquarters, with the announcement that the bridge was up! His death occurred in January, 1885, when he was about eighty-two years of age. Up to the time of his last sickness he was actively engaged in constructing railroads in Pennsylvania, Kentucky and elsewhere.

CHAPTER XXIV.

AFTER THE WAR—1865.

The war closed when General Lee surrendered at Appomattox Courthouse. For many days afterwards all the roads in the State were full of weary men wending their ways homeward. Many homes were devastated and poverty-stricken. The army of the Confederate States had wasted away, and not only so, but the people were impoverished. Some food was left in the county,—more, indeed, than was generally known of a few weeks before,—and the pressing need was for articles of clothing. Railroads had been torn up, factories destroyed, farms laid waste, towns wrecked, the banks were all broken, and there was literally no currency in the country. Farmers set to work to do what they could, and a few other people found employment. Most white people were idle from necessity, and the negroes asserted and proved their newly acquired freedom by leaving the farms and flocking to town. The recuperation of the country, which began at once and has been so far consummated, is one of the marvels of the age.

It was not anticipated at the close of the war that the Southern people generally would be subjected to pains and penalties. Edmund Burke said: "It is impossible to frame an indictment against a whole people." But the fate of many regarded as leaders was for some time in suspense.

We continue our extracts from the diary:

April 19.—No rumors to-day of any consequence. Yesterday there was a report that Lincoln had been assassinated.

April 20—The report of Lincoln's assassination was renewed this evening. * * There is general regret in our community. * * We are now in a condition of anarchy. Bands of soldiers are roaming about and taking off all cattle, sheep, horses, etc., they suppose to be public property.

Having borne the heat and burden of the war for so long, it is not strange that returned soldiers, having come home in a state of destitution, should feel that they had a peculiar right to Confederate

property, nor is it strange that they sometimes mistook private for public property.

Friday night, April 21.—I hear that a lady arrived this evening from Washington with a newspaper giving an account of Lincoln's assassination. Seward was assailed in his chamber at the same time and wounded.

April 22.—The assassin was an actor, named John Wilkes Booth. He and twenty or thirty others associated with him escaped down the Potomac on the Maryland side. He was not considered a Southern sympathizer, having left Richmond early in the war to go North. Rumor says that some persons at the North attribute the murder to the ultra abolitionists, who are disaffected on account of Lincoln's supposed leniency to the South. Vice-President Andrew Johnson has been sworn in as President of the United States, and has made several speeches, in which he announced vengeance against "traitors." He has withdrawn the invitation, or permission, for our Legislature to meet in Richmond.

Monday night, April 24.—The Pierpont government is established at Richmond, and we will doubtless be required to recognize it as legitimate. * * The County Court was busy to-day trying to devise means for maintaining law and order.

April 25.—We have no mails, no newspapers, and no regular communication with the world. Occasionally some person arrives with a Baltimore or Richmond paper. * * There were many exciting rumors to-day. Among them that Andrew Johnson had been killed, and that Washington, Philadelphia and New York were in flames. Also, reported by some one who came up the Valley that Grant had been killed, and that fighting was going on in Washington city. * * Trouble, suspense, anxiety—a time when we have no government, and know not what will be on the morrow.

April 27.—Reported that Andrew Johnson had not been poisoned, as was said, but was under arrest as an accomplice in the assassination of Lincoln!

Saturday, April 29.—Several companies of the Twenty-second New York cavalry, under Colonel Reid, arrived to-day from Winchester. They came in very cautiously, having scouts on the hills before they entered. They evidently feared an ambuscade! Their camp is near the cemetery. * * It was a curious spectacle this afternoon to see Federals and Confederates mingling together on the streets. Everybody seemed to be at ease. Jesse Scouts were in town considerably in advance of the main body.

Sunday night, April 30.—The day passed off quietly. Many Yankees were riding and walking about unarmed. Four officers and two other soldiers attended the Presbyterian church in the forenoon. The Episcopal church was not open, because Mr. Latane was apprehensive of trouble if he omitted to pray for the President of the United States. Surely these are evil times when churches are subjected to military control. * * Our town police arrested a drunken Yankee soldier last night and put him in jail.

Monday night, May 1.—Negroes are flocking to the Yankee camp, some of them having come from home on horseback. * * The Yankees gave up stolen horses to their owners when called for. * * The officers have told everybody that they did not wish the negroes to go off with them, and would furnish to them neither transportation nor rations, but they were not at liberty to send them home. This afternoon, however, the soldiers began a system of treatment which must have been discouraging to "American citizens of African descent." A number of tents had been taken from the military hospital to the Yankee camp, and some of them were spread upon the ground and used as blankets for tossing up the colored friends. Men, women and children were thrown up at the risk of cracking skulls or breaking necks. One woman having been tossed up several times fell on her head, and at last accounts was lying insensible. * * This evening a Confederate and Yankee had a fist-fight in the street. The former got the better of his opponent, but both were put in jail.

Tuesday, May 2.—The Federal troops started early this morning down the Valley. Many negroes, men, women and children, accompanied them. The negroes can't realize that freedom is possible in their old homes. One old man started, but soon returned, saying it was too far!

Thursday night, May 4.—A movement was on foot this morning for a public meeting on Monday next, with a view to the reorganization of the State government under the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Sunday night May 7.—Information that a considerable body of Federal troops is on the way from Winchester. * * General Smith, our fugitive Governor, is in town to-night, and has sent round notice that he will deliver an address at the American hotel.

Monday night, May 8.—The county meeting came off to-day, and was attended by many people. A committee was appointed to go to Richmond and confer with the authorities there, civil or military, and ascertain what liberty will be allowed in regard to the re-establishment of the State government. The committee are Alexander H. H. Stuart, William M. Tate, John B. Baldwin, M. G. Harman and Hugh W. Sheffey. Resolutions were adopted declaring that the contest is ended; that a State Convention should be held, etc. The Governor goes armed with a brace of pistols, and his servant carries a gun or two. He has returned to Lexington.

Tuesday night, May 9.—The Federal troops entered town this morning. First came three or four scouts, next the cavalry (three regiments), and then three regiments of infantry. Brigadier-General Duval commands. Their principal camp is on the Parkersburg road, near town. The headquarters are at the Virginia Hotel. They have about 150 wagons, and supplies for thirty days. As the first infantry regiment marched in the band played "Hail Columbia." The private soldiers seem good-natured enough, but they are a low order of people, much inferior to our men, who have always whipped them when

not outnumbered more than three to one. The officers are a spruce, dapper-looking set.

Wednesday night, May 10.—The committee appointed by the county meeting on Monday called upon General Duval this morning. He was extremely civil; said the only instructions he had were to restore order by suppressing guerilla parties, and to parole Confederate soldiers. He had no instructions in regard to civil government. [There were no guerillas in the country.]

Friday night, May 12.—We are tasting the bitterness of a conquered people. The Yankees are evidently trying to worry us because they are not taken into society. No disrespect is shown to them, but cold politeness. The officers ride and walk about, decked off in shining coats, and evidently desire to attract the attention of the ladies. General Duval is not satisfied with the temper of the people,—"they are still defiant." He has therefore resorted to various petty annoyances. * * Yesterday he alleged that several persons had been murdered within four miles of Staunton,—"Union people," who had recently come back. Nobody else had heard of it, and the statement is utterly false. * * Citizens are not allowed to be on the streets after 10 o'clock at night. * * This morning a Yankee soldier was found dead near town, but, strange to say, the "Rebels" are not charged with having killed him. Yesterday a body of four or five hundred cavalry came in from Charlottesville to open an office for paroling, not knowing that any troops were here. They returned this morning. We hear that the Yankees at Winchester have the negro men who lately went off from this place, working on the streets, guarded by soldiers, and that the women are begging from door to door.

May 14.—Reported on the streets that President Johnson has issued a proclamation declaring the property of all aiders and abettors of the "rebellion" confiscated, declaring all public offices vacant, and setting aside all sales of real estate made since 1860. Pierpont is recognized as the Governor of Virginia, of course.

May 15.—A sentinel has been promenading to-day before N. K. Trout's residence, because, the Yankees allege, the girls "made mouths," or hissed at the band as they entered town a week ago. The girls deny the charge. But what if they did?

May 16.—Many persons in town have been making what money they could out of the Yankee soldiers. Betty, a colored servant girl at ———'s, thought she would try her hand, although her mistress is suspected of being a secret partner in the venture. At any rate, Betty went out to the camp with a lot of fresh pies to sell on reasonable terms. In due time she returned, greatly elated with her success,—she had a handful of notes. But, alas! the rascality of the Yankees, and, alas! Betty's ignorance of United States currency! Upon examination, it turned out that the papers for which she had exchanged her pies were bottle labels, advertising cards, etc., without a cent of money among them. Betty probably told very freely where

she lived, and during the day some Yankees called at the house and inquired if they could get any pies there.

Thursday, May 18.—A pistol or gun was fired in one of the streets last night, and General Duval imagined that he was shot at. Early in the morning the town was surrounded by pickets, and no one was allowed to come in or go out. Every house was searched for fire-arms, and every weapon, however rusty and useless, was triumphantly seized and carried off. It is said and believed that a gun in the hands of a Federal soldier was accidentally discharged. But General Duval firmly believes that the "rebels," having sacrificed the head of the nation, are trying to kill him, the next great man. * * The soldiers have been tossing negroes in blankets at their camp, and it is reported that one was killed and buried yesterday.

May 19.—Several stores have been opened in town by army sutlers and others. The report of President Davis' capture is repeated.

May 20.—A second public meeting was held to-day in the court-house by General Duval's permission, and another committee was appointed to go to Richmond, etc., etc. It was a sham affair. * * Yesterday no one was allowed to leave town unless he had taken the oath of allegiance. All restrictions were removed to-day, but no one is permitted to be on the streets after 8 o'clock, P. M.

Sunday, May 21.—This morning, after the Presbyterian congregation had assembled for worship, through some bungling, a Yankee chaplain was escorted to the pulpit where the Rev. Mr. Baker was seated. The chaplain only wanted to give notice that he would preach elsewhere in the evening, but persons outside, hearing of the intrusion, as they regarded it, spread the report that he had usurped the pulpit and intended to preach by force of arms. The affair caused great indignation at first, but afterwards much amusement. The scene which outsiders imagined was exhibited in the church is described by Walter Scott in "Woodstock," when the Rev. Nehemiah Holdenough was thrust from his pulpit by one of Cromwell's soldiers and his comrades, who exclaimed: "We will pluck yon Jack Presbyter out of his wooden sentinel box and our own watchman shall relieve guard and mount thereon, and cry aloud and spare not." According to report, some of the Federal officers don't spare the chaplain. They asked him if he had preached to-day, and he replied: "No, neither preach, pray, nor sing." He did sing, however, at the Presbyterian church.

Monday night, May 22.—Pierpont is recognized by the Washington authorities as the legitimate Governor of Virginia. We are apprehensive that no one will be allowed to vote or hold office unless he purges himself by oath of all sympathy with the "rebellion," and thus nearly the whole people will be excluded. No doubt some will swear they never did sympathize. The applicants for office upon the restoration of the monarchy in the person of Charles II were not more debased than some people now-a-days.

Monday night, May 29.—Yesterday evening United States flags were hung out at several street corners, so that persons going to the Episcopal church should have to pass under them, and a small paper

flag was suspended over the church gate. This morning a small flag was found pasted to the portico of A. F. Kinney's house, and Ned Kinney, who first discovered it, took it down. For this act of treason he was arrested and threatened with banishment to a Northern prison. A large flag was then put at Kinney's gate.

Tuesday night May 30.—The Pierpont Constitution of Virginia, framed at Alexandria during the war by sixteen men, and never voted for by anybody else, is to be imposed upon us by Federal bayonets. It wipes out slavery now and forever, etc., etc.

May 31.—Most of the county committee, No. 1, have returned from Richmond. Pierpont insists upon his Constitution with its provision restricting the right of suffrage to those who can, *or will*, take what is called "the iron-clad oath." But it seems that the Legislature may remove the restriction.

Thursday night, June 1.—General Duval's flags are spreading themselves. Another string of them is stretched across Augusta street near Main. The General says the flags were not put up by his order, but being up they must be respected.

Friday night, June 2.—The "last agony" from Washington appeared this Morning—President Johnson's proclamation of pardon to rebels on certain conditions. There are so many proclamations and oaths of one sort and another that it is hard to keep the run of them. All military officers above the rank of lieutenant, all civil officers of the "pretended," or "so-called," Confederate States, and all persons worth more than $20,000 are excluded from the benefits of the oath last prescribed by the President. Persons belonging to these classes must file petitions to his excellency for pardon, and he promises to be liberal. Why persons worth over $20,000 are specially guilty is hard to see. Many a flagrant "rebel" is not worth a dollar in ready money.

June 4.—There is a good deal of talk about emigrating to Brazil. But it is not worth while. No doubt the first man met on landing would be a Connecticut vendor of wooden nutmegs.

June 5.—A man in a sulky, while passing under the flags on Saturday, cut at them with his whip, for which grave offence he was put into the guard-house and kept there until to-day.

June 6.—The flag farce has reached the *ne plus ultra* of absurdity. Yesterday two soldiers went to O. C. Morris' and demanded a flag they said he had. He stated that he knew of no flag on his premises, and the men rushing by him found a negro child having a little red rag tied to a switch, which it had been playing with at the kitchen window. Full of patriotic ardor, the soldiers seized the rag, and tearing it in pieces warned Morris that his whole family would be put under arrest if the offence were repeated.

Monday night, June 12.—Two regiments of infantry, under a Colonel Stewart, arrived to-day, from Winchester, to relieve Duval's command.

Tuesday night, June 13.—The two infantry regiments of Duval's command marched out this afternoon, on their return to Winchester, followed by an immense train of negroes. The other infantry regiment was sent to Harrisonburg several weeks ago. The officers of the Ohio regiment, which left to-day, are apparently gentlemen, and we are sorry they did not remain, as we are still to have Federal troops here. Colonel Duval (no relation of the General) and Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson have always conducted themselves as sensible and liberal men, and have freely expressed their disapproval of the General's fooleries. The General's coach was a luxurious vehicle, drawn by four elegant gray horses. It is said the cavalry have gone also.

June 14.—United States treasury notes, called "greenbacks," and national bank notes constitute our paper currency. Very little current, however.

Tuesday night, June 20.—The poor negroes flock to town as if they could not be free in the country. One small tenement, in which an old couple lately lived, is now occupied by thirty.

June 21.—A report that four hundred Yankee negro troops, in Texas, demanded the surrender of some Confederates, and were attacked and all but sixty killed. As we are now a part of the United States, the way of telling this news on the street is: "The Rebels have whipped our people again."

Monday night, June 26.—A military order is posted in the streets to day, requiring "Rebel" soldiers to take off all insignia of rank, brass buttons, etc. The days of "the '45," when the Highland plaid was proscribed, have come back again. * * The "so-called" Legislature of Virginia,—the Senate composed of four men, including the Lieutenant-Governor,—has met at Richmond, and passed an act allowing persons to vote without taking "the iron-clad oath." There can be no courts till October.

June 29.—Many stores in Staunton. Goods said to be very cheap,—that is, it seems so because we have not forgotten Confederate prices.

July 2.—Federal soldiers have been enforcing the order for Confederates to strip off military clothing. Some of them have stood at street corners with shears to cut off brass buttons, etc. Every negro, even, wearing an old Confederate coat or jacket has lost his buttons. Most of our poor fellows have nothing to wear except their old uniforms.

Wednesday, July 5.—The negroes gave the Yankee officers a dinner yesterday at their barracks. The town was full of negroes of both sexes, who celebrated the Fourth by walking about. A number of drunken soldiers were also on the streets. At night there was quite a mob of them in town.

Wednesday night, July 19.—The first election for county officers under the new order of things was held yesterday. The vote was quite full, contrary to expectation. Most of the late incumbents of the various offices were re-elected, but the present Attorney-General

has published an opinion, received here after the election, in which he lays it down that all persons who have held office under the "so-called" Confederate States government are ineligible to office, which will probably cut out many of the successful candidates. * * "Loyal" men are so much afraid of acknowledging the Confederacy that they generally preface it by the words "so-called."

Saturday, July 22.—The Fifty-eighth Pennsylvania regiment came here last week from Richmond, or somewhere east. The men are discontented and lawless. * * We have no mails, although the railroad trains and stage-coaches run regularly.

Tuesday night, July 25.—The two regiments under command of Colonel Stewart started down the Valley this evening. Everybody regrets the departure of Stewart. We expect nothing good from the Pennsylvania regiment which remains here. The officers seem afraid of the men. It is currently reported that a soldier gave his captain a whipping a few days ago.

August 13.—Governor Pierpont has ordered new elections of county officers in place of those recently elected, who had held Confederate offices. The county magistrates elected on the 18th of July, met recently and adjourned over to the regular court day in this month. The corporation election took place last week, and I believe the military have made a formal surrender of the town to the civil authorities.

Monday night, August 28.—The first session of the new county court was held to-day. Some routine business was transacted. * * Mr. A. H. H. Stuart was nominated by a public meeting for Congress. Candidates for the Legislature were also nominated.

September 10.—Notwithstanding we now have civil courts, our provost-marshal continues to try all sorts of cases. He generally decides in favor of the negroes whenever they are parties before him.

An election for members of the State Legislature was held October 12. Nicholas K. Trout was elected to represent Augusta in the Senate, and John B. Baldwin, Joseph A. Waddell, and George Baylor were elected members of the House of Delegates. Mr. Stuart was at the same time elected a member of the United States House of Representatives.

The Circuit Court for Augusta county, Judge L. P. Thompson presiding, was held at the usual time in November. But although civil authority was then professedly restored, some Federal troops were kept in Staunton till January 12, 1866, when they were finally taken away. They were accused of exciting much disorder in the town, and their departure caused general rejoicing in the community.

CHAPTER XXV.

RECONSTRUCTION—1865–'71.

At the close of 1865, our people flattered themselves that they would be left to attend to their own affairs, under the Constitution of the United States, without further molestation. They had in good faith "accepted the situation," and had no thought of future resistance to Federal authority. We shall see how far they were disappointed.

Congress and the Legislature met in December, on the same day. Mr. Stuart could not take the prescribed oath, and he and all Southern men were excluded from the halls of Congress. This was a strange spectacle. The war was waged for four years to compel the Southern people to return to the Union, and now their representatives, although prepared to swear allegiance, were denied all participation in the government. For four years more Virginia had no representative in Congress.

The Legislature, however, proceeded comparatively untrammeled. John B. Baldwin, of Augusta, was elected speaker of the House of Delegates, and his influence was commanding and most salutary. There was little in the proceedings of the Legislature during either session—the winters of 1865–'6 and 1866–'7—which has a place in these Annals. Some of the business was of general importance, and much of it was merely routine. Federal politics were avoided as far as possible. Many acts of incorporation were passed, and amongst them one for chartering the Valley Railroad Company.

Under the Alexandria Constitution, "so called," judges of the higher courts were nominated by the Governor, and ratified or rejected by the Legislature. The Court of Appeals consisted of three judges, and the counties were arranged in circuits, as previously. In February, 1856, Judge Lucas P. Thompson, of the Augusta Circuit Court, was nominated by the Governor and confirmed by the Legislature as one of the Judges of the Court of Appeals. His health, however, was then declining, and he died in the following April, without having taken his seat on the bench of the highest court. In like manner, Hugh W. Sheffey, of Staunton, became the Judge of the Circuit court of Augusta and other counties.

Mutterings of the coming trouble were heard early in 1866. The few "original Union men" in the State were dissatisfied with the restoration of "Rebels" to place and power; and a few of them, under the lead of John C. Underwood, held a meeting in Alexandria, in February, and adopted a memorial asking Congress to set aside the State government and organize a territorial government for Virginia. The proposition was generally regarded as preposterous; but Underwood and his faction having the sympathy of the dominant party in Congress, in order, if possible, to forestall hostile action, the people of Augusta, in a public meeting, on February court day, reaffirmed the resolutions adopted by them May 8, 1865.

On the 4th of April, 1866, a convention was held in Staunton, in behalf of the Valley Railroad enterprise, eight counties being represented. The company was organized under the charter granted by the Legislature, and a president and directors were elected.*

A proclamation of the Secretary of State of the United States at Washington, dated December 18, 1865, set forth that the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibited slavery in the United States, had become valid, having been ratified by thirty-three States, exclusive of Virginia. To this amendment there was no opposition in this section of country, our people generally having no desire to perpetuate the institution of slavery. But the Thirteenth Amendment was no sooner adopted than the Fourteenth was proposed. This amendment, among other things, disfranchised every person, who, having previously, as a public officer, taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, had engaged in rebellion, unless relieved of such disability by a vote of two-thirds of each house of Congress. It also prohibited the payment by any State of any debt incurred in aid of rebellion. The agitation of this matter led to another meeting of the people of Augusta, at their June court, 1866, at which J. M. McCue presided. Resolutions were adopted protesting against amendments to the Constitution proposed by "the body of men now assembled at Washington, and which claims to be the Congress of the United States." They further expressed opposition to the amendment, but declared that no proposition of the sort could be considered by the people till all the States were represented in Congress.

While our people were kept in a state of unrest and discomfort by the measures proposed by politicians at Washington, nothing of special interest occurred in the county during the remainder of 1866.

* The road was completed to Staunton in March, 1874, and to Lexington in November, 1883.

On the 4th of January, 1867, a bill to establish and incorporate the "Augusta County Fair" was introduced in the House of Delegates by John B. Baldwin. This bill was duly passed, and, as required by it, the County Court appointed directors of the Fair at the June term, 1867.

Until the early part of 1867, it was expected that a Governor would be elected during that year to take office January 1, 1868. Mr. Stuart and Colonel Baldwin were the only citizens prominently named in connection with the office; and if the election had been held, it is almost certain that one or the other of them would have been chosen to preside over the State.

The Legislature was called upon to consider the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and on the 9th of January, 1867, the Senate unanimously, and the House of Delegates with only one dissenting vote, declined to ratify it.

The party controlling Congress had, however, been at work devising measures to constrain the Southern States to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, and on the 20th of February the "Shellebarger Bill" was passed. This bill provided, that whenever the people of any one of the "Rebel States" should adopt a Constitution framed by a convention of delegates elected by "the male citizens of said State, twenty-one years old and upwards, of whatever race, color, or previous condition," etc., etc., "except such as may be disfranchised for participation in rebellion," etc., etc., and when, by a vote of the Legislature of said State, the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution should be adopted, then senators and representatives therefrom should be admitted into Congress, etc. This act was vetoed by President Johnson, but became a law by a two-thirds vote of Congress. Another act was passed over the President's veto, March 22nd, which provided for the registration of voters and the call of State conventions contemplated by the Shellebarger Bill. These measures caused a feeling of deep depression in the State, as they indicated, it was believed, an intention to place the Commonwealth in the hands of the freed negroes, to the exclusion of nearly all other people.

General Schofield, of the Federal army, commanded the troops in Virginia, or "Military district No. 1," as it was called. He issued an order, April 2, suspending all elections by the people until the registration of voters required by act of Congress should be completed. In the meantime, vacancies in office were to be filled by military appointment of persons deemed "loyal," or who would take the prescribed oath, commonly known as "the iron-clad oath." Registration officers

in the various counties were appointed by General Schofield from the same class.

The Legislature adjourned finally on the 29th of April.

Confederate Memorial Day was observed in Staunton by the people of Augusta for the first time on the 10th of May, the fourth anniversary of the death of General Thomas J. Jackson. Colonel Charles T. O'Ferrall delivered an address in the Methodist church, and a procession of people, nearly a mile in length, moved from the town to Thornrose Cemetery, where there were appropriate ceremonies.

The registration of voters, under the act of Congress, was begun June 22, and completed July 20. The number of voters registered in the county was 4,690, of whom 3,484 were white people, and 1,206 colored. This system of registration, and the secret ballot coupled with it, were innovations on the ancient custom in Virginia. We had now seen the last of the old, and, as many still think, better plan of voters proclaiming their choice at the polls.

Everything in relation to the proposed convention was arranged and ordered by the Federal officer in command of "Military District No. 1." General Schofield directed that Augusta county should have two delegates, and the district of Augusta, Albemarle, and Louisa, one, and that the election should take place October 22. The voters had the privilege of voting for or against the Convention, as well as for delegates to serve in case the majority in the State was in favor of a convention.

Nearly all the white people in the State were arrayed in opposition to the measures of the extreme "Republicans," who controlled both branches of the United States Congress. The former styled themselves "Conservatives," and called the other party "Radicals." A public meeting of the Conservatives of Augusta was held in the court-house on Saturday, October 12, to nominate candidates for the Convention, the assembling of which, however, they intended to vote against. The nominees were Joseph A. Waddell and Powell Harrison to represent Augusta county, and James C. Southall to represent the district, and these gentlemen were elected on the 22d by large majorities over their Radical opponents. The vote stood in the county, for convention, 1,257, including 1,024 negroes and 233 whites; against convention, 1,655, including 1,646 whites and 9 negroes. The total number of votes cast in the county was 2,912. Thus, of the registered voters, 1,788,—nearly all white people,—did not exercise the right of suffrage on this occasion. Very many of the people were discouraged and indisposed to wage what they felt was a useless contest with the Congress of the United States, supported by the military power of the

government. So it was in the State generally. The vast majority of the white people who went to the polls voted against the convention, but very many did not vote at all, while the negroes generally attended and voting for the convention, the majority in favor of it was 45,455.

At November court a public meeting was held in the court-house to appoint delegates to a State Conservative Convention. This body convened in Richmond on the 11th of December, and was presided over by Mr. Stuart, of Augusta. Among its members were many of the ablest and best known citizens of the State, all or nearly all of whom, however, were disfranchised by act of Congress. Its proceedings, though important, constitute no part of the Annals of Augusta County.

The Constitutional Convention, in session at the same time, was in striking contrast to the body just mentioned. It met on Tuesday, December 3, 1867, in the Hall of the House of Delegates, at Richmond. The ruling spirit of the body was John C. Underwood, the President of the Convention, and also Judge of the United States District Court. It is therefore known in history as the "Underwood Convention." From a Richmond letter,* dated January 16, 1868, published in the *Staunton Spectator*, we take the following account of the convention:

Of the members in attendance, (104), twenty-five are colored men, varying in complexion from the bright mulatto to the blackest African. Among those classed as colored men, is one who is said to be an Indian of almost pure blood. This is "Mr. Morgan," of Petersburg, whose person is quite imposing, and whose deportment so far has been eminently respectable. Indeed, I must, in justice, say that most of this class conduct themselves in a manner which shows they were well brought up—that is, they are polite and unobtrusive. Of course they are uneducated and ignorant, and the idea of their undertaking to frame a State Constitution would be too ridiculous to be credited, if the spectacle were not presented to us daily in the capitol of Virginia. But some five or six of the negroes aspire to statesmanship and oratory, and discuss the most difficult questions with all the self-complacency that Daniel Webster could exhibit. White men unaccustomed to speak in public usually betray some embarrassment in addressing an audience—not so with these negroes. The most practiced speakers are not more composed and self-satisfied than they. The official reporter is giving an utterly false version of the debates, as far, at least, as the negro orators are concerned. A speech delivered by one of them several weeks ago was entirely without meaning, a mere string of words having no connection or sense, but the stenographer has put forth in its place quite an elegant effusion.

* Written by the author of the Annals.

The white Radicals are a motley crew. Some of them have apparently little more intelligence than the negroes, and have doubtless come from the lowest ranks of the people. The leaders, with three or four exceptions, are Northern men who came to this State with the Federal army in the capacity of petty officers, chaplains, commissaries, clerks, sutlers, etc. Others were probably employees of the Freedmen's Bureau, and when that institution dispensed with their services were left here stranded like frogs in a dried-up mill-pond. Having no other resource they plunged into politics. They are now jubilant in the receipt of eight dollars a day from the treasury of the State, and happy in anticipation of the fat offices they are to get by means of the same voters who sent them to the Convention. In regard to the latter particular, however, they may be disappointed. The negroes have their eyes on the same places for themselves, and will probably claim them. "Dr. Bayne" would not hesitate to take a seat on the bench of the Court of Appeals.

The Conservative members of the Convention number about thirty-four. They are generally men of intelligence, but only a few of them have any experience or skill in legislative business. The opinion is often expressed here that there is too much speaking on their side of the house. The impulsiveness and imprudence of some of these gentlemen, it is thought, injure the cause they seek to maintain.

The president of the Convention is, apparently, a gentleman of great amiability. When I observed the other day the suavity of his deportment in the chair, and thought of the shocking harangues he was lately wont to deliver to his grand juries, I was reminded of Byron's description of one of his heroes,—"as mild-mannered man as ever scuttled ship," etc.

A Conservative looker-on is filled with indignation, disgust, and amusement all at one moment. I have seen several gentlemen from the North who have visited the Convention, and they seemed aghast at the spectacle.

The Radical members of the Convention were of course elected by the votes of negroes, the whites yielding to apathy in many counties where it might have been otherwise. Some of the Northern leaders were men of good talent, but all were, more or less, possessed by a spirit of vindictive hostility to everything distinctively Virginian, and sought to frame all the institutions of the State according to the New England pattern.

A pen-and-ink sketch of the Convention on the 29th of January, drawn from life on the spot, by the writer of the letter just quoted, may be tolerated here.

Since the date of my last letter, the farce of "High Life Below Stairs" has been performed daily in the capitol before an admiring crowd of idle blacks who fill the galleries of the hall. At twelve o'clock precisely, the president, having already since sunrise undergone the labors of Hercules in his court-room, takes the chair, and in

the blandest tones calls the Convention to order. The burly and apparently good-natured secretary is safely ensconced behind his desk. The chaplain who is exceedingly meek and sleek in appearance, goes through his part of the performance, occasionally remembering in his petitions the "ex-Confederates." The assistant secretary next proceeds to read the journal of the previous day, getting over printed matter quite readily, but stumbling sadly over manuscript. All this being done, a hundred resolutions, more or less, are forthwith precipitated upon the chair. A score of members, white and black, shout "Mr. President!" all at once, and at the top of their voices. A dozen more, led on by the white member from Norfolk, "rise to *pints* of order." The sergeant-at-arms raps vigorously with his mallet, and calls, "Order, gentlemen! order, gentlemen!!" looking very fierce, and making more disorder than everybody else. By this time the president is grievously perplexed. He tries to decide the various points of order. Sometimes "the chair is in doubt," and asks to be advised. At another time he announces his decision, or at least "the chair is inclined to think so." Forthwith one dozen copies of Jefferson's Manual are drawn upon him. The chair begins to hesitate, —he "believes the gentleman is right," takes back his decision, retracts incontinently,—and looks as humble as Uriah Heep. Thus the business begins, and proceeds day after day.

At this moment the subject of taxation is under consideration, and gives rise to much debate. This subject, as you are aware, has occupied the attention of the ablest political economists and statesmen for many centuries, and I congratulate the world that its true principles are about to be settled at last by a competent tribunal. Dr. Bayne (whether M. D., D. D., or LL. D., this deponent sayeth not,) has recently enlightened us on the subject. The question presented no difficulties to his clear and vigorous intellect. He spoke for a good hour, shedding a flood of light upon a great variety of subjects. He told us about the "bears and panters" in the Dismal Swamp near Norfolk, where the Doctor lives, and declared his determination to have free schools established there.

Another topic upon which the Doctor enlightened us during his speech on taxation, was the mode of constructing pig-pens and chicken-coops in Massachusetts. He had rusticated for a time in the Bay State. Taking up a printed document which was lying before him, he bent it into the shape of a model, the original of which was no doubt brought over by the Pilgrim Fathers in the May Flower, along with all other useful institutions. I am satisfied that our new Constitution should provide for the introduction of the Massachusetts pig-pen and chicken-coop into this State without delay. Dr. Bayne informed us that in the Bay State one little boy fed all the pigs, while here it took four men and five women, and "old master" to boot.

And now Mr. Frank Moss, of Buckingham county, gets the floor on the same subject. *White Radical:* "Will the gentleman allow me a minute?" *Mr. Moss:* "No; I aint gwine to 'low you nary minit." The very black gentleman proceeds to say that he "has sot here and hern em talk about taxation," etc. He goes for laying the

burden on land. So do all the colored members, and some of the whites, avowedly expecting by this means to force the owners to sell or give away a part of their lands. If I understood Dr. Bayne, however, taxing the lands heavily will cause pigs to grow much faster and larger.

Another member,—and a white man this time,—advocates a capitation tax, but is entirely opposed to a poll-tax! A mischievous Conservative politely asks the speaker to explain the difference, and we are told that "a capitation tax is on the head," and "a poll-tax is for roads,—that's the way I understand it, sar!" These are our Constitution makers!

I have a suspicion that some of the white Radicals are getting sick of their black allies. The white leaders expected the blacks to be a very tractable set of voters, so excessively in love with "the old flag," and so thoroughly "loyal," as to give all the good fat places to the pale-faces. But genius will assert itself,—the star of Africa is in the ascendant, and the light of its civilization is dawning upon us. The new era, beginning with "equality before the law," has now reached the stage of "manhood suffrage," and the consummation of no distinction *anywhere* "on account of race or color" is hastening on. No, not exactly that,—there is to be distinction, for the blacks seem to claim the honors and emoluments without bearing the burdens of government. The black speakers scold and hector their white associates, whom they suspect of an indisposition to toe the mark. Some of the latter cower and cajole, and do everything possible to conciliate. Others of the whites, however, are evidently restive. They have caught a Tartar.

Governor Pierpont's term of office expired January 1, 1868, and no successor had been elected. In point of fact, a governor was entirely unnecessary, as all the functions of the office were exercised by the Federal military commander. General Schofield, to keep up appearances, however, issued an order, April 4th, appointing Henry H. Wells Governor of the State, and requiring that he be "obeyed and respected accordingly." Wells was a Northern man, who settled in Alexandria at the close of the war.

The Underwood Convention adjourned April 15, having completed its work. It must be admitted that the Constitution proposed was, in most respects, better than could have been anticipated. But it prohibited from voting all persons who, having held any civil or military office, afterwards participated in "rebellion," and imposed the "iron-clad oath" upon all persons appointed or elected to public office, thereby disfranchising nearly all the white people in the State.

The Convention designated June 2 as election day for ratification or rejection of the Constitution. General Schofield, however, issued an order, April 24, postponing the election indefinitely, alleging want of funds to meet the expenses.

The possibility of having such a Constitution, with all its restrictive clauses, imposed upon the State, aroused the white people from their lethargy. The general feeling was expressed by the *Charlottesville Advocate* in a few words. Speaking of the Constitution it said: "The thing is coal-black. It is an ebony Constitution, with an iron-clad oath. It is not Jamaica, but Hayti, and Hayti with the felon's ethics as the fundamental law." The *Petersburg Index* said: "We do not intend to mollify Radical wrath, or propitiate Republican patronage by a base surrender or compromise of the cause of Virginia. We will cling to her in her fallen fortunes with the love of love. We will turn upon her enemies with the hate of hate. We are not careful in this matter. There are crises in human affairs when whosoever would save his life shall lose it."

The policy of the Conservatives was to vote down the Constitution, if possible. But as a governor and other State officers were to be elected whenever the Constitution should be submitted to the vote of the people, and as the instrument might be foisted upon the State, it was important to have acceptable candidates in the field for the offices referred to. A State Conservative Convention was therefore called. It met in Richmond, May 7th, and was largely composed of the best men in the Commonwealth. John B. Baldwin, of Augusta, presided, and would have been nominated for Governor if he had not positively refused the position. Under the terms of the new Constitution he was ineligible to any office. Robert E. Withers was nominated for Governor, James A. Walker (a native of Augusta, living in Pulaski county), for Lieutenant-Governor, and John L. Marye, for Attorney-General. Canvassers were appointed in the various counties, who were expected to arouse the people to defeat the adoption of the Constitution, but at the same time to vote for the candidates presented by the Conservative Convention.

In June, General Stoneman succeeded General Schofield as commander of "Military District No. 1," and was therefore practically governor of Virginia.

The question of a county subscription of $300,000 to the stock of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad company was submitted to the voters of Augusta on the 27th of August. Not more than half the registered voters went to the polls. It required a majority of three-fifths of the votes cast to carry the proposition, and it was defeated,—yeas, 1,205; nays, 1,077.

The first Augusta County Fair was opened on Tuesday, October 27th, and continued on Wednesday and Thursday. The dedication address was delivered by Mr. Stuart. In the midst of the general

depression, on account of our political affairs and prospects, the Fair was enjoyed as an agreeable and seasonable pastime and relief. The Fair ground was then along Lewis' creek, a mile east of Staunton.

On the 3rd of November, the presidential election took place in the Northern States. The people of Virginia were not permitted to vote.

In December, 1868, what was afterwards designated as "The New Movement" was started by Mr. Alexander H. H. Stuart, with other citizens of Staunton co-operating. Mr. Stuart and his associates wrote to many prominent men in various parts of the State, inviting a conference in Richmond, on Thursday, December 31st, in regard to the state of public affairs. About forty gentlemen met at the time and place appointed. At that time it was understood that Congress, in order to compel the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment and the Underwood Constitution, would soon pass an act vacating every office in the State, leaving them to be filled by the classes known as "carpet-baggers" and "scalawags." The former were people of Northern birth, who had recently come into the State to obtain what spoils they could, bringing all their worldly estate in hand-satchels. The latter were native white people who claimed to have always been Union men, but were believed by others to have prostituted themselves for the sake of office.

The conference in Richmond, without presuming to represent the people of Virginia or the Conservative party, proposed to consent to universal suffrage as the means of getting rid of the disfranchisement clauses of the Constitution. They regarded negro suffrage as inevitable. A committee was appointed to go to Washington and negotiate with Congress a compromise on the basis of "universal suffrage and universal amnesty." The committee consisted of Messrs. Stuart and Baldwin, of Augusta; John L. Marye, Wyndham Robertson, William T. Sutherland, William L. Owen, James F. Johnson, James Neeson, and J. F. Slaughter, and soon became famous as the "Committee of Nine."

The press of the State, with few exceptions, opposed the movement, and the members of the committee were for a time covered with opprobrium, as surrendering the whole field. They repaired to Washington early in January, 1869, and their movements, conferences with leading politicians, etc., were eagerly and widely reported by the newspaper press. On the 18th they submitted to the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, a letter stating the modifications of the Constitution proposed by them,—to strike out certain clauses and modify others. Congress was, therefore, expected virtually to frame a

Constitution for the State, which to some extent it undertook to do. The "Committee of Nine" merely dealt with circumstances as they existed.

Joint resolutions were passed by Congress, January 23, declaring that all persons holding civil offices under the "Provisional Governments" of Virginia and Texas, who could not take the oath prescribed by act of July 22, 1866, should be removed, and their places filled by District Commanders by the appointment of persons who could take the oath. Hardly any other qualification for office was required except that the appointee was willing to swear he had not engaged in rebellion against the United States.

During the month of February, the "New Movement" was the absorbing topic throughout the State. The Committee of Nine were assailed by argument and ridicule, but they persevered in their course, and public opinion began to change in regard to the propriety of their movement. It was a common remark at the time, uttered or written somewhat ironically, "The Committee of Nine has done a great deal of good." President Johnson, whose term expired March 4, was at open war with the majority in Congress, and it was well understood that they would favor whatever he opposed. It was therefore suggested that the committee induce him to promise in advance to veto a bill embracing their scheme, as a means of securing its passage. Senator Boutwell was represented as enquiring, whether, if all disabilities were removed, the people of Virginia would sustain or oppose the Republican party; and the Committee was represented as replying, they "could do a great deal of good."

The justices of the peace elected by the people of Augusta, were removed from office, in February, and others appointed by General Stoneman. At February court a new sheriff, also appointed by Stoneman, qualified and assumed the duties of the office.

A State Convention of the Radical party was held in Petersburg, March 10, which nominated Henry H. Wells for Governor, J. D. Harris, (a negro), for Lieutenant Governor, and Thomas R. Bowden for Attorney-General. A portion of the members seceded, headed by Franklin Stearns, desiring, as they said, to "rescue the Republican party of Virginia from the management and control of designing and selfish politicians." They organized and nominated a State ticket,—Gilbert C. Walker for Governor, John F. Lewis for Lieutenant-Governor, and James C. Taylor for Attorney-General. This was popularly designated "the Newest Movement." This party called themselves "Liberal Republicans."

In March, the judge of the Circuit Court of Augusta, and the clerks of all the courts sitting in Staunton, were removed, and the offices filled by military appointments. David Fultz was appointed judge in place of Hugh W. Sheffey. Mr. Fultz was one of the few citizens of the county who never gave in their adhesion to the Confederate government, and who, therefore, could take the prescribed oaths without forfeiting entirely the respect of the people. Samuel A. East was appointed clerk of the County Court in place of William A. Burnett, but declined to qualify, and the office was conferred upon Samuel Cline, a worthy member of the Dunkard church, who could take the oath honestly if any resident here during the war could. Robert D. Sears was appointed clerk of the Circuit Court in place of Joseph N. Ryan, and the Rev. Samuel J. Baird, clerk of the Hustings Court of Staunton, in place of James F. Patterson. Messrs. Baird and Sears resided at the North during the war, and were therefore out of the way of giving aid and comfort to the "rebellion." These appointments of clerks were merely nominal, however, the former incumbents, under the name of deputies, continuing to discharge the duties and receive the profits of the offices. John R. Popham, a resident of Bath county, was appointed Commonwealth's Attorney for Augusta, there being no resident lawyer *qualified* according to the existing requirement. All the commissioners in chancery were removed, a military appointee undertaking to perform their various functions. Thus all the old officers were deposed, and new men, many of them strangers, installed in their places.

The farce of having a governor, "so-called," played out on the 27th of March, when a military order was issued, announcing that Henry H. Wells, "Provisional Governor," was removed, and that all the powers of the chief executive were assumed by General Stoneman.

General Grant was inaugurated President of the United States March 4, 1869. Before, and after his inauguration, he gave his countenance to the "Committee of Nine" and the "New Movement." On the 9th of April, Congress passed an act authorizing the president to submit the "Underwood Constitution" to the qualified voters of the State, and to submit to a separate vote such clauses thereof as he might deem proper. The president was authorized to fix the day of election, at which time also State officers and members of Congress and the Legislature should be elected. The "Committee of Nine," therefore, finally obtained all, or nearly all, they sought.

The State Executive Committee and County Superintendents of the Conservative party met in Richmond, April 28, and withdrew Messrs. Withers, Walker and Marye from the field, with their consent.

They nominated no other candidates, and it was understood that the Walker ticket would be supported by the party.

President Grant, on May 18, issued a proclamation appointing July 6 as election day in Virginia, and requiring a separate vote to be taken on several clauses of the Constitution.

During the month of May, General Canby became military governor in place of General Stoneman.

Before the election a new registration of voters was made. The number registered in Augusta county was 5,788—4,426 white, and 1,362 colored.

At the election, on the 6th of July, the new Constitution was ratified by the vote of the people, the clauses specially submitted being, however, stricken out. Gilbert C. Walker was elected Governor, and the Conservatives and Liberals secured a large majority in both branches of the Legislature Joseph A. Waddell was elected to represent the district of Augusta and Highland counties in the Senate, and the delegates elected in Augusta were Henderson M. Bell, Marshall Hanger,* and Alexander B. Cochran. William Milnes, of Page county, was elected to represent the district of Augusta, Page, etc., in the lower house of Congress.

In pursuance of a proclamation issued by General Canby, the Legislature met on the 5th of October. Both Houses were speedily organized, and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States were formally ratified. After the election of United States Senators, the Legislature adjourned to await the further pleasure of Congress.

The stockholders of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company met in Richmond in November, 1869, and ratified a contract previously entered into by the directors with Huntington and others, by which the completion of the road to the Ohio river was secured.

The proceedings of the Legislature being so far satisfactory, a bill to admit Virginia into the Union was passed by Congress January 24, 1870. The theory of "Union men" had been previously that the act of secession had not taken the State out of the Union. This theory could not be ignored consistently, and therefore the bill referred to was styled "An act to admit the State of Virginia to representation in the Congress of the United States." The people, however, did not care to criticise phraseology. They congratulated themselves upon the prospect of peace and quietness at last, although

* Augusta has furnished more speakers of the House of Delegates than probably any other county. Hugh W. Sheffey served in that capacity during the war. John B. Baldwin in 1865, to 1867, and Marshall Hanger from 1871 to 1877.

they felt irritated at the ungracious conduct towards them of the party in power. The course of this party was entirely illogical, to say the least of it. If the State was out of the Union in October, 1869, how could its Legislature ratify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments? If it was in the Union, what right had Congress to meddle with its affairs?

The Legislature met again on the 8th of February, and proceeded to organize the State government under the new Constitution. Joseph A. Waddell was elected president *pro tem.* of the Senate. Judges and other public officers were elected as speedily as possible. William McLaughlin was elected judge of the Circuit Court of Rockbridge, Augusta, etc.; John N. Hendren judge of the County Court of Augusta, and Alexander B. Cochran judge of the Hustings Court of Staunton. The last named declining the office mentioned, J. W. Green Smith was finally elected in his place. In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and an act of the Legislature, the town of Staunton was erected into a city.

The Shenandoah Valley Railroad Company was organized in March, 1870.*

The last County Court of Augusta county, held by justices of the peace, sat April 1, 1870, and the last orders of the court were attested by William J. Nelson, president *pro tem.* At the next term the bench was occupied by Judge John N. Hendren.

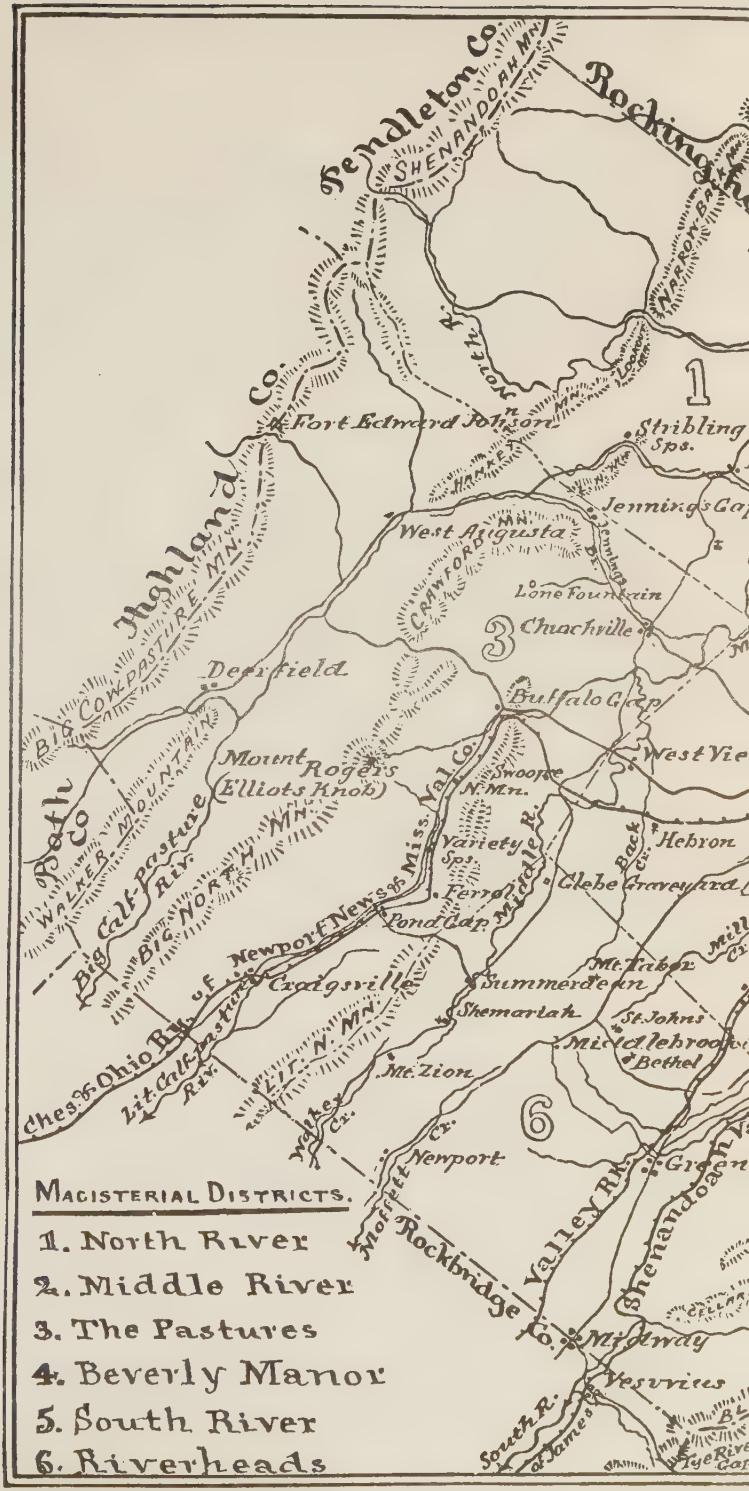
On the 27th of April, the great disaster at the capitol in Richmond occurred, by which sixty-two persons were killed and many others wounded. Among the wounded was Henderson M. Bell, one of the delegates from Augusta.

The first election in Virginia of supervisors took place on the fourth Thursday in May, and in Augusta the following persons were elected: John Paris, Joseph D. Craig, John G. Fulton, Thomas W. Shelton, William T. Rush and Henry B. Sieg.

The people of the county voted, August 6th, upon a proposition to subscribe $300,000 to the stock of the Valley Railroad Company, and it was defeated by a decisive majority. During the following year the vote was taken upon the proposed county subscription of $200,000 to the Valley Railroad and $100,000 to the Shenandoah Valley Railroad, and it also was defeated.

On the last three days of September heavy rains fell in a large portion of the State. The water courses were swollen beyond anything ever known before, and in the valleys of the James and Shenandoah

*The road was completed to Waynesborough in April, 1881, and the first train went through to Roanoke City in June, 1882.


Pendleton Co.
Rockingham
SHENANDOAH MN.
NARROW BACK MN.
North R.
Highland Co.
Fort Edward
Johnson Mn.
Stribling Sps.
Jennings Gap
West Augusta
CRAWFORD MN.
Lone Fountain
3
Churchville
Deerfield
Buffalo Gap
West View
Bath Co.
BIG COWPASTURE MN.
WALKER MOUNTAIN
Mount Rogers (Elliots Knob)
Big Calf Pasture R.
BIG NORTH MN.
Swoope
N. Mn.
Augusta Co.
Miss. R.
Variety Sps.
Middle R.
Back Cr.
Hebron
Glebe
Graveyard
Ferrol
Pond Gap
Newport News
Mt. Tabor
Craigsville
Summerdean
Shemariah
St. Johns
Middlebrook
Bethel
Ches. & Ohio R.
Lit. Calf Pasture R.
LITTLE N. MN.
Mt. Zion
6
Walker Cr.
Newport
Green
Moffett Cr.
Rockbridge Co.
Valley R.
Shenandoah R.
Midway
Vesuvius
South R.
of James
MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS.
1. North River
2. Middle River
3. The Pastures
4. Beverly Manor
5. South River
6. Riverheads

the destruction of property was unprecedented. Many lives also were lost.

County officers under the Constitution were elected in Augusta November 8th, viz: James Bumgardner, Commonwealth's Attorney; William L. Mowry, Sheriff; Samuel Paul, County Treasurer; Joseph N. Ryan, Clerk of the Circuit Court; William A. Burnett, Clerk of the County Court; and John D. Lilley, County Surveyor. At the same time, John T. Harris, of Rockingham, was elected to Congress.

And here, at the close of 1870, we close our Annals.

JOHN BROWN BALDWIN was the oldest son of Judge Briscoe G. Baldwin, and was born near Staunton, January 11, 1820. His mother was a daughter of Chancellor John Brown. He was educated at the Staunton Academy and the University of Virginia. In 1841 he was admitted to the bar, and the following year married the oldest daughter of John H. Peyton, Esq. As soon as he attained the prescribed age, he was elected by the people of Augusta a member of the House of Delegates, and served one term in that body with Nathaniel Massie, Esq., as his colleague. Having a fondness for military affairs, he became Captain of the Staunton Light Infantry, and, finally, Colonel of the one-hundred-and-sixtieth regiment of militia. At an early age he acquired distinction as a lawyer and as a political speaker. In 1859, his friends brought him forward as a candidate for Judge of the Court of Appeals, the judges being elected by districts, but his competitor, Judge William J. Robertson, obtained a majority of the votes cast. The steps in his subsequent career have been noted in the course of our narrative. Being thoroughly identified with the people of Augusta and highly appreciated by them, his death, which occurred September 30, 1873, caused universal lamentation in the county.

STAUNTON BANKS. The first banking institution in Staunton after the war, was opened by Hugh W. Sheffey and William Allan, known as Allan & Co., brokers and bankers. The firm began business in July, 1865, and continued till the First National Bank was started in November of the same year. Hugh W. Sheffey was the first President of the latter, and William Allan, Cashier. The capital was $100,000. The National Valley Bank of Staunton was chartered in November, 1865, but did not engage in business till January following. Of this bank, John Echols was President, and Edwin M. Taylor, Cashier. Capital $100,000. Alexander H. H. Stuart became President of the First National Bank, and in July, 1866, M. Harvey Effinger was made Cashier in place of William Allan, resigned. Edwin M. Taylor resigning as Cashier of the Valley Bank, in February, 1868, was succeeded by William C. Eskridge. In 1875, the two banks were

consolidated under the name of the National Valley Bank of Staunton, John Echols, President, and M. Harvey Effinger, Cashier, succeeded by Thomas A. Bledsoe. Capital $200,000. The Augusta National Bank, of Staunton, was organized in 1875—Hugh W. Sheffey, President, and N. P. Catlett, Cashier. Capital at first, $50.000, but soon increased to $100,000.

APPENDICES.

BESSY BELL AND MARY GRAY.

During the time over which we have passed in the course of our Annals, one generation of men after another has flitted by "like shadows o'er the plain." "The fathers, where are they?" Old houses, too, and nearly all the ancient works of man, have been rapidly disappearing. It is only here and there that a structure associated with the early times of the county remains.

But some objects in and around Staunton have remained the same year after year, substantially unchanged and unchangeable. These old hills, who does not love them? The pioneer settlers in Beverley's Manor saw them as we see them now, and no "native to the *manor* born" can ever behold or think of them without feelings of almost filial affection. The dwellers in level countries cannot appreciate many parts of the book of Psalms. When they read of "the mountains round about Jerusalem," no chord in their heart vibrates; and those other words, "I will lift up my eyes unto the hills from whence cometh my help," so pleasant to us, excite no emotion in them.

Pre-eminent among our Staunton hills stand Bessy Bell and Mary Gray. We prefer the original Scotch spelling and pronunciation of the former name. "Betsy," as people call it now, is harsh and crabbed, but "Bessy" "is soft as is Apollo's lute."

As far as we know there is nothing remarkable in the structure or products of the two hills. We presume the soil continues to produce annual crops of huckleberries and chincapins, as it did in days of yore. One of the former productions of that region, however, has long since disappeared. Seventy or eighty years ago the boys and girls who went there for berries and nuts returned with an ample supply of ticks, the little insects now quite unknown in this part of the country.

It must be confessed that Bessy Bell and Mary Gray cannot boast of the cedars of Lebanon, the dew of Hermon, or "the excellency of Carmel." Even the prospect from the higher peak does not fully compensate for the toil of climbing the rugged ascent. Bessy Bell is no Pisgah; but of her it may be said emphatically,

'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,
And robes the mountain in its azure hue.

People living in Staunton, northwest of Bessy Bell, never see how beautiful she appears at sunrise; but all of them who love the picturesque must have observed and feasted upon the entrancing beauty sometimes presented after a shower of rain, by the rays of the setting sun lingering of a summer's evening upon her leafy summit. And then, when the clouds gather around her head, and "Bessy Bell puts her nightcap on," we see her in another phase scarcely less attractive. Ben Nevis and Snowden are doubtless goodly mountains, but what are they to Bessy Bell and Mary Gray! Surely no Staunton boy, coming home from his wanderings, ever fails to look out for the old familiar hills, and to hail them at first sight with feelings akin to rapture.

It was once currently reported that Bessy Bell and Mary Gray were young girls murdered near Staunton by the Indians; but there is no foundation for the story. The names are of Scottish origin. According to the tradition, Mary Gray's father was laird of Lednoch, and Bessy Bell's of Kinvaid. An intimate friendship existed between the girls, and while Bessy was on a visit to Mary Gray, in 1645, the plague broke out in the neighborhood. To escape the pestilence, they built a bower, near Lednoch House, and lived there for some time. But the plague raging with great fury, they caught it from a young man who was in love with both of them, and who had brought them their food. They died in their bower, and were buried near the river Almond, half a mile from the house of Lednoch, which is seven miles northwest from Perth. Their sad fate became the subject of a ballad, which commenced thus:

O Bessy Bell and Mary Gray!
They were twa bonnie lasses—
They biggit a bower on yon burn-brae,
An' theekit it ower wi' rashes.
They theekit it ower wi' rashes green,
They happit it round wi' heather;
But the pest cam' frae the burrows-toun,
An' slew them baith thegither.

The remainder has been lost, except the concluding stanza:

They thought to lie in Methven Kirk,
  Beside their gentle kin;
But they maun lie in Dronach haugh,
  And beak fornent the sin.
O Bessy Bell and Mary Gray!
  They were twa bonnie lasses—
They biggit a bower on yon burn-brae,
An' theekit it ower wi' rashes.

Allan Ramsey's ballad on the same subject is a modern production. He adopted only the first four lines of the old ballad, and appended to them a new song of his own, which, instead of lamenting the fate of the "bonnie lasses," celebrated the witcheries of their charms. Thus:

O Bessy Bell and Mary Gray,
  They are twa bonny lasses,
They bigg'd a bower on yon burn-brae,
  And theek'd it o'er wi' rashes.
Fair Bessy Bell, I loo'd yestreen,
  And thought I ne'er could alter;
But Mary Gray's twa pawky e'en,
  They gar my fancy falter.

Now Bessy's hair's like a lint-tap;
  She smiles like a May morning,
When Phœbus starts frae Thetis' lap,
  The hills with rays adorning:
White is her neck, saft is her hand,
  Her waist and feet's fu' genty,
With ilka grace she can command.
  Her lips, O wow! they 're dainty.

And Mary's locks are like a craw,
  Her eyes like diamonds glances;
She's ay sae clean, red up and braw,
  She kills whene'er she dances;
Blyth as a kid, with wit at will,
  She blooming, tight, and tall is;
And guides her airs sae gracefu' still,
  O Jove! she's like thy Pallas.

Dear Bessy Bell and Mary Gray,
  Ye unco sair oppress us;
Our fancies jee between you twae,
  Ye are sic bonny lasses:
Wae's me! for baith I canna get,
  To ane by law we're stinted;
Then I'll draw cuts, and take my fate,
  And be with ane contented.

When a new proprietor took possession of Lednoch, about the year 1781, a heap of stones, almost covered with thorns and briers, was shown to him as the burial place of Bessy Bell and Mary Gray. He removed all the rubbish, made up the grave double, planted flowering shrubs around it, and enclosed the spot with a wall, in which he fixed a stone, bearing in engraved letters the names of Bessy Bell and Mary Gray.

These names were carried from Scotland to Ireland, and applied to two mountains in County Tyrone, near the town of Omagh ; and by our Scotch-Irish ancestors they were brought to the Valley of Virginia.*

The old Irish name of Bessy Bell mountain was *Sliabh-truim*, the mountain of the elder. The Scotch who settled in the neighborhood after the year 1600 changed the name.

As introductory to the following lines, written in his youth by the Rev. James A. Waddell, D. D., we state for the information of readers not acquainted with the locality, that the Western Lunatic Asylum is at the western base of Bessy Bell, and the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind is on a neighboring knoll, in full view :

TO BESSY BELL.

Now Bessy Bell, why should you swell,
With such a *towering* air ?
Why thus look down on all the town,
And frown upon the fair ?

'Tis true, you're tall, but that's not all—
You're ugly, big, and bold ;
You're bald and bare, and some e'en dare
To whisper you are *old*.

Grizzly old maid, you're much decayed
(My pencil shall not flatter),
And one may guess, your style of dress
Can never mend the matter.

Your taste prefers a *cap* and *spurs*
To all the forms of fashion,
And you must own a heart of *stone*,
Insensible of passion.

* Other early settlers in this region called another hill Betsy Bell, showing how they cherished the associations of their former life in the old country. This hill is in Bath county, on the Cowpasture river, about a mile below Windy Cove church. It is said that the Indian name for the beautiful Cowpasture was Wallawhatoola.

But, dear Miss Bell, the Muse must tell
Your virgin boast and pride—
How minds that roam find health and home,
And welcome by your side.

Reason beguiled, like a lost child,
By Fancy's false pretences,
Upon your lap just takes a nap,
And wakes up in her senses.

The *Deaf* and *Blind* have found you kind,
The *Dumb*, too, speak your praises;
The *weather-wise* neglect the skies
To watch your varying phases.

All, all, speak well of you, Miss Bell;
Nature her favor shows,
Washing your face with earliest grace
And spanning thee with *bows*.

Now, Bessy, sure, you'll frown no more,
Since lovers are not few;
At least you'll smile at morn a while,
When *Sol* begins to woo.

And Day grown old, with tints of gold,
Perhaps may light thy face;
And silvery Night may crown thy height
With ornaments of grace.

THE COURT-HOUSES OF AUGUSTA COUNTY.

The dates inscribed on the corner stone of the present court-house (1745, 1835, and 1901), imply that there have been only three court-house buildings, whereas there have been five, as follows:

1st. A log house built by William Beverley, the patentee of the land, in 1745. This was a rude structure, and stood till 1788, having been fitted up for a dwelling, in 1755.

2nd. Another log house, near the former, projected in 1752, but not finished till 1755. It is presumed that this house was more commodious than the first; at any rate it had a chimney and fire place.

3rd. A stone house two stories high, completed in the Fall of 1789, and used till 1836.

4th. A brick house with wings for clerks' offices, etc., and stately columns in front, but not architecturally correct; begun in January,

1835, and first occupied in June, 1836. Taken down in 1900 to make way for the present building.

5th. The present court-house, completed in the fall of 1901.

The dates are 1745, 1755, 1789, 1836 and 1901.

It may not be out of place here to mention several errors in the inscription on the tablet erected in the present court-room, by the "Daughters of the American Revolution."

Col. John Lewis is styled, "Presiding Justice." No such office, however, was known to the law. Col. Lewis was one of 21 persons appointed Justices of the Peace, in 1745, and there was no legal distinction between them. He was senior, in respect to the order of names in the commission, except James Patton. Col. Patton was first named in the "Commission of the Peace;" but having been appointed High Sheriff, he did not sit as a member of the court for some time.

Thomas Lewis is styled "Colonial Surveyor," whereas he was County Surveyor.

Moreover, it would be inferred from the inscription that Gabriel Jones was the first "King's Attorney;" but John Nicholas was the first lawyer appointed by the colonial government "to transact his Majesty's affairs in this county." He, however, resigned at April court, 1746. Gabriel Jones was then recommended by the court for the office, and, being appointed, qualified at May term, 1746. Mr. Nicholas never resided in the county.

Villages in Augusta County.—It would be interesting to know the origin of the names of the many small towns and villages in Augusta county; but with the exception of five or six, no one living can tell by whom and why the names were applied. Of course, Waynesborough was called for Gen. Anthony Wayne, and Greenville for Gen. Nathaniel Greene. Many Augusta people served under Generals Wayne and Greene in the Revolutionary war, and it was natural that towns should be called for them. Middlebrook was doubtless so called because it is on, or near, the ridge dividing the waters of the Potomac from those of James river. There is also no mystery as to the names Churchville, Craigsville and Deerfield. But in regard to the remaining names, we are entirely in the dark. We have Mt. Solon, Mt. Sidney, Mt. Meridian, New Hope, Springhill, Moscow, Parnassus, etc., etc.,—by whom and why were these hamlets so called? The prefix Mount (all in the northern part of the county), was no doubt an importation from the old country, as it is common in the north of Ireland. It is strange that we have not an Indian name in the county.

TRAVELS ABOUT HOME.

The most interesting part of Augusta county, in some respects, is the strip of country extending from the iron bridge across Middle river, on the Staunton and Churchville road, up the river to the mouth of Buffalo Branch, and up that stream and Dry Branch to their respective sources. Middle river is throughout its whole extent in Augusta. From its head spring, near Shemariah church, to its mouth, near Mount Meridian, is only about thirty-five miles; but the length of the stream, in its meanderings, is not far short of a hundred miles. Beginning as a mountain rill, it broadens as it goes, and towards its mouth becomes a wide and beautiful river.

On the west side of the river, a little beyond the bridge, on the Dudley farm, is what remains of an ancient artificial mound. It has been plowed over for many years, and is now nearly leveled. Human bones, pipes and stone arrow-heads have often been turned up. It is supposed that, before the arrival of white people in the Valley, a battle between Indians occurred at the spot, and that the slain were buried there.

Going up stream from the bridge referred to, for about two miles, the road crosses the river seven times. This region is thickly settled, farm houses being close together on both sides of the river. At several points cliffs arise from the margin of the channel, making the scene picturesque and specially attractive. In one of these cliffs, probably fifty feet from the base and about twenty-five feet from the top, there is a hole which looks like the entrance to a cavern. Of course a story has been invented to fit the hole. It is related that in early times, when Indians were about, a white man on horseback was pursued by savages, and dashing up to the top of the cliff, concealed himself in the hole, while his horse pitched over and was killed. An inspection of the place, however, shows conclusively that the incident as related could not have occurred.

But not far west of the cliff, on the north side of the river, the last massacre by Indians in the county took place. As supposed, it was on what has been known of late years as the Geeding farm, that John Trimble was killed, in October, 1764, his dwelling burnt, and his son and stepdaughter taken prisoners. A mile or more farther westward stood then, as now, on the south side of the river, a stone house called the "Old Fort," or "Old Keller House," which was used in time of danger as a place of refuge by the people around. Why the Trimbles did not repair to this house is not known. At that very time, it is believed, the younger children of Alexander Crawford were sheltered there, and thus escaped the slaughter which befell their parents at their home. The older part of the stone house is in a state of dilapidation, the gable end having fallen out, but the rafters and other timbers are as sound as they were a hundred and twenty-five years ago.

The stone house stands in a bend of Middle river, which, coming from the south, there turns abruptly to the east. Just at the bend

Buffalo Branch empties into the river. At any time when seen by the writer, it was a misnomer to call the former a branch or stream, as the bed was "dry as a bone." The broad channel, however, was full of well-worn river stones, and evidently a bold current flowed there at times. Rising in the Great North Mountain chain, at the foot of Elliott's Knob, the stream, fed by winter rains and melted snows in spring, flows through Buffalo Gap to join Middle River. For some eight months in the year the channel is full, and the water often raging, but during the summer and early fall it is usually dry as described.

A short distance west of the mouth of Buffalo Branch this stream is joined by Dry Branch. The latter rises in the Little North Mountain range, north of Buffalo Gap; and for a part of the year is a torrent, but dries up in summer, as the former does.

Buffalo Branch and Dry Branch come together on land lately owned by Alexander B. Lightner, where Thomas Gardiner lived in 1764, when he was killed by Indians. South of this point, and quite near, is the highly improved farm of Theodore F. Shuey. And just there is the most beautiful mountain view to be found in the county. Buffalo Gap is seen in the southwest, a few miles off, the Little North Mountain opened down to its base, and beyond the cleft Elliott's Knob towers up to the clouds.

The excursionist, proceeding along the channel of Dry Branch westward to near the foot of Little North Mountain, will come to the spot where Alexander Crawford and his wife were massacred in 1764.

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